

# WULFSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin  
Conference

# **STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES**

EDITORIAL BOARD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

CENTRE FOR MEDIEVAL STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF YORK

Elizabeth M. Tyler (University of York)  
Julian D. Richards (University of York)  
Ross Balzaretti (University of Nottingham)

VOLUME 10



# WULFSTAN, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

## The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference

Edited by

Matthew Townend

## British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Wulfstan, Archbishop of York : the proceedings of the second Alcuin Conference. –  
(Studies in the early middle ages ; v. 10)

1.Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, d. 1023 – Congresses 2.Bishops – England –  
York – Biography – Congresses 3.York (England) – Church history – Congresses  
4.England – Church history – 449-1066 – Congresses

I.Townend, Matthew

270.3'.092

ISBN 2503522246

**© 2004, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium**

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,  
without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2004/0095/62

ISBN: 2-503-52224-6

Printed in the E.U. on acid-free paper.

# Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Contributors	xi
Acknowledgements	xiii
Introduction	1
MATTHEW TOWNEND	
Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-BUILDER	9
PATRICK WORMALD	
Sound, Fury, and Signifiers; or Wulfstan's Language	29
RICHARD DANCE	
Re-editing Wulfstan: Where's the Point?	63
ANDY ORCHARD	
Wulfstan's Latin Sermons	93
THOMAS N. HALL	
Wulfstan and Worcester: Bishop and Clergy in the Early Eleventh Century	141
JULIA BARROW	
Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property	161
STEPHEN BAXTER	
York Minster in the Time of Wulfstan	207
CHRISTOPHER NORTON	

The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript GARETH MANN	235
Art and the Man: Archbishop Wulfstan and the York Gospelbook T. A. HESLOP	279
Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer? JOYCE HILL	309
Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests CHRISTOPHER A. JONES	325
The Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric: A Reassessment MALCOLM GODDEN	353
Wulfstan's <i>Sermo Lupi ad Anglos</i> as Political Performance: 16 February 1014 and Beyond JONATHAN WILCOX	375
<i>Byrastas</i> and <i>bysmeras</i> : The Wounds of Sin in the <i>Sermo Lupi ad Anglos</i> ALICE COWEN	397
Napier Homily L: Wulfstan's Eschatology at the Close of his Career JOYCE TALLY LIONARONS	413
Wulfstan and Ælfric: 'the true Difference between the Law and the Gospel' ERIC STANLEY	429
'The Protection of God and the King': Wulfstan's Legislation on Widows STEPHANIE HOLLIS	443
'And we forbeodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe': Wulfstan and Late Anglo-Saxon and Norse 'Heathenism' AUDREY L. MEANEY	461
'Vir optimus Wlfstanus': The Post-Conquest Commemoration of Archbishop Wulfstan of York at Ely Cathedral JOHN CROOK	501
Index	525

## Illustrations

### *Chapter 7*

- 7.1. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 48<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the British Library).
- 7.2. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 100<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the British Library).
- 7.3. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 70<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the British Library).
- 7.4. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 83<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the British Library).
- 7.5. London, British Library, Harley 55, fol. 4<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the British Library).
- 7.6. The York Gospels (York, Minster Library, Additional 1), fol. 156<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 7.7. The York Gospels, fol. 157<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 7.8. Map showing the estates listed in the surveys of Sherburn-in-Elmet, Otley, and Ripon in the York Gospels (by permission of Prof. Simon Keynes).

### *Chapter 8*

- 8.1. The Horn of Ulf (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 8.2. The York Gospels (York, Minster Library, Additional 1), fol. 160<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

- 8.3. The York Gospels, fol. 161<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 8.4. Plan of the Minster Close as it may have been in the time of Archbishop Wulfstan (Drawing: Frances Challoner).
- 8.5. Carved grave markers found in situ over burials 50 and 51 in the pre-conquest cemetery beneath the south transept of York Minster, April 1969 (Photo: English Heritage YM 1430; by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 8.6. Carved grave markers found in situ over a child's grave (burial 48) in the pre-conquest cemetery beneath the south transept of York Minster, April 1969 (Photo: English Heritage YM 1425; by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 8.7. Pre-conquest glazed polychrome relief tiles from All Saints Pavement, York (Photo: Laurence Keen).
- 8.8. Pre-conquest glazed polychrome relief tiles from All Saints Pavement, York (Photo: Laurence Keen).

## *Chapter 9*

- 9.1. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 171<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the British Library).
- 9.2. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 173<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the British Library).
- 9.3. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 177<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the British Library).

## *Chapter 10*

- 10.1. The final pages of the York Gospelbook (York, Minster Library, Additional 1) and the '1020' gathering, showing the positioning of 'Wulfstan's' additions.
- 10.2. The York Gospelbook, fol. 23<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 10.3. The York Gospelbook, fol. 24<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 10.4. The York Gospelbook, fol. 23<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

- 10.5. The York Gospelbook, fol. 61<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 10.6. The York Gospelbook, fol. 85<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 10.7. The York Gospelbook, fol. 60<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 10.8. The York Gospelbook, fol. 10<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 10.9. The York Gospelbook, fol. 22<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).
- 10.10. London, British Library, Additional 34890, fol. 114<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the British Library).

## Chapter 20

- 20.1. Ely Cathedral. The tomb-chest of Bishop Nicholas West (1515–33), adapted in 1771 to receive the bones of the Ely benefactors. © John Crook.
- 20.2. Ely Cathedral. Proposal drawing dated 1763 showing the intended appearance of the Octagon after the removal of the choir, published in James Benthams, *History and Antiquities of Ely* (1771), pl. XI.
- 20.3. Ely Cathedral. Plan of the crossing showing the position of the choir within the Octagon until 1769. Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough* [. . .] (1730), following p. 330.
- 20.4. Ely Cathedral. Detail from a watercolour depicting Wulfstan's *loculus* and its painted architectural setting, drawn by Michael Tyson in 1769. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 225, fol. 37<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Bodleian Library).
- 20.5. Ely Cathedral. Pen-and-ink drawing of two of the painted niches by William Stukeley, probably dating from 1735x1741. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. Eccles. d.6, p. 88 (by permission of the Bodleian Library).
- 20.6. Ely Cathedral. Conjectural reconstruction of the arcade over the *loculi* containing the bones of the Ely benefactors, and the painted niches above, based on Michael Tyson's watercolour of 1769. © John Crook.
- 20.7. Bronze pin, formerly gilt or silvered, said to have been removed from the *loculus* allegedly containing the bones of Archbishop Wulfstan. Society of Antiquaries of London, ref. LDSAL 104. Both sides of the pin are shown. © John Crook.





## Contributors

JULIA BARROW, University of Nottingham  
STEPHEN BAXTER, University of Oxford  
ALICE COWEN, University of York  
JOHN CROOK, University of Reading/Winchester Cathedral  
RICHARD DANCE, University of Cambridge  
MALCOLM GODDEN, University of Oxford  
THOMAS N. HALL, University of Illinois at Chicago  
T. A. HESLOP, University of East Anglia  
JOYCE HILL, University of Leeds  
STEPHANIE HOLLIS, University of Auckland  
CHRISTOPHER A. JONES, Ohio State University  
JOYCE TALLY LIONARONS, Ursinus College  
GARETH MANN, University of Oxford  
AUDREY L. MEANEY, Cambridge  
CHRISTOPHER NORTON, University of York  
ANDY ORCHARD, University of Toronto  
ERIC STANLEY, University of Oxford  
MATTHEW TOWNEND, University of York  
JONATHAN WILCOX, University of Iowa  
PATRICK WORMALD, University of Oxford



## Acknowledgements

To mark the millennial anniversary of Wulfstan's appointment as Archbishop of York in 1002, a conference was hosted by the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York 15–18 July 2002; this was held at the King's Manor, close to York Minster and the site of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral. The conference was subtitled 'The Second York Alcuin Conference', following the first in 1998 on 'Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages', and like the First Alcuin Conference it was determinedly interdisciplinary in its focus and participants. Twenty-two papers were given in all, and the keynote address was delivered by Patrick Wormald. Nineteen of those twenty-two papers appear in this volume; the papers which don't appear were given by Simon Keynes, David Rollason, and the late Tim Reuter.

For help of various kinds, with regards to either the conference or this volume, or both, I am grateful to Katy Cubitt, Simon Forde, Natasha Glaisyer, Louise Hampson and York Minster Archives, Louise Harrison, Jane Hawkes, Shannon Lewis-Simpson, Deborah A. Oosterhouse, Mark Ormrod, and Elizabeth Tyler. Above all, thanks are due to the twenty-two speakers for their enthusiastic commitment to marking Wulfstan's millennium in this way.

Matthew Townend



# Introduction

MATTHEW TOWNEND

**W**ulfstan was Bishop of London from 996 to 1002, Bishop of Worcester from 1002 to 1016, and Archbishop of York from 1002 to 1023. During this period he composed many homilies and sermons and preached before numerous assemblies; he shouldered the burden of ecclesiastical and even national leadership in the dark days of Scandinavian attack; he produced laws for King Æthelred II and then for his successor, the Danish conqueror Cnut; he forged a distinctive prose style, supremely suited to the requirements of oral delivery; he studiously turned to Carolingian models for inspiration and guidance; he put together a canon law collection unparalleled in pre-Norman England; he consecrated both churches and bishops; he was responsible for the compilation of the first extant cartulary in England; he wrote works on political theory, clerical status, church sanctuary; in short, he taught, preached, rebuked, urged, reformed, administered, and pronounced through three decades of episcopal activity and national turmoil, and himself played a major role in bringing that turmoil to an end. There can be no question that Wulfstan, archbishop of York, is one of the central figures of late Anglo-Saxon England and that the study of Wulfstan can tell us a very great deal about the late Anglo-Saxon church and state.

And yet, as Patrick Wormald observes in the first, ‘keynote’ essay in this volume, for such an important figure there is something unusual about the history and historiography of Wulfstan studies. The corpus of writings attributed to Wulfstan and the complex of manuscripts associated with him have only recently come into focus — gradually and incrementally — in the course of the twentieth century. In other words, the progress of Wulfstan studies and the significance and standing of Wulfstan himself have in recent decades been increasing at an exponential rate. Anglo-Saxonists of the nineteenth century, or even the early twentieth, would be amazed at what we now know and think about Wulfstan, and at the importance we accord him. As Wormald shows in a magisterial overview of Wulfstan’s intellectual growth (supported by an integrated chronology of his works), the historiography of Wulfstan has

its parallels, and may have its origins, in Wulfstan's own development as a thinker and writer: in a period of a mere fifteen years, when he was already at least in his forties, Wulfstan's thought and intellectual ambition evolved with astonishing rapidity. Moreover, the dominance of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* in Wulfstan studies may have led to a scholarly view of Wulfstan that more or less stops in 1014; but as Wormald demonstrates, an end point in 1014 misses the real climax of Wulfstan's influence and intellectual odyssey, which was his part in the establishment of Cnut's post-conquest polity — which was in turn to have lasting effects in 1066 and beyond.

After Patrick Wormald's overview of Wulfstan's career and development, the next three essays supply a close scrutiny of Wulfstan's language and texts by means of a return to the manuscripts themselves. Richard Dance reviews what we know about Wulfstan's language from a number of perspectives — spelling, dialect, vocabulary, style — and employs the tools of philology not only to unlock Wulfstan's linguistic practice but also to illuminate many broader, non-linguistic issues (such as the York/Worcester axis, or Wulfstan's relations with the Winchester elite). Wulfstan emerges from Dance's study as a clear-thinking pragmatist, concerned above all with communication and comprehensibility. Dance's essay is complemented by those of Andy Orchard and Thomas N. Hall, who have in hand new editions of Wulfstan's Old English and Latin sermons respectively, and who explore both the challenges and the possibilities involved in editing Wulfstan afresh. Orchard takes punctuation as his point of departure — both Wulfstan's own, and that of the manuscripts of his works — and shows how a study of manuscript punctuation can in fact reveal a great deal about Wulfstan's rhetorical style: alongside his familiar two-stress phrases, some more surprising structures are shown to be central to Wulfstan's rhetorical effects. Orchard's essay also has much to say about Wulfstan's methods in translating from Latin into English, and it is Wulfstan's Latinity that Thomas N. Hall brings into the foreground of Wulfstan studies. Traditionally overshadowed by his vernacular works, Wulfstan's Latin texts have usually been regarded as exercises preparatory to composition in Old English. Without disputing that this may sometimes have been the case, Hall argues however that Wulfstan actually preached in Latin. Hall presents not only a handlist of Wulfstan's Latin writings and an overview of the corpus, but also prints texts and translations of no fewer than ten hitherto unpublished works by Wulfstan; one of these, the *Admonitio episcoporum utilis*, appears in the form of a fully annotated edition, and is an important source for understanding Wulfstan's conception of his archiepiscopal responsibilities.

Wulfstan was Bishop of Worcester for fourteen years (1002–16), and probably retained some sort of responsibility over the see even after 1016. The next two essays therefore consider what we can learn about Wulfstan's activities in Worcester. Julia Barrow supplies a thorough survey of the diocese of Worcester in the time of Wulfstan, filling in the inevitable gaps by suggesting analogues from better-documented places or persons (especially Wulfstan's nephew and successor, St Wulfstan II). Situated between the two Worcester saints Oswald and Wulfstan II, our Wulfstan seems to have inhabited a rather traditional diocese, and though his episcopal impact

may not have been as great as theirs, there are important signs of his activities as a reformer. Stephen Baxter directs our attention to Wulfstan's activities as an estate administrator, in the diocese of York as well as Worcester. In a detailed explication of complex estate documents — most importantly the *Liber Wigorniensis* and the surveys entered in the York Gospels — Baxter reveals Wulfstan to have been an innovative and far-sighted guardian of the church's property, responsible for the compilation of the first extant cartulary in England and, as ever, both pragmatic and visionary in his goal of a Christian society.

Stephen Baxter's essay, considering as it does the evidence from York as well as Worcester, leads naturally into the next group of essays, which address directly Wulfstan's association with York. Christopher Norton provides an account of what we know — and more obviously, what we don't know — about the status, structure, and topography of York Minster in the time of Wulfstan. By combining documentary, architectural, and art historical approaches, Norton builds up a picture of the physical and ecclesiastical milieu in which Wulfstan moved. The next two essays are codicological in focus, each examining a single manuscript associated with Wulfstan. Gareth Mann's elucidation of London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv reveals a great deal about Wulfstan's relationship with Anglo-Saxon York's most famous son, Alcuin (an especially pleasing contribution for the Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference). However, Mann's essay also achieves much more than this, carefully recovering the method and motive behind the manuscript's compilation; what we are enabled to see thereby is a picture of Wulfstan at work, collecting and considering a range of sources, and, under their influence, bringing his thoughts into shape on a range of issues of pressing importance to a newly installed Archbishop of York. The manuscript discussed by T. A. Heslop (also considered earlier by Baxter and Norton) is the sumptuous gospelbook commonly known as the York Gospels, apparently presented to Wulfstan in about 1020 and ever since then associated with York and its archbishops. In addition to an analysis of the codex's make-up and production, with a particular focus on the role of the famous scribe Eadwig Basan, Heslop places the production of the Gospels in current art historical debates about the nature of patronage and asks whether we might see the Gospels as having been specially tailored to Wulfstan's tastes and reputation. If so, we might here be able to gain some sort of insight — and from an unusual angle — of how Wulfstan was viewed by others in his lifetime.

Already raised in Julia Barrow's essay, the question of Wulfstan's position in the ecclesiastical culture of the Benedictine Reform is addressed head-on in the next three essays. Our impression of this culture tends to be dominated by what one might call the view from Winchester — a perspective that is Æthelwoldian and/or Ælfrician — and so a sustained focus on Wulfstan and his activities has the potential to reconfigure our view of the late Anglo-Saxon church. Alluding to the title of a famous article by Dorothy Whitelock ('Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman'),<sup>1</sup> in

---

<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 24 (1942), 25–45.

the first of this group of essays Joyce Hill asks whether we can acclaim Wulfstan as a reformer as well, and to answer this question she reviews a very wide range of sources and materials, including the manuscripts of Wulfstan's so-called 'common-place book'. As Hill shows, in many ways Wulfstan is strikingly different from the other major figures of the Reform, not least in the uncertain record of his monastic career; moreover, to position Wulfstan correctly within a Reform context, we must also position him within a Carolingian one. The next two essays have an ostensibly narrower focus than Hill's, but prove in fact to be equally wide in their concerns and implications. Wulfstan's 'Francophilia' is also apparent in Christopher A. Jones's exploration of Wulfstan's liturgical interests, another essay that brings into prominence a hitherto under-studied aspect of the Archbishop's activities. Jones reveals what a wealth we can learn about these interests from a detailed study of both the 'paralitururgical' items in Wulfstan's 'commonplace book' manuscripts, and the one extant service book associated with Wulfstan, namely 'Claudius Pontifical I' in London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.iii; Jones concludes by stressing how important it is not to separate liturgy from either preaching or law in the activities of an archbishop like Wulfstan. Following Jones, Malcolm Godden brings his Ælfrician expertise to bear on the question of the relations between Wulfstan and Ælfric, the two most important prose writers in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Godden's fresh look at a rather fossilized narrative reveals a number of surprises and shows how flimsy some of the traditional assumptions have been concerning the Archbishop and the Abbot. Wulfstan's Latinity and his use of sources come once more to the fore, but here the context is that of the hierarchy and culture of the late Anglo-Saxon church.

The one work by Wulfstan which has loomed largest in his fame and historiography is of course the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, and it is only right that this famous sermon should receive due attention in this collection. Two essays consider the *Sermo*, from differing perspectives, and both show how even this well-studied text still has many things to reveal. In a sustained act of historical reconstruction, Jonathan Wilcox attempts to recapture the *Sermo*'s original context of performance, arguing that this was during a meeting of the *witan* at York on 16 February 1014. Wilcox shows how the *Sermo*, often thought to be the most political of Wulfstan's sermons, is also at the same time the most (archi)episcopal; and in tracing its performance context beyond 1014, he reveals how later versions of Wulfstan's *Sermo* continued to do political work in the changed circumstances of the reign of Cnut. Wilcox's contextualizing essay is complemented by that of Alice Cowen, who supplies a historicized close reading of one strand in the *Sermo* that has been neglected in the sermon's scholarship: as Cowen demonstrates, the Anglo-Saxon notion of the 'wounds of sin' provides a place where the discourses of shame, penance, and medicine all meet, and supplies Wulfstan with a powerful language with which to speak about both Anglo-Saxon failings and Viking attack.

Consideration of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* leads into consideration of other aspects of Wulfstan's homiletic oeuvre; the dominance of the *Sermo* is to be disputed as well as acknowledged. As Bishop of London Wulfstan appears to have made his



name as a preacher of eschatological homilies, in the years leading up to the turn of the millennium. However, as Joyce Tally Lionarons shows in a close reading of Napier L, a homily from the last years of his career, Wulfstan's eschatological concerns were not confined to his early period but continued to inform his thought into the reign of Cnut; in analysing this sermon which appears to have been preached before the King (probably at Oxford in 1018), Lionarons also contributes to the breaking-down of any supposed distinctions in Wulfstan's works between the political and the ecclesiastical, the legal and the homiletic. In the essay that follows, Eric Stanley returns to the pairing of Wulfstan and Ælfric, but not to discuss their historical relations; rather, he wishes to explore some of the differences between the two writers in terms of religious sensibility and outlook. Exploring the connotations of Wulfstan's distinctive insistence that one should *Godes lage lufian* ('love God's law(s)'), Stanley makes an eloquent plea that Wulfstan's ideas 'must not be reduced in our cynical age as a politicization of religion'.

It has by now become an established perception in the study of Wulfstan that he blurred generic distinctions with the result that similar concerns and ideas, and even similar expressions, are to be found throughout his range of writings. Two essays accordingly track Wulfstan's thoughts on a particular issue across the breadth of his corpus. Beginning with his legislation on this matter in Cnut's law-code, Stephanie Hollis traces Wulfstan's ideas on the status and regulation of widows throughout his writings; in broadening out into the historical context for Wulfstan's legislation and pronouncements, she brings in the compelling figure of Emma, wife successively of Æthelred and of Cnut, and Queen of England throughout Wulfstan's archiepiscopacy. Hollis's essay demonstrates the value of looking at one issue across the range of Wulfstan's works, and this is also the case with Audrey Meaney's investigation into Wulfstan and 'heathenism' (both Wulfstan's views on 'heathenism', and the likely nature of 'heathen' practice in late Anglo-Saxon England). That Wulfstan's works are a source of some potential on this subject has long been recognized; Meaney's study at last supplies the survey and analysis which has been needed.

Wulfstan died in 1023 and was buried at Ely, not York. His connection with Ely and the subsequent commemoration of Wulfstan at that place are the subject of the final essay in this volume, by John Crook. Crook follows the physical remains of Wulfstan right through the Middle Ages and into the eighteenth century, at which time his bones were given the resting place which they occupy to this day, in Bishop West's chapel in Ely Cathedral. Crook reconstructs both the architectural setting in which Wulfstan was commemorated in the Middle Ages and the eighteenth-century antiquarian culture that recorded that setting; he also discusses the one physical relic that may be associated with Wulfstan, a bronze pin discovered when his tomb was opened in 1769.

In terms of emphases and methodologies, a great many points of connection, comparison, and contrast arise between the various essays in this volume, but perhaps for the purposes of this introduction no more than three observations should be made. The first of these is the way in which, in spite of their sheer multifariousness,

Wulfstan's many diverse activities cohere with one another in a manner that in fact makes them wholly inseparable. Adding three more roles to the two selected by Dorothy Whitelock, Dorothy Bethurum wrote of Wulfstan's 'remarkable career as statesman, reformer, canonist, legislator, and homilist',<sup>2</sup> and certainly all five of these roles are explored in this volume. Yet here one may also observe Wulfstan's career as, for example, a liturgist (Hill, Jones), an estate administrator (Baxter), a benefactor and even candidate for sainthood (Crook). But these various roles should not be separated out and placed apart: stylistically as well as conceptually, Wulfstan's work is all of a piece, increasingly orientated towards a fundamental vision, well summarized in Patrick Wormald's phrase 'the Holiness of Society'.<sup>3</sup>

My second observation is the great potential of manuscript studies as a way into broader historical and cultural concerns. In his *Institutes of Polity* Wulfstan himself declared that 'Bisceopas sculan bocum and gebedum fyligean', and that the daily work of a bishop was 'his gebedu ærest and ðonne his bocweorc, ræding oððon rihting, lar oððon leorning'.<sup>4</sup> Wulfstan's prayers are not easy to recapture, but they do receive important attention in this volume (Hill, Jones); Wulfstan's books, on the other hand, have formed and continued to form our main means of access to his activities and thought. There are books containing Wulfstan's works; there are books annotated by Wulfstan; and there are books otherwise associated with him. (All this, of course, is quite apart from the question of those works which Wulfstan used as sources, but where no manuscript associations are extant.) One of the seminal contributions to Wulfstan studies was Neil Ker's demonstration that a hand which appeared in some ten manuscripts could belong to none other than Wulfstan himself,<sup>5</sup> and in the thirty years since Ker's landmark article was published scholars have been exploring the implications of his conclusion, especially through a widening of the focus from palaeography to codicology. Much of the work in this volume continues this tradition, and the power of a codicological approach is amply demonstrated in

---

<sup>2</sup> *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', published both in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by David A. E. Pelteret (New York, 1999), pp. 191–224, and in Patrick Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51.

<sup>4</sup> *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Bern, 1959), pp. 67 and 75 (II Polity §§58 and 77) ('Bishops must attend to books and to prayers'; 'first his prayers and then his bookwork, reading or correcting, teaching or learning'). See further Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds: Wulfstan, Bishops, and the Context of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 395–418.

<sup>5</sup> Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31.

the essays by Baxter, Heslop, Jones, and Mann; the value of a return to the manuscripts is also revealed in other ways in the essays by Dance, Godden, Hall, Hill, Norton, Orchard, and Wilcox. One of the main points to be accentuated in this context is Wulfstan's Carolingian orientation, and the fact that we must look to continental models if we are to understand what this Anglo-Saxon archbishop is about (Hill, Jones, Mann, Wormald). The imaginative study of manuscripts associated with Wulfstan continues to be powerfully revelatory of his work and world.

Connected to this, my third and final observation is in fact the unusual degree to which, in spite of a paucity of biographical information, Wulfstan's work and world may be recaptured. As Patrick Wormald has observed in another context, 'As Anglo-Saxonists, we cultivate the borders of prehistory' and therefore 'must never take knowledge for granted'.<sup>6</sup> But Wulfstan and his world have not vanished from our view, for there is an abundance of textual record; and the remarkable nature of this state of affairs should certainly not be overlooked. With very few exceptions indeed, we know so little about individual early medieval men and women that we can only wonder, hopelessly, how they spent their time when they weren't doing the very few things we know about. How did Ealdorman Byrhtnoth spend his time when not fighting the Vikings or patronizing monasteries? What was the *Beowulf*-poet doing when he wasn't composing *Beowulf*? Even to ask such questions (especially the latter) seems absurd, and forlorn. But the situation with Wulfstan is very different. We have come to know such a great deal about his occupations and activities — and are still learning more — that the reverse question comes to mind, and we might begin to wonder how he managed to find time to do all the things which we know he did, never mind the things we don't know about.

This volume therefore helps to clarify further the shape and texture of Wulfstan's life and career, to a degree that allows us to glimpse all sorts of exciting possibilities for the writing of history (literary, political, ecclesiastical, cultural), possibilities of a kind that are almost unparalleled in Anglo-Saxon studies. For example, we might ask questions, and begin to offer answers, about Wulfstan's relations with a number of other figures: with predecessors such as Alcuin (Mann); with ecclesiastical contemporaries such as Ælfric (Godden, Hill) or political ones such as Cnut (Lionarons, Wilcox, Wormald); or with successors such as St Wulfstan II of Worcester (Barrow, Baxter) or Ealdred of York (Norton, Wormald). Or we might think about the geography of Wulfstan's England: not only his dioceses of London, Worcester, and York (of course), but also his dealings with Canterbury (Heslop, Mann) and with Ely (Crook). We might consider the development of Wulfstan's thought (Mann, Wormald); or the contexts of his preaching (Hall, Lionarons, Norton, Wilcox); or the performance of his (archi)episcopal responsibilities (Barrow, Baxter, Hall, Jones, Mann); or his religious sensibilities (Cowen, Stanley); or his style (Dance, Orchard);

---

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Wormald, *How Do We Know so Much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?*, Deerhurst Lecture 1991 (Deerhurst, 1993), p. 1.

or his Latinity (Godden, Hall, Orchard); or his use of sources (Godden, Hill, Jones, Mann); or his preoccupations and convictions (Hollis, Meaney). That we are even able to contemplate asking these questions, or addressing these areas, is a testimony equally to the unusual 'knowability' of Wulfstan, and to the innovative traditions of Wulfstan scholarship.

This is the first collection of essays devoted to the figure of Wulfstan. As such, of course, it makes no claim, and has no desire, to be in any way the last word on the Archbishop. Rather, it testifies to the vibrant nature of Wulfstan studies at the present time, and hopes to serve as a stimulus to much further work in the future. Nor is this volume a synthetic work, aiming to present a unified view of a unified figure. On the contrary, different contributors emphasize different aspects of Wulfstan's thought and career, and clearly many contributors have formed different conceptions, and take different positions, on Wulfstan and his work. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that something of an integrated picture does emerge from the following essays, and one assumes that the credit for this should reside with Wulfstan himself. As a bishop and archbishop, Wulfstan performed many tasks and assumed many roles; hence the need for specialists from many disciplines to contribute if we are to understand his life and work. But Wulfstan's multiplicity of roles was underpinned by an integrity of vision; and hence the need for specialists to come together and talk to each other, as in this volume.

## Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-Builder

PATRICK WORMALD

My offering is flatteringly labelled a ‘Keynote Address’. That is just as well: not because it will offer anything very pioneering, let alone fundamental, but for just the opposite reason. This contribution will say little that has not been said before by myself — and indeed others, some present at this *Fest*. Merely to cast one’s eye down the list of contributors to our symposium and the aspects of Archbishop Wulfstan that they address is to form a strong and gladdening impression of the speed with which Wulfstan studies are now at last moving. Yet because this is a *keynote* address, it may be appropriate that I repeat or recycle those prior observations, for all the world like continental scholars at a Spoleto *Settimana*, contenting myself — even if not you — with adding a few reflections on where and how these fit into a wider picture of Wulfstan’s age in England and further afield. And, given the often extreme technicality of what I have so far written and have yet to write, it may be in my interests as much as yours that I do so. What I therefore have to offer is, first, a few introductory comments on the history of Wulfstan studies; merging into, second and as part of the explanation for this, the story of Wulfstan’s output and above all of its development — a factor hitherto underemphasized, if not wholly ignored, but my central theme; this then leading, third and concluding, to some meditations on the Archbishop’s role in the history of the English state as well as of English literature, which turns out to be more or less opposite to that it has played until very recently.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This essay thus draws so heavily on my *The Making of English Law*, chs 4.3–5, 5.7–8 and 9 (xvii–xx), and 6.3, and ‘Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society’ that reference is henceforth made to these only in special circumstances (Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), and Patrick Wormald, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society’, in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by David A. E. Pelteret (New York, 1999), pp. 191–224, and

The historiography of Wulfstan is very distinctive, and, for so crucial a figure, rather odd. For starters, we know extraordinarily little about him. It is itself striking and significant that, as an individual, he attracted no attention whatsoever before Wanley's amazing *Catalogus* of 1705. Wanley was the first, as so often, to notice that homilies in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 and 265 and London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i shared their style as well as provenance with the definitive and eponymous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, usually and surely correctly dated 1014, the date provided by the one strictly contemporary manuscript and the longest and most familiar of the three surviving versions. The author of all these texts he therefore, and of course rightly, identified with Archbishop Wulfstan II of York (1002–23)/Bishop Wulfstan I of Worcester (1002–16...), our hero, as opposed to (St) Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062–95), almost everyone else's. The next significant figure was Napier, who in 1883 collected everything, homily or quasi homily, that even might, on grounds of style and manuscript provenance, be attributable to our Wulfstan; but since he never published his promised commentary volume, we are left guessing what he thought correctly so attributed, and if so on *what* grounds. Then came Jost (1932–59 for these purposes), who refined the Wulfstan canon, and up to a point extended it into the field of law, secular and ecclesiastical. Wulfstanian law texts included the six later 'codes' of Æthelred II (1008–14) and the so-called *Canons of Edgar* (?pre-1008), but *not* the culminating code of Cnut, issued at Winchester in 1020/21; in the latter respect, he was eventually but well and truly routed by the redoubtable Dorothy Whitelock. Jost also edited the fundamental tract, *Institutes of Polity*, whose great importance, however, has yet to register with historians, or even scholars of English language and literature, again persuasively ascribing this to our Wulfstan. For her part, Whitelock made absolutely fundamental contributions to Wulfstan studies (1939–64) by crediting him convincingly with authorship of the so-called Peace of Edward and Guthrum, so ostensibly early-tenth-century but in fact a Wulfstan work, perhaps pre-1008, and, as I have already implied, with that of Cnut's great code. She was also one of two to spotlight the link between Wulfstan's laws, tracts, and homilies, and manuscript collections of law, penance, and liturgy which looked very much as if they were his main sources. Nero A.i and Corpus 201 and 265 were among such collections, and to them can be added Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190. The other was her contemporary counterpart, Professor Dorothy Bethurum, who simultaneously (1942) identified these manuscript groups, following a lead from Mary Bateson (1894–95) in baptizing them, I think regrettably, as 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace

---

also in Patrick Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51). I should add that I expand on some points in my contribution, 'Wulfstan (d. 1023)', in *The New Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Colin Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, forthcoming 2004). I am most grateful to fellow-contributors and members of our audience for insights shared with me, and in particular to my students, Stephen Baxter and Gareth Mann; but above all to Dr Matthew Townend and Dr Katy Cubitt for keeping faith with me through all the uncertainties attending this essay's appearance.

Book'. She not only became (1957) the authoritative editor of Wulfstan homilies for at least half a century, but also (1950) further expanded the range of the Wulfstan oeuvre by adding to it an important series of legalistic tracts on status and church sanctuary — found, unlike nearly all his other legal works, both in Wulfstan's collections, largely from Worcester, and in the major south-eastern law assemblages of the early twelfth century. Finally, and as the keystone in this arch of wholly justifiable hypothesis, Neil Ker abandoned twenty-five years of characteristic canniness to declare that an idiosyncratic script used for annotations, additions, and even a few whole texts in Wulfstan manuscripts was that of the Archbishop himself: he now and decisively dropped the word 'probably'.<sup>2</sup> So it is inconceivable that there could have been a whole *conference* devoted to Wulfstan in 1902, 1923, 1952, or even 1973, setting aside the point that in those days there were anyway rather fewer anniversary conferences. Yet his achievement can now be seen as warranting such an (appropriately) millennial celebration hardly less than King Alfred, who did get one (two years out) in 1901, and another of course three years ago.

So dramatic an exercise in historical reconstruction, however legitimate, was bound, scholars being scholars, to arouse resistance (where it did not meet with neglect, as almost throughout continental academia). The late great liturgist, Christopher Hohler, was contemptuous of such a house of cards: 'most of [Wulfstan's] life must [. . .] have been spent not in a library but in the saddle. He could easily have whiled away the time on horseback putting into rhythmical prose matter fed to him by a secretary.'<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Humfrey Wanley, *Antiquae Litteraturae Septentrionalis Liber Alter, seu Humphredi Wanleii Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant* [. . .] *Catalogus Historico-Criticus* (Oxford, 1705), pp. 141–43; *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, *Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*, 4 (Berlin, 1883); Karl Jost, 'Einige Wulfstan-texte und ihre Quellen', *Anglia*, 56 (1932), 265–315; *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, *Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten*, 47 (Bern, 1959); Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum', *English Historical Review*, 56 (1941), 1–21; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 24 (1942), 25–45; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *English Historical Review*, 63 (1948), 433–52; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 72–85; Dorothy Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 57 (1942), 916–29; Dorothy Bethurum, 'Six Anonymous Old English Codes', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 49 (1950), 449–63; *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957); Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31. See also note 1, above.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. by David Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 60–83, 217–27 (p. 225 n. 59).

However understandably, he was of course quite wrong (and perhaps I might now be permitted to add that, in a much cherished correspondence — typically handwritten on his part — he came closer than in any published work to accepting at any rate some of the premisses of what he liked to dismiss as ‘Wulfstanism’). I have my own disagreements with some of the orthodoxies established by the ‘two Dorothees’. In particular, I gravely doubt Whitelock’s admittedly cautious ascription to our Archbishop of the *Northumbrian Priests’ Law*, inclining to think it a work composed under his influence by one of his successors at York; or Bethurum’s view that he wrote the famous tracts on estate management, *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* and *Gerefa*, which I would think contemporary with Wulfstan, even slightly earlier, and thus reflecting some of the same trains of thought. We shall also see that I find fault with Bethurum’s conception of what constitutes a ‘homily’ and what does not: and I truly regret to say, though this is really a matter for the new edition we eagerly await from Professor Andy Orchard, that my now not inconsiderable experience of the manuscript materials has yet to give me so much as an inkling of upon what basis it was that she chose what to print and how to print it.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise, however, I aim to go quite a bit further than they. With all due respect to two great scholars (one of them *very* great), their Wulfstan is still pre-eminently that of 1014. Homilist above all; statesman, yes; Archbishop in Carolingian and sub-Carolingian style, yes too; but what, then, *was* eleventh-century statesmanship; what *were* the priorities of earlier eleventh-century prelates; and how far does Wulfstan fit into these moulds? He wrote or collected laws — as you do. He expounded basic Christian teachings from the pulpit or on parchment in vivid rhetorical style: any half-decent pastor would, wouldn’t he? Yet we shall see that Wulfstan’s output is paralleled by few if any continental contemporaries (unless one be Leo of Vercelli): itself a point of no slight significance.<sup>5</sup>

What little can be said of Wulfstan’s life does not go far beyond episcopal *Fasti*. He was Bishop of London 996–1002, Archbishop of York 1002–23, and Bishop of Worcester from 1002 until 1016 — ‘officially’ speaking: there are good reasons to think that he retained sway at Worcester till he died. As Whitelock showed, this double job was often given to men from the southern Danelaw, especially those with some Peterborough connection. Wulfstan probably was a Fenlander by origin. The evidence is that he was buried at Ely, while Peterborough felt grievance thereat; the latter’s claim may in fact be the more plausible in that it failed and was thus in retrospect

---

<sup>4</sup> For first steps towards a reconsideration, see Jonathan Wilcox, ‘The Dissemination of Wulfstan’s Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching’, in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 199–217.

<sup>5</sup> For Leo’s activities in support of Otto III, see Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, vol. II, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche* (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 90–93.



supererogatory.<sup>6</sup> In any event, noblemen with his name were associated with the interests of both houses, Ely's being none other than Wulfstan of Dalham, ally of Æthelwold and hammer of the 'clerks' at Winchester too. But there is strikingly little evidence that our Wulfstan was educated in the Æthelwoldian style, and not a lot that he was even a monk: perhaps he came from the pre-reform stage in one or other of these abbeys — in which case he should have been born by about 950, and would have been at least seventy when he died. We know of the Ely burial — and presumably about Peterborough's resentment — because Ely tried to establish a Wulfstan cult. Peterborough need not have worried: though his tomb survived the tender mercies of Henry VIII's commissioners, the cult was never of more than temporary and local significance. There are some details of this in the *Liber Eliensis* but no *vita*. Otherwise, I find just three Anglo-Saxon Chronicle annals, one (the 'F' text) noting his accession as Bishop of London, one ('C' and 'D' but not 'E') recording his presence at the dedication of Cnut's 'battle church' at Ashingdon in 1020 — when he may have preached Bethurum's Homily XVIII — and one ('E', whence 'F') reporting his death.<sup>7</sup> Together with two or three documents, one enabling the remarkable Dr Ann Williams to piece together a history of his family (but only in the Worcester area, and only after his death), these more or less constitute the sum total of our sources.<sup>8</sup> Contrast Ealdred, his successor but two, whose close links with the 'D' text of the Chronicle give us a number of useful incidental details; or indeed Abbot Ælfric, of whom we also know all too little, but whose Prefaces afford more news than we ever have of Wulfstan, and for whom Professor Clemoes was thus able to reconstruct a chronology.<sup>9</sup> Any chronology for Wulfstan's work rests only on yet more argued reconstruction, the premiss being that, like most aging men, he tended to become ever more loquacious over the years; and the evidence for even the dates supplied by a few manuscripts is contradictory either outright, as for the 1014 *Sermo Lupi*, or in its implication, as for the Enham law-code (1008?). By yet greater contrast, many continental bishops of much lesser prominence are documented quite thoroughly.

---

<sup>6</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by E. O. Blake, Camden Society, 3rd series, 92 (London, 1962), pp. 155–57 (ii.87); *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London, 1963), pp. 7–8; see further John Crook, this volume.

<sup>7</sup> *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, c. 500–1042, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979), pp. 236, 252–53.

<sup>8</sup> S 1384–85, 1459 (P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968)); Ann Williams, 'An Introduction to the Worcestershire Domesday', in *The Worcestershire Domesday*, ed. by Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1988), pp. 1–31 (pp. 25–26), and 'The Spoliation of Worcester', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1997), 383–408 (pp. 394–97, 403).

<sup>9</sup> Patrick Wormald, *How Do We Know so Much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?*, Deerhurst Lecture 1991 (Deerhurst, 1993), pp. 10–17; Peter Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 212–47.

Why should this be? First, there is of course the sheer dearth of adequate narratives of any sort before 1042 (the Æthelred Chronicle being exceptional in more ways than one). By the time the great English narrative tradition got going from c. 1100, *vitae* of (hyper)active bishops were going out of intellectual fashion — even Eadmer's *Life of Anselm*, extant in his very own hand, failed to circulate very widely. William of Malmesbury was the exception (as ever), and he may have been 'put off' telling us much about our Wulfstan, as opposed to the saint, by the poor reputation he had by then acquired at his see of Worcester, with which William had very close links.<sup>10</sup> There are really only three bishops 731–1066 of whom we know much: the heroic triumvirate of the 'Tenth-Century Reformation'.

Besides, Wulfstan intended his laws and homilies to be as generic, as general in application, as lacking in *specific* context, as possible. The Cnut code of 1018 is a case in point. Preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.iii ('Claudius Pontifical I') is a text in Latin and Old English versions that differ in content as well as language. Liebermann took it to be one more variant of Æthelred's Enham code ('1008').<sup>11</sup> But Whitelock showed that its closest relative was a text in Corpus 201 attributed to Cnut, and went on to argue compellingly that the latter was a version, perhaps a draft, of the 1018 'agreement' between English and Danes at Oxford.<sup>12</sup> The Claudius text was indeed close enough to the Enham code, its main source, to have misled Liebermann. But what counts for us is that there the spaces for the names of Æthelred and Wulfstan, its author, now identifying himself as never otherwise in laws, tracts, or homilies, were *left blank*. Only subsequently, perhaps when the text had served whatever purpose it had, were these filled in above the line, in a hand that turns out to be Wulfstan's own. It follows that Wulfstan left the blank deliberately, as if intending his draft to be adaptable, relevant, in those turbulent times. So also with VII Æthelred, the 'Penitential Edict'. For this, we have a Latin translation in the twelfth-century *Quadripartitus*, which says that it was issued at Bath. That text was clearly closely related to, but not the same as, the Old English version in Corpus 201, which says nothing of Bath, and *implies*, but does not state, that it is to be dated 1009. Now, there are two other very similar but far from identical texts, which, significantly, are printed by Napier as 'Homilien' (XXXV–XXXVI) but not

---

<sup>10</sup> See Stephen Baxter, this volume.

<sup>11</sup> V–VI Æthelred, in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16), I (1903), 236–59; the first comprehensive study of the Enham legislation was by Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 23 (Bern, 1950), pp. 13–44; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 332–35, gives my reasons for dissenting from his position, and also from the influential discussion of Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 278–87.

<sup>12</sup> See further A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 57–81.

Bethurum.<sup>13</sup> What we learn from these cases is that Wulfstan did draft laws at Enham in 1008 and at Bath in (probably) the following year; but that the *texts we have* — all of them for Enham, the vernacular version for Bath — have been adapted more than once for application at a later date. What Wulfstan had to say was *too* important to be pinned down to a historical context; and if there is a (partial) exception, it is the 1014 *Sermo*, where the context was part of the argument.

A second factor in Wulfstan's elusiveness is historians' attitude to 1016 as against 1066. This is partly a matter of that narrative dearth of which I spoke before, but mostly because 1066 had consequences — near-total displacement of the ruling class, change of governing language and cultural orientation — that 1016 did not. In fact, there were big shifts in 1016 too, if not outright Scandinavianization: new earls and thegns; an increased tendency for 'king's priests', who are generally more prominent, to become bishops, where since Edgar's time that office had been principally the preserve of monks; some effects on art, and perhaps language. Those, however, are outweighed for the Danish conquest by evident continuities, even if these have a somewhat paradoxical significance, as we shall see before we end. Above all, there is Cnut's law-code itself, Wulfstan's work for *his* Conqueror: this blurs the boundaries between the kingdoms of Æthelred and Cnut, in that Wulfstan drew heavily on the codes he had drafted for the former, as on earlier laws especially Edgar's. By contrast, the discontinuities of 1066 stand out like jagged rocks in the normally gentle surges of English historical development. Thus, the fundamental part Wulfstan played in *change* as well as extension for the English state 1016–21 is obscured by the far more palpable changes — envisaged till lately as a whole new beginning, and one by then overdue — that characterize 1066.

The third factor is the least obvious and most startling: it forms this essay's core. Wulfstan was, must have been, a late developer. By 1006 he would have been at least forty, given that he was made Bishop in 996 and the canonical age of ordination was thirty. Yet before 1006 there is no evidence whatever of his legislative activity. The key, if regrettably complex, argument here is that the (so-called) Peace of Edward and Guthrum and *Canons of Edgar*, which have some similarities and were perhaps intended as complementary treatments of law for laity and clergy respectively, seem to pre-date the code that Wulfstan drafted for Æthelred at Enham, which in one manuscript is dated 1008. On the other hand, the *Canons of Edgar* draw heavily on what were once called (after Henry Spelman) the 'Excerpts of Archbishop Egbert': a set of extracts from biblical, conciliar, patristic, and penitential literature.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> VII–VIIa Æthelred, in *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 260–62; *Wulfstan*, ed. by Napier, pp. 169–75; XXXIX, pp. 180–81, is Napier's printing of the text published by Liebermann as VIIa Æthelred. See originally Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 211–16.

<sup>14</sup> For this, see *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, ed. by Roger Fowler, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 266 (London, 1972), pp. xxxiv–xlv, esp. xli–xlii; for the text of Edward-Guthrum and some commentary, see *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to*

It has been known since the nineteenth century that they can have no connection with Archbishop Ecgberht of York (c. 732–66), Bede's correspondent. The assumption remained, however, that they were a source for Ælfric's Pastoral Letters of 1006. I have argued on a variety of grounds, no business for a 'Keynote Address' but, I humbly submit, having the more authority for having been postulated simultaneously yet independently by the much-missed Professor Jimmy Cross, that Wulfstan was in fact the *author* of the 'Egbertine Excerpts', just as he was the compiler of the only manuscripts where they appear. Their relationship with Ælfric's letters was that the latter were among their (i.e. Wulfstan's) *sources*.<sup>15</sup> If so, the *Canons of Edgar* and probably Edward-Guthrum can date no earlier than 1006. We may deduce that Wulfstan began his legislative campaign in his own dioceses 1006x8, and was on that basis selected (or sought selection) to draft and publicize the Enham decrees.

Wulfstanian chronology is a fraught affair. The Appendix below supplies a table, integrating my provisional reckonings for the dates of his legal or quasi-legal works with those proposed by Bethurum for what she considered 'Homilies'; the grounds for my calculations, essentially an application of the principle of increasing wordiness to passages clearly lifted one from another, will have to be set out elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> But what it amounts to is this. Wulfstan's earliest 'laws' are (with the partial exception of Edward-Guthrum) startlingly lacking in detail, notably in specified penalties: 'ȝ swicollice dæda ȝ laðlice unlaga ascunige man swyðe, þæt is: false gewihta ȝ woge gemeta [. . .] ȝ beo man georne ymbe friðes bote ȝ ymbe feos bote æghwar on earde' — which is a lot wordier than the same king's pre-Wulfstan pronouncement on the subject but actually says a lot less.<sup>17</sup> All Wulfstan's earlier laws are heavily homiletic, and, if not exclusively so, then certainly by comparison with previous

---

*the English Church*, vol. 1, AD 871–1204, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), 1, 302–12 (and see pp. 313–38 for the *Canons of Edgar*).

<sup>15</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 213–19; Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan', pp. 196–203; J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, 'Ælfric's Letters and the *Excerptiones Ecgberhti*', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Batley on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 5–13; *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, Anglo-Saxon Texts, 1 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 17–22.

<sup>16</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Laws', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, ed. by Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach (forthcoming). The Appendix order of homilies follows *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 101–04, together with some implications of Wilcox, 'Dissemination', and Malcolm Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130–62 (pp. 154–56).

<sup>17</sup> V Æthelred 24, 26.1 (*Gesetze*, ed. by Lieberman, 1, 242) / VI Æthelred 28.2, 31; III Æthelred 8–8.2; IV Æthelred 5–9.1. 'And let one very much shun deceitful deeds and loathsome abuses, that is false weights and measures [. . .] and let one be eager for the improvement of the peace and for the improvement of money everywhere in the country.'

codes. For this reason, I heartily agree with Professor Jonathan Wilcox, and with the implications of Napier's collection, that the range of Wulfstan's Homilies should be appreciably extended; and Bethurum's distinction between Homilies *toutes simples* and quasi-legislative texts like Napier XXIII–XXIV, XXXV–XXXVI, L, and LIX–LXI cannot stand.<sup>18</sup> The simple truth is that his earlier laws are heavily homiletic, and his later homilies are very like laws. The more juristic approach of the later series of homilies, almost wholly omitted by Bethurum, merely show how far the Archbishop was becoming embroiled in legalistic trains of thought.

Broadly speaking again, Professor Malcolm Godden, Dr Ken Lawson, and I have suggested that the reason for this is that events either side of 1000, in particular mounting Danish ascendancy, reactivated the millenarian convictions with which Wulfstan had burst upon the scene in homilies probably composed when he was still Bishop of London.<sup>19</sup> The priority was to fortify a Christian society to meet first its arch-enemy, Antichrist, and then its Maker, Christ himself in clouds descending. Wulfstan shared with his continental contemporaries, Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004) and Burchard of Worms (d. 1025) — whose canon collections were, it must be granted, considerably more sophisticated than his — the view that the emergencies of the time demanded more concentrated attention to the Law of God and His Church, the first principles on which the laws of kings were necessarily based. In this respect, there are interesting parallels (observed some time since by Professor James Campbell and Dr Lawson, but so far eluding Paris's distinguished Professor Dominique Barthélemy) with the 'Peace of God' movement in the contemporary French principalities.<sup>20</sup> Wulfstan's early legislation is part of the argument that there was after all a link between explicit millenarian belief and law-making of this type. The history of the English kingdom is, not for the only time, evidence that *has* to be taken into account by historians of western Europe at large.

A second phase is signalled by the next ascertainable date, 1014: the year not only of the great *Sermo Lupi* but also, according to the copy in Corpus 201, of the code known as VIII Æthelred. For reasons which, again, I shall not elaborate here, we can establish that this code post-dates Wulfstan's tracts on clerical status (*Hadbot*) and

---

<sup>18</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 36–41; Wilcox, 'Dissemination'.

<sup>19</sup> Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion', pp. 143–48; M. K. Lawson, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', *English Historical Review*, 107 (1992), 565–86 (pp. 572–78).

<sup>20</sup> James Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany in the Reign of Ethelred II: Some Comparisons and Connections', in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. by David Hill, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 255–70 (p. 257), repr. in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 191–207 (p. 194); Dominique Barthélemy, *L'An Mil et la Paix de Dieu* (Paris, 1999) — which has nothing to say of Wulfstan, or indeed England. Nor has Thomas Head and Richard Landes, *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY, 1992).

sanctuary (*Grið*), and that *Grið* in turn comes later than the ‘first edition’ of the *Institutes of Polity*. Wulfstan had been hard at work 1008–14, and it shows in new features of the texts he then produced. First, the legislative texts of the period replace the vaguer millenarianism of Enham and Bath with more obviously forceful proposals:

And gif æfre ænig man heonan forð Godes ciricgrið swa abrece, þæt he binnan ciricwagum mansleaga wurðe, þonne sy þæt botleas, 7 ehte his ælc þara þe Godes freond sy, buton þæt gewurðe, þæt he þanon ætberste 7 swa deope friðsocne gesece, þæt se cyningc him þurh þæt feores geunne, wið fulre bote ge wið God ge wið men. And þæt is þonne ærest, þæt he his agenne wer gesille þam cyninge 7 Christe 7 mid þam hine silfne inlagige to bote.<sup>21</sup>

Contrast Enham: ‘7 sy ælc cyrice on Godes griðe 7 on ðæs cynges 7 on ealles Cristenes folces.’<sup>22</sup> Second, *Grið* and VIII Æthelred show that Wulfstan had by then become familiar with earlier English legislation, extending as far back as Æthelberht, and was positively soaked in the laws of Edgar (which he saw no reason not to ‘improve’ on matters close to his own heart).<sup>23</sup> He was also aware of Carolingian legislation, and directly so rather than through the medium of collections like the ‘Egbertine Excerpts’. This included Charlemagne’s laws for the Church, assembled in Book I of the capitulary collection of Ansegisus, and the ‘episcopal capitularies’ of Ghaerbald of Liège, Theodulf of Orléans, and Radulf of Bourges.<sup>24</sup>

In short, Wulfstan had moved a long way in the half-dozen years since 1006x8. A particular point to note is the prominence in *Polity* of the concept of the Three Orders of a Christian society: those who pray, those who fight, those who work (on

---

<sup>21</sup> VIII Æthelred 1.1–2 (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 263). ‘And if ever henceforth any man so violates the sanctuary of God’s Church that he commits homicide within the church walls, that is then beyond compensation, and each of those who are friends of God is to be at enmity with him; unless it happens that he escape from there and reaches so important a sanctuary that the king grants him his life on that account, in return for full compensation both to God and to men. And namely he is to give his own wergeld [the price, literally, of his life] to the king and Christ, and with it buy for himself the right to make compensation.’

<sup>22</sup> V Æthelred 10.1 / VI Æthelred 13 (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 240, 250). ‘And every Church is to be under the protection of God and of the king and of all Christian people.’

<sup>23</sup> For example *Grið* 6–9, drawing on Æthelberht 1, 4, Wihtræd 2, Ine 6–6.1; VIII Æthelred 7–9, explicit quotation of II Edgar 3–3.1.

<sup>24</sup> Wulfstan’s text of Ansegisus I in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42 (Ker, ‘Handwriting’, pp. 328–30) is glossed with readings from his copy of the relevant part of the *Admonitio Generalis* in Corpus 265; for this and Wulfstan’s use of Ghaerbald, Theodulf, and Radulf, see Professor Hans Sauer’s terrific article, ‘Zur Überlieferung und Anlage von Erzbischof Wulfstans “Handbuch”’, *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 36 (1980), 341–84, esp. pp. 361–64; translated into English as ‘The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan’s “Commonplace Book”’, in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 339–93.

the land). Professor Duby made this notion familiar from works by Wulfstan's contemporaries, Bishops Gerard of Cambrai and Adalbero of Laon.<sup>25</sup> But it is *not* attested anywhere else in the West between its gestation in the late-ninth-century Schools of Auxerre and Rheims and its revival in the later twelfth century, which was in the first instance at the Angevin courts. Significantly so: for England was the one part of the West where the theme *was* relatively persistent. Given an initial flourish by King Alfred, it was taken up by Ælfric as well as Wulfstan and reappeared in writings of the *earlier* twelfth century. Moreover, Wulfstan made clear the relationship between this principle and the social changes of an ever more militarized society in the age of 'Feudal Revolution'. Two tracts in his collection on status took the view that military kit and expertise were beside the point in any claim to noble status. Nobility required five hides of land and/or service to the king — a surely significant modulation of what may have been an ancient, conceivably an 'Indo-European', property qualification.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, 'And þeah he geþeo, þæt he hæbbe helm 7 byrnan 7 golde fæted sweord, gif he þæt land nafað, he bið ceorl swa þeah'.<sup>27</sup> The collection opens with an explicit lament about the excessive social mobility of the times, precisely the point stressed by Gerard and Adalbero: 'Hwylum wæs, þæt leod 7 lagu for be geþingðum; 7 þa wæron þeodwitan wurðscipes wurðe, ælc be his mæðe'.<sup>28</sup> The whole point of the collection was thus to re-establish traditional social gradations. That was also the underlying purpose of *Institutes of Polity*, and their fracturing was of course another sign of grim times in the 1014 *Sermo*. If not exactly a Gospel principle, it was a strongly Pauline one. Wulfstan helped to make it more deeply ensconced, and earlier in England than on the continent: he supplies an important part of the evidence that English expositions were more continuous than Frankish, and may indeed have been the source of the concept's revival in Henry II's time.

We then come to the third phase of Wulfstan's development, that represented by Cnut's codes of 1018 (Oxford) and 1020/21 (I–II Cnut, Winchester), by (part of) Cnut's 1020 Letter to the English, and by the second edition(s) of the *Institutes of Polity*. Here there are three salient features. First is a yet further enhanced ecclesiastical element. The whole of I Cnut consists of a digest and refinement of Wulfstan's

<sup>25</sup> I *Institutes of Polity* §§24–34; Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1980). I discuss this with reference to the rich recent literature in *Making of English Law*, pp. 457–63.

<sup>26</sup> *Gepyncðu* 2–3, *Norðleoda laga* 9–10; cf. T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Kinship, Status and the Origins of the Hide', *Past and Present*, 56 (1972), 3–33 (pp. 18–21).

<sup>27</sup> *Norðleoda laga* 10 (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 460). 'Even if he prosper so that he possesses a helmet and a coat of mail and a gold-plated sword, if he has not the land, he is a *ceorl* all the same.'

<sup>28</sup> *Gepyncðu* 1 (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 456). 'Once it used to be that people and rights went by dignities and councillors of the people were then entitled to honour, each according to his rank.'

homiletic legislation 1008x14, but now with sanctions where relevant. It has counterparts in his later and more specific homiletic adjurations, like the three texts in the York Gospels, and in a yet more clericalized edition of *Polity*. Secondly, despite an apparent retreat towards exclusively clerical priorities in the 1018 code, the secular part of I–II Cnut goes way beyond anything previously written by the Archbishop on such crimes as *morð*, theft, and adultery, and on court machinery. Especially remarkable is a series of concessions to grievance, which Professor Pauline Stafford has made a good case for thinking Cnut’s ‘Coronation Charter’ — so presumably itself a ‘lift’ from something Wulfstan had composed nearer to 1016.<sup>29</sup> Similar promises are made by the 1020 letter, sent from Denmark so hardly drafted by Wulfstan, but certainly supplemented by him in its one extant copy, and in any case under his influence. Third, and therefore for this reason, we have yet more appeal to earlier English legislation. By my count, 82 of the code’s 305 ‘clauses’ (as in Liebermann’s edition) are from pre-Wulfstan laws, 147 from Wulfstan’s earlier codes, and 87 from his other writings.<sup>30</sup> This is thus an attempt both to re-emphasize what he had written — and preached — over the previous fifteen years, and to encapsulate, as it were codify, what he considered most important in laws stretching back to the seventh century.

Cnut’s Winchester code thus has two main objectives. The first was to promote reconciliation between Englishman and Dane, as in 1018: Scandinavian features, though scarcely prominent, are more evident than in any earlier laws except those made by Æthelred II at Wantage. The second was to make law less a response to the imminent termination of human existence by Antichrist and then the Lord Himself, and more a comprehensive and *practical* approach to society’s ills and misdemeanours — even if shot through by yet more ‘clerical’ thinking even than Wulfstan’s earlier codes. The clue to this approach — I shall say it again — is to be found in a famous passage from the final version of the 1014 *Sermo*:

An þeodwita wæs on Brytta tidum, Gildas hatte, se awrat be heora misdædum, hu hy mid heora synna swa oferlice swyþe God gegræmedan þæt he let æt nyhstan Engla here heora eard gewinnan ⁊ Brytta dugeþe fordon mid ealle. ⁊ þæt wæs geworden, þæs þe he sæde, þurh ricra reaflic ⁊ þurh gitsunge wohgestreona, þurh leode unlaga ⁊ þurh wohdomas [. . .] ⁊ wutan don swa us þearf is, warnian us be swilcan [. . .] ⁊ wið God sylfne þingian georne.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Pauline Stafford, ‘The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 10 (1982), 173–90.

<sup>30</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 356–60, tabulates sources of I–II Cnut, with discussion, pp. 355, 361–65.

<sup>31</sup> *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, pp. 65–66. ‘There was a councillor in the times of the Britons called Gildas. He wrote about their misdeeds, how with their sins they so excessively angered God that finally he let the army of the English conquer their land and utterly destroy the British Establishment. That happened, he said, through robbery by the powerful, and greed for ill-gotten gains, through lawlessness of the people and unjust judgements [. . .] Let us do as is needful, be warned by such events [. . .] and eagerly come to terms with God.’



Since the English were now sinning as the Britons of the sixth century had, they faced the same fate, and from just the same quarter: the far side of the North Sea. But amendment of life could restore their fortunes. Since 1008, Wulfstan had come to see that the English kingdom might survive and flourish again: *if* on the one hand it paid proper attention to what had earlier been decreed, and on the other took into full account the implications of Holy Writ. A holy society such as God required *must* learn from Scripture, and from what king and Church had previously commanded under its inspiration. On these terms, the English might have a new beginning.

My extended discussion of Wulfstan's intellectual growth has two main effects, and it is with these that I shall bring this address to its close. In the first place and to repeat, it does enable us to understand Wulfstan's weird historiography. Hohler's revolt against the emergent consensus is eminently understandable: it *is* hard to believe that someone aged forty-plus should have gone so far in a mere fifteen years of multiple preoccupation and acute crisis. We might, however, reflect on King Alfred's case: unable to read 'until his fortieth year' as I read his *vita*, and on any reading not at work on translating until late in his reign, when he was hardly less harassed by the Scandinavian assault of 893–96 than would Wulfstan be by the Danish conquest.<sup>32</sup> We might even feel some sympathy for continental neglect of Wulfstan, as in Duby's all too classic exposition of the Three Orders, and still more in the recent work on the impact of the millennium by his one-time pupil and now arch-critic, Professor Barthélemy. One can appreciate how any scholar might baulk at the thought of Wulfstan getting much beyond dictating homilies from horseback, and why Wulfstan the vernacular homilist should have so largely remained the bailiwick of Language and Literature specialists, while his laws have received far less attention from historians (let alone legal historians) than Æthelberht's. This in turn explains his absence from most German-language histories, as from almost all in French: apart from anything else, they nowadays tend not to be at home in Old English law as Liebermann once was. The point that needs making both to literary and legal historians is that Wulfstan's conjunction of homily and law was not a bastard progeny of a union of moral and jural genres better kept well apart. It was a wholly logical response to the position of Carolingian and sub-Carolingian bishops as God's good servants and the king's too. The surprise is only that Wulfstan was the one European bishop of his time to adopt this approach.

The second and much more important point is that we are thus able to set our archbishop more firmly into the history of the English state. I once more stress that 1016–18 was indeed a conquest with some drastic effects: for instance, direct taxation at its highest level for one and all until at least the 1290s; displacement or worse for most greater aristocrats — those killed furth of battle were, I think, more numerous than in the aftermath of 1066. At the same time, we can agree that it

---

<sup>32</sup> Argued in Patrick Wormald, 'Living with King Alfred', *Journal of the Haskins Society*, forthcoming, esp. 'Appendix B'.

involved altogether more continuity. Consider again comparison with Ealdred. He had many Wulfstan texts copied by his Worcester see, which he was the last to hold in plurality with York — until the New Papacy terminated the arrangement. One wonders whether Wulfstan might not have been Ealdred's role model after 1066. If so, one might then ponder what difference it might have made had Ealdred lived not for three years after his Conquest, but for seven like Wulfstan after *his*. Would there, for instance, have been a Northumbrian revolt in 1069–71, with all its almost apocalyptic consequences?

Furthermore, the Cnut code was of much greater importance *after 1066* than has almost ever been realized. It evidently continued to form the standard text of the 'Law of King Edward' until Henry II's time. It was three times translated into Latin, with more or less adaptation to current circumstances. It is also extant in its original vernacular in three largely independent collections, one immediately post-conquest and two twelfth-century.<sup>33</sup> It may be relevant that one Latin translation, that in *Quadripartitus*, and one Old English copy, from St Paul's, were each linked with a bishop who had previously held the job of chancellor.<sup>34</sup> If Cnut's code did not impress 'Glanvill', with its baleful declaration that the 'Law of England' was unwritten, it was certainly good enough for compilers of legal texts under Henry II's great uncle and grandfather. William of Malmesbury got it right, as so often, in explaining that the so-called 'Laws of King Edward', to which William I's 'Articles' and Henry I's 'Coronation Charter' both defer, were for the most part those of Cnut — which was to say Wulfstan.<sup>35</sup>

It is a nice irony that a figure whose magnificent 1014 *Sermo* has contributed more than any source bar the Chronicle to the image of Æthelred *Unræd*'s kingdom in defeat, dissolution, and despair, should in fact have done most to preserve its institutions and basic philosophy. The old view should be stood on its head. Wulfstan's legislative achievement, above all in 1020/21, facilitated not only the transition of 1016 but that of half a century later. Taking up a hint I dropped just now, we might say, in fact I would, that Archbishop Ealdred's awareness of the Wulfstanian precedent was a most important condition — alongside the far more familiar contributions of such as Abbot Æthelwig and *Saint* Wulfstan — to what continuity there was in the aftermath of England's Conquest. To a modern, indeed to a Glanvillian, eye (in so far as there is any difference), re-enactment of the law of God as issued by Cnut

---

<sup>33</sup> See John Hudson, 'Administration, Family and Perceptions of the Past in Late Twelfth-Century England: Richard fitz Nigel and the Dialogue of the Exchequer', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), pp. 75–98, esp. pp. 93–98; and now Bruce O'Brien, 'The *Instituta Cnuti* and the Translation of English Law', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 25 (2003), 177–97.

<sup>34</sup> I should certainly have made more of Archbishop Gerard's previous job in *Making of English Law*, pp. 471–73.

<sup>35</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998), I, 328–31 (ii.183).

and his predecessors might not seem the most obvious way to regenerate the English kingdom in its first great hours of crisis. But it was much as Charlemagne had done: his sonorous *Admonitio Generalis* (789) consists of largely vacuous exhortations, and this formed the opening section of Book I of Ansegisus's Capitulary Collection, which Wulfstan had copied and annotated in person. It was actually what statecraft from the later eighth century to the earlier eleventh was all about. And it is with this theme that I shall draw these concluding reflections together.

I have said it before, and will no doubt go on saying it into my dotage, always meeting a wall of disbelief built on the deeply laid creed that historians simply must not impute to the past the thought-world familiar to them. Still, it is a fact that the political structure and culture which came into existence some 1100 years ago is to all intents and purposes the one which the English still inhabit, making it just about the longest-lived organism in the history of human government — outlasted perhaps only by the Chinese Mandarinate. The least I can do is to find at any rate slightly different ways of saying this each time. So let me propose now that states are built by infusing an institutional structure to which a plurality of potential members subscribe — one, that is to say, which can reasonably be thought to embody communal as opposed to merely sectional interests — with an adhesive of generally shared traditions and so ideals. There were two ways in which the English state was peculiarly well-equipped to weather the traumas of its early years. In the first place, these transpired when it was as yet fairly young: the moulds of its institutional apparatus and political sentiment had not yet set rock-hard, to the extent that they would either rebuff change or be fractured by it. Second, the story of the English could be seen by its members to make a sort of sense. They had been given their land and their name by God, just like Israel, at the same time and as an outcome of being given access to His Word. When, like Israel, they betrayed their true Lord, they were likewise punished, and from the same eastern quarter as they had once sprung. Yet Israel had been given a second chance, returning wiser from the East to a Second Temple, just as Isaiah and Ezechiel promised they would. Was that the insight that Wulfstan derived from Gildas, the Britons' Jeremiah? Would he be Ezra to Cnut's Nehemiah?<sup>36</sup>

In any event, what the Cnut code did present was a reconstituted governmental system, suffused by a restatement of the ideology in whose name and to whose ends it was formed; it was exactly what a Carolingian state needed, every bit as much as any other. Which was just why that law enjoyed such prestige when God's English got a third chance, as Israel never had, after yet more drastic scourging by yet more Northmen. Then as now, its law was a central ingredient of a people's political persona. After both 1016 and 1066, Cnut's code assured the conquered that their institutions and identity lived on, whilst giving their conquerors a place in their history. Above all else, it was a more rigorous and comprehensive conspectus of the

---

<sup>36</sup> That Wulfstan was indeed thinking along these lines by the last phase of his career is suggested by Bethurum Homilies XI, XVIab, XIX, XXI; cf. Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion', pp. 154–56.

law to be distilled from concentrated study of the Law of God than even Charlemagne or Alfred had contrived: God's servants would be protected, offences against Him and His people punished, society ordered, sexual restraint enforced; and all through duly constituted structures. The Bible was a primer of statecraft long before attention switched to the Athenian polis or the Roman *res publica*. That the English kingdom was the sole Carolingian polity to come through what is known (not altogether helpfully) as the 'Feudal Era' owes much to the consummation of its legislative tradition by Wulfstan. Cnut's code was not only the last but also the supreme legislative achievement of the early Middle Ages.

I said that Wulfstan had few if any counterparts in contemporary Europe. There is indeed little eleventh-century legislation from other western regimes, and notably little from the German Reich, where what we do have is, as late as Barbarossa's time, almost exclusively Italian in genesis and provenance. We can usefully compare Wulfstan's activity in 'Church and State' with that of a near-contemporary, Archbishop Willigis of Mainz (975–1011). He is surely to be associated with the Mainz copy (c. 1000) of Servatus Lupus's massive collection of Carolingian laws and capitularies.<sup>37</sup> Imperial law could certainly be preserved in the Reich. It was not emulated. There seem to be two salient differences between the worlds of Willigis and Wulfstan. One is that while Mainz too had been a major Roman garrison town, its church had (or thought it had) a continuous corporate existence since the time of Constantine, where York's had been interrupted twice over; Willigis embodied a vested interest stronger even than that of the church of Northumbria's 'capital'. The second is that, however committed to his see, Wulfstan was also the spokesman and agent of a much more consistently effective regime: one whose machinery was more regular and elaborate, and whose sense of common political existence as 'English' extended deeper and wider than as yet did any consciousness of 'German' identity.

Wulfstan could indeed speak with one of the dominant voices of the sub-Carolingian era, that of the metropolitan archbishop, as we were reminded by Bethurum and by the grievously missed Tim Reuter.<sup>38</sup> That note is sounded at least twice in his oeuvre. *Grið* attaches to an archbishop privileges accorded by Kentish kings to mere bishops; and Wulfstan drafted a letter of protest against the papal requirement that metropolitans collect their pallium in person — a letter which appears in one of

---

<sup>37</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study*, 2 vols (London, 1991), II, 82–86; on the legal collection, see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 53–56, drawing gratefully on Hubert Mordek, 'Frühmittelalterliche Gesetzgeber und Iustitia in Miniaturen weltlicher Rechtshandschriften', *Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 42 (1995), 997–1052 (pp. 1030–32).

<sup>38</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 69–87; Timothy Reuter, 'Ein Europa der Bischöfe: Das Zeitalter Bischof Burchards von Worms', in *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Mainz, 2000), pp. 1–28.

Wulfstan's books, along with Alcuin correspondence sustaining his case.<sup>39</sup> This letter is best read less as an explicit critique of the papacy, however unreformed, than as foreshadowing, if in a York context somewhat paradoxically, the very distinct coolness with which Lanfranc of Canterbury would react to the overreaching claims of the appalling Gregory VII. Nor were metropolitical claims always in harmony with those of continental kings. If Willigis did the Ottonian Reich good service, Frederic, his recent predecessor, by and large did not. Lanfranc was to warn the Conqueror that if York's archbishops were given their head, they would in no time be anointing Danes or even Scots as kings.<sup>40</sup> But this was another Canterbury canard. When Northumbria exploded just twelve months before the Norman armada landed, its grievances were assuaged by the confirmation of the 'Laws of Cnut'.<sup>41</sup> There was nothing very Northumbrian about them, nor a lot that was Danish. This was, as it said it was, English law made for Englishmen by England's king. The fathers and/or grandfathers of the 1065 ringleaders must have known Wulfstan and had perhaps been his friends for more than two decades. That they were pacified by his great code could have been because he had helped to persuade them that the northerners' future lay with southern government. As, for better for worse, it still does.

Altogether, it was as if a churchman with at least a smattering of the canonical skills of a later Carolingian prelate were backed by the power of early Carolingian kings: Hincmar was conflated with Hildebald of Cologne. His work thereby provides both much of the evidence and part of the *explanation* for the ongoing viability of the early English state. The proposition is not to be qualified by twelfth- or twenty-first-century aversion to his supposed homiletic wafflings. Though you would hardly gather as much from the current crop of telehistories, Wulfstan, more than anyone bar Alfred and in a different way Bede, might fairly be called a designer of the world's most enduring polity.

---

<sup>39</sup> *Grið* 7, Æthelberht 1, 4; Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 241–48; and see Gareth Mann, this volume.

<sup>40</sup> Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066–1127*, ed. by Charles Johnson and others, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1990), pp. 4–5.

<sup>41</sup> *English Historical Documents*, vol. II, 1042–1189, ed. by David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway, 2nd edn (London, 1981), p. 142 ('D' and 'E', i.e. Ealdred, texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, s.a. 1065).

APPENDIX

*A Schematic Chronology of Wulfstan’s Works*

‘Homilies’	Social prescriptions	Legal tracts	Law-codes
996, Bishop of London			
Bethurum II–III Bethurum Iab, IV, V	Penance letters I–III		
1002, Archbishop of York, Bishop of Worcester			
Bethurum Xa, VI Bethurum VII–VIIa Bethurum VIIlab Bethurum Xbc Bethurum XIV–XV			
1005–06, Ælfric’s Pastoral Letters			
Bethurum VIIIc, IX Bethurum XIII Napier XXV  Napier XXXV– XXXVI Napier XXXVIII  Bethurum XI–XII, XVlab Bethurum XIX, XXI Napier LI Bethurum XX (‘B’)	Penance letter VIII I Institutes of Polity (‘D’)	I Canons of Edgar (‘D’)  Edward-Guthrum   Geþyncðu - Hadbot Grið	V–VI (Lat) Æthelred (1008) VII Æthelred (?1009) Napier XXXIX / VIIa Æthelred   VIII Æthelred (1014)

1014–16, Swein’s Conquest, Cnut’s Accession

Bethurum XX (‘CEI’)			V Æthelred (‘G <sup>1</sup> ’, ‘G <sup>2</sup> ’, ‘D’)
Napier XXVII Napier LII–LIII		II Canons of Edgar (‘X’)	
Napier L Bethurum XVII– XVIII	II Institutes of Polity (‘G <sup>1-2</sup> ’)		VI (OE) Æthelred, extended Cnut 1018
Napier LIX–LXI Napier XXIII–XXIV	II Institutes of Polity (‘X’)		Cnut 1020, extended  VI (OE) Æthelred, extant I–II Cnut





# Sound, Fury, and Signifiers; or Wulfstan's Language

RICHARD DANCE

In 1957, Dorothy Bethurum suggested that 'Wulfstan has suffered in modern times from unfavourable comparison with Ælfric, who is in some ways a more attractive figure', and recent trends in scholarship may still be said to bear this out.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, if we were to compare a bibliographical list of studies dealing mainly with Ælfric with a similar one for Wulfstan, the erstwhile Abbot of Eynsham would come out very substantially on top, and this is as true today as it was nearly fifty years ago, and as accurate in terms of linguistic studies as for any other focus.<sup>2</sup> The stylistic characterization of the rhetorical zealot (and enduring classroom stereotype) of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* inevitably looms large in any discussion of Wulfstan's oeuvre: with some notable exceptions, indeed, studies of his output have tended to be dominated by the oratorical effects of his prose 'voice' as linguistic medium, often to the exclusion (or at any rate sidelining) of attempts to draw together what we know about the constituent materials of his language and to investigate their mutually illuminating relationship with his context, aims, and activities. Albeit in a necessarily cursory way, these are the topics tackled below.

If nothing else, the time seems ripe for a new synthesis of what we know about this subject, since nothing very much has been done by way of a philological overview since Bethurum in 1957 and then Whitelock's revised *Sermo Lupi* introduction

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> For recent bibliographical information on Ælfric, see Aaron J. Kleist, 'An Annotated Bibliography of Ælfrician Studies: 1983–1996', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 503–52 (and esp. the subsection on 'Syntax and Phonology', pp. 518–24); this supplements Luke M. Reinsma's earlier *Ælfric: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1987), in which see pp. 135–51 for 'Syntax and Phonology'.

in 1976, and both of these are fairly brief accounts.<sup>3</sup> In the present essay, of course, space is lacking sufficient to do justice to all possible aspects of research in this area, or even to provide a thorough survey of what has been said already. Rather, and in common with several other chapters in this book, my aim is simply to sketch out the current state of play in the field; to highlight briefly what this (inevitably subjective) overview suggests are the most important features of Wulfstan's language to demand our attention, with an eye in particular on what these might tell us about his background and attitudes; and to pause over what seem to me to be the most interesting scholarly treatments and opportunities for further progress.

### *Wulfstan the Scribe*

It is traditional practice in philological discussions to start with orthography, and thence to extract some information about what we presume the phonological and morphological features of a writer's language were like, and this is my first port of call here. My main approach to Wulfstan's orthography will, however, be from an angle from which it has been viewed only rarely in the past. Most previous studies, that is, have dealt with Wulfstan vicariously through the language of his scribes, with particular emphasis on those thought to have been at work in the Worcester scriptorium,<sup>4</sup> while this approach gives us access to an undoubted range of material, however, it is not altogether clear to what extent the orthographic features we can thereby discover actually belong to Wulfstan himself. So, to begin with, it will be profitable to return to the horse's mouth (or, at least, to the wolf's paw), and see how much we can learn by examining those snatches of text written in the hand that has been identified as Wulfstan's own.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 49–54; *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, rev. edn (Exeter, 1976), pp. 37–45.

<sup>4</sup> See in particular the remarks by H. Dunkhase, *Die Sprache der Wulfstan'schen Homilien in Wulfgeats Handschriften* (Jena, 1906), pp. 73–75, and *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 50–53. The Worcester manuscripts of the homilies (with Bethurum's sigla) are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 (B); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (C); London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i (I); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (E); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (G) (the last two being those copied by the scribe Wulfgeat). For summary descriptions, see *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 1–6, from whose edition all citations from and references to these texts are made.

<sup>5</sup> Whitelock (*Sermo Lupi*, pp. 37–38) also (briefly) notes some of the linguistic features of this hand.

Ker identified Wulfstan's hand in a total of ten manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> I give below one of the longer stretches, from fol. 66<sup>v</sup> of Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°) (drawn from the diplomatic text printed by Ker).<sup>7</sup>

- Se þe þyses lytlan nele andgyt niman. ne truwie ic æt maran þæt he wille gyman  
swa swa he scolde his agenre þearfe. Ac do swa ic lære lufa god georne. 7 beseoh on  
þinre heortan gelome to his laran. þonne sceal þe spowan 7 þe bet limpan. for gode 7  
for worolde. gelyf gif þu wille;
- 5 Se þe bið of earde 7 feor of his cyððe. hu mæg he ham cuman gif he nele leornian.  
hu se weg licge þe lið to his cyððe;
- Hu mage we to hefenan rihtne weg aredian. buton we gewunian. þæt we oft spyrian.  
7 geornlice smeagean hu we magan ðyder cuman;
- Soð is þæt ic secge. gelyfe se þe wille. Se gefærð gesællice þe godcunde lare. oftost  
10 gehyreð 7 geornlicost gymeð. AMEN;

The linguistic features in this snatch of text appear uniformly to reflect a late West Saxon dialect.<sup>8</sup> The most significant may be summarized as follows:

---

<sup>6</sup> See Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31. For a fuller discussion justifying the attribution of the hand to Wulfstan, see Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by David A. E. Pelteret (New York, 1999), pp. 191–224 (pp. 192–94). The manuscripts in question are Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°); London, British Library, Additional 38651; London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.iii; London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv; London, British Library, Harley 55; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42; York, Minster Library, Additional 1. The hand is notable in several respects, not least of which being its failure to distinguish between the different forms usually considered appropriate for vernacular and Latin text (Ker, 'Handwriting', p. 316). Ker tactfully describes it elsewhere as 'not so much a professional as a scholar's hand' (N. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary: A Description of the Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. XIII', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. by R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 49–75 (p. 71)).

<sup>7</sup> Ker, 'Handwriting', p. 320. Translation: 'He who will not take notice of this small matter, I do not believe that he will heed his own needs in larger things as he ought. But do as I teach, love God eagerly and turn frequently to his teachings in your heart. Then you will prosper, and things will be better for you, before God and the world; believe if you want to. He who is out of his country and far from his friends, how can he come home if he will not learn how that way goes that goes to his friends? How can we discover the right way to heaven, unless we are accustomed often to ask and eagerly to enquire how we can come there? It is true what I say, let him believe it who wants. He travels blessedly who most often listens to and most eagerly heeds divine teaching. Amen.' On this passage see also Andy Orchard, this volume.

<sup>8</sup> The major Old English dialects referred to here and throughout are those as conventionally understood, the complexities concealed by these labels being silently assumed for the sake of convenience. For potted accounts of the evidence, see e.g. A. Campbell, *Old English*

1. <y> (/y:/) for the *i*-mutation of PGmc \*/u:/ (cf. SE <e>), for example, *lytlan* (1), *cyððe* (5, 6)<sup>9</sup>
2. <y> (/y:/) for the *i*-mutation of PGmc \*/au/ (cf. early WS <ie>, non-WS <e>), for example, *gyman* (1), *gelyfe* (9), *gehyreð* (10)<sup>10</sup>
3. <æ> (/æ:/) for the *i*-mutation of PGmc \*/ai/ (cf. SE <e>), for example, *lære* (2)<sup>11</sup>
4. 'palatal diphthongization' of PGmc \*/a/, for example, *sceal* (3) (cf. non-WS *scæl*, *scel*)<sup>12</sup>
5. <æ> (/æ/) as the unconditioned reflex of PGmc \*/a/ (cf. West Merc, SE <e>), for example, *mæg* (5), *gefærð* (9)<sup>13</sup>

There are other features that point in precisely the same direction elsewhere in the passages written in this hand.<sup>14</sup> In tandem with this observation, of course, we have to presume that it will be difficult on the basis of orthography to approach the vexed question of Wulfstan's geographical origins within England: by the late tenth century, forms of the late West Saxon written language (sometimes called 'Standard Old English' by modern scholars) were being used by writers across the country, and those working in major, cemented traditions like the prose homily or the law-code are rarely to be found using anything else.<sup>15</sup> It would naturally be useful (not to

---

*Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §§6–22; Richard M. Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English*, vol. 1, *Phonology* (Oxford, 1992), §§1.5–12. For a useful discussion of the complexities and methodological problems underlying any treatment of Old English dialectology, see Richard M. Hogg, 'On the Impossibility of Old English Dialectology', in *Luick Revisited: Papers Read at the Luick-Symposium at Schloß Liechtenstein, 15.–18.9.1985*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer in collaboration with Jacek Fisiak (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 183–203. Abbreviations used here are PGmc = Proto-Germanic; WS = West Saxon; LWS = Late West Saxon; Angl = Anglian; Merc = Mercian; Nhb = Northumbrian; SE = South-Eastern (aka Kentish).

<sup>9</sup> For standard discussion in English, see e.g. Campbell, *Grammar*, §§199, 288–90; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.75, 5.194–95.

<sup>10</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §200; Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.82.

<sup>11</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §§197, 288–90; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.79(1), 5.189–90.

<sup>12</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §185; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.49–50.

<sup>13</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §§131–33, 164–69, 288–90; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.10–15, 5.87–92, 5.189, 5.191.

<sup>14</sup> See the notes by Whitelock (*Sermo Lupi*, pp. 37–38).

<sup>15</sup> The late West Saxon *Schriftsprache* has been much discussed. A milestone is C. L. Wrenn, 'Standard Old English', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1933, 65–88. A brief recent account may be found in Donald Scragg, 'Standard Old English and the Study of English in the Eleventh Century', *Old English Newsletter*, 35.1 (2001), 24–26 (p. 24); the project here described by Scragg, and at the time of writing underway at the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, promises to add greatly to our understanding of the development of and variation within late West Saxon orthography and phonology by systematically cataloguing the forms used by eleventh-century copyists. For recent remarks on this variability, see e.g. Elaine Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins: The Uses of Old English Homi-

mention exciting) if one could isolate the odd spelling poking through this veneer that turned out to be redolent of some non-West Saxon dialect and thereby give us a clue as to Wulfstan's original home. There are indeed some inviting forms in the main Worcester manuscripts of his homilies, which include the occasional Anglian and even South-Eastern feature (and which therefore look particularly tempting given Wulfstan's associations on other grounds with East Anglia).<sup>16</sup> The most significant of these may be summarized as follows:<sup>17</sup>

1. Angl absence of 'breaking' of PGmc \*/a/ before /l/ plus consonant, as opposed to LWS <ea> (/æa/) (e.g. *waldend* (CEI), *galdra* (BCE))<sup>18</sup>
2. Non-WS <e> (/e:/) as opposed to WS <æ> (/æ:/) from WGmc \*/a:/ (e.g. *cwedon* (E), *forespecan* (BCEI))<sup>19</sup>
3. Non-WS <e> (/e:/) as opposed to LWS <y> (/y:/) as the *i*-mutation product of PGmc \*/au/ (e.g. *angytlest* (CE), *larleste* (CE), *nydbehefe* (E))<sup>20</sup>
4. Raised Merc/SE <e> (?/e/) as opposed to WS <æ> (/æ/) (e.g. *strece* (E), *unweran* (E))<sup>21</sup>
5. SE <e> (/e/) as opposed to Angl and WS <y> (/y/) as the *i*-mutation product of PGmc \*/u/ (e.g. *embe* (E), *æwbrecas* (CE), *wyrðmente* (E))<sup>22</sup>

letic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period', in *Beatus Vir: Essays in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. by A. N. Doane and K. Wolf (Kalamazoo, forthcoming), who cites Jeremy J. Smith, *An Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change* (London, 1996), p. 67; and Jeremy J. Smith, 'Standard Language in Early Middle English?', in *Placing Middle English in Context*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Terttu Nevalainen, Päivi Pahta, and Matti Rissanen, Topics in English Linguistics, 35 (Berlin, 2000), pp. 125–39 (p. 129), where 'classical' LWS is held up as an example of 'focused' rather than absolutely fixed 'standardized' usage.

<sup>16</sup> In particular his high reputation and burial at Ely (see John Crook, this volume). On what is known of Wulfstan's life, see the summary in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 54–68.

<sup>17</sup> Drawn from the list in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 50–53 (and see also Dunkhase, *Sprache*, pp. 73–75). Bethurum notes several further 'non-standard' features under this head, though most are less striking dialectally and less easy to localize. Some of these features are also noticed by Whitelock (though these do not appear on the list given above, with the exception of item 1), who remarks that their apparent frequency in a range of manuscripts of Wulfstan's works 'supports the impression that they were in his drafts or those of his secretaries' (*Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, pp. 38–43 (p. 39)); her comparisons with contemporary documents from York and Worcester fail, however, to provide any support for these forms' necessarily having originated at either centre.

<sup>18</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §143; Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.20. For the manuscript sigla, see note 4 above.

<sup>19</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §§127–29, 288–90; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§3.22–25, 5.189–90.

<sup>20</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §200; Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.82.

<sup>21</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §§131–33, 164–69, 288–90; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.10–15, 5.87–92, 5.189, 5.191.

<sup>22</sup> Campbell, *Grammar*, §§288–90; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.194–95.

There are unfortunately no signs of said features in the surviving instances of Wulfstan's own hand; and, in fact, since these forms appear equally in the spurious homilies in the relevant manuscripts, they look much more like evidence of a local scribal 'patois' in Worcester than as descending from Wulfstan's own usage.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, this is certainly not to say that we can learn nothing from examining Wulfstan's spellings. What we call 'late West Saxon' of course harbours a certain amount of orthographic latitude within it, and it is clear from an examination of the surviving output in his own hand that Wulfstan regularly employs a number of variants that mark him out from what we tend to think of as the 'purest', most 'standardized' sort of late West Saxon, that found especially in the best Ælfric manuscripts (which Hickes in 1705 famously called 'purus, suavis et regularis').<sup>24</sup> So, for instance, Wulfstan opts for *swyðe* and *hy*, both with <y> (though etymologically from different sources), whereas Ælfric much more often prefers <i> forms of these words;<sup>25</sup> and a number of other examples occur even within the short passage cited

<sup>23</sup> And see further *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 50, who cites the opinion to this effect of Max Förster, 'Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift', in *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. by F. Holthausen and H. Spies, *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, 50 (Halle, 1913), pp. 20–179 (pp. 32–35).

<sup>24</sup> 'Clear, charming and regular'; cited in Peter Clemoes, 'Ælfric', in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. by Eric Gerald Stanley (London, 1966), pp. 176–209 (pp. 179–80). The 'best' Ælfric manuscripts are those normally considered to be most closely connected with Ælfric himself, chief amongst which are Cambridge, University Library Gg.3.28 and London, British Library, Royal 7.C.xii (annotated in Ælfric's own hand). These form the base texts for the editions of the *Catholic Homilies* by Peter Clemoes (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 17 (Oxford, 1997)) and Malcolm Godden (*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 5 (London, 1979)); their orthographic forms may be searched using the glossary in the third volume of this edition (Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 18 (Oxford, 2000)). These two manuscripts also provide the starting point for the Manchester project on eleventh-century spellings described by Scragg ('Standard OE', esp. p. 25). For a discussion of the linguistic peculiarities of a variety of Ælfric manuscripts, see the survey in *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, 2 vols, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 259–60 (London, 1967–68), I, 177–85, who remarks of Ælfric's regularity in this regard (I, 179): 'with Ælfric, schooled in Winchester, whose homilies represented the late West Saxon dialect at its literary best and purest, faithfulness to the letter and regard for the conventions worked together to promote uniformity.'

<sup>25</sup> The <y> in *swyðe* represents rounding of earlier /i:/; that in *hy* corresponds to the sound spelt <ie> in early West Saxon, deriving in this case from /i-e/ with hiatus resolved (see Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.163–69). No examples occur in the passage cited above, but instances may be found elsewhere in the additions in Wulfstan's hand; see e.g. <swyðe> in the passage on fol. 120<sup>r</sup> of Nero A.i (Ker, 'Handwriting', p. 323), and <hy> in that on fol. 116<sup>r</sup> of Tiberius A.xiii

above, such as the variation between *-ian* and *-ean* in the weak verbal infinitive (line 8), the spelling of the preterite plural indicative inflexion (or the present plural indicative of preterite-present verbs) with *-an* (also in line 8) rather than with orthodox *-on*, and the vacillation between contracted and uncontracted forms of the present third person singular indicative (compare *geferð* in line 9 with *gehyreð* and *gymeð* in line 10), all of which are frequent in the main manuscript copies of Wulfstan's homilies as well.<sup>26</sup> A particularly striking case is the spelling of *hefenan* (line 7): forms of this word with a monograph <e> in their first syllable are certainly not unheard of elsewhere in the Old English corpus, but they constitute a very tiny minority next to the dominant <eo> variant (which is certainly that preferred by Ælfric);<sup>27</sup> it is therefore interesting to find Wulfstan using the <e> form, especially since most of the manuscript copies of his works prefer *eo* spellings.<sup>28</sup> As far as it is possible to tell from a cursory search, there are very few manuscripts that show an out-and-out preference for forms of 'heaven' with the single graph, though one of them, interestingly, is the Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20 copy of Alfred's *Pastoral Care*, which was certainly at Worcester in Wulfstan's day and which he certainly had his hands on.<sup>29</sup> This single spelling ought not, of course, to be claimed

---

(Ker, 'Handwriting', p. 326), as well as in the alterations to Hatton 20 discussed below. For Ælfric's preferences, see the glossary to Godden, *Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, which records only three instances of <hy> spellings (s.v. *he*, *heo*, *hit*, *hi*), and seven instances of <swyþe> forms (s.v. *swiþe*), next to hundreds of the dominant alternatives in <i>.

<sup>26</sup> Instances are numerous. Take as an example Homily V, 'Secundum Marcum' (*Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 134–41), which has e.g.: E *bregean* (infin., line 57) next to E *hefegian* (line 49); E *ahsadan*, C *axodan* (pret. pl. ind., line 8); EC *nealæcð* (pres. 3 sg. ind., line 41) next to EC *bregeð* (line 95); besides several examples of *swyðe* (e.g. E at line 15) and *hy* (e.g. E at line 75). On the variation between contracted and non-contracted forms of the second and third person singular present indicative of strong and weak class 1 verbs (and its possible dialectal implications), see further Campbell, *Grammar*, §§732–34; *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 53.

<sup>27</sup> No instances of <e> variants of this word are recorded s.vv. *heofen*, *heofon*, *heofonan* or any of its derivatives in the glossary in Godden, *Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, despite these words occurring a total of 660 times in the edited text of the *Catholic Homilies*. Historically, forms in <e> represent the variant without back mutation (on the relevant effects of which in the OE dialects, see Campbell, *Grammar*, §§205, 210; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.103, 5.105).

<sup>28</sup> A couple of <e> variants in Homilies XVII and XVIII may indicate that their originals had this form, though these spellings are to be found only in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 (F, the companion volume to E) and London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii (N); both date from the third quarter of the eleventh century according to Ker (N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), nos 331, 144). See *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, XVII.29 (N *hefenware*, E *heofonware*); XVIII.130 (NF *hefenlicre*).

<sup>29</sup> See below for a discussion of Wulfstan's activity in this manuscript. I have found a total of thirty-seven occurrences of *heofon* and its derivatives spelt with <e> in the text of the *Pastoral Care* in this manuscript, next to just one with <eo>; moreover, this form is printed

as evidence for some sort of particular or unusual link between Alfred and Wulfstan; more important than the attempt to tie down a specific tradition is the implication that Wulfstan, though we know he had contact with manuscripts exhibiting the Ælfrian brand of late West Saxon, and must have been quite used to its appearance, was not sufficiently impressed by it to want consistently to reproduce even quite obvious words in an Ælfrian spelling, and as a result comes out looking rather more variable and idiosyncratic.<sup>30</sup>

---

<he[o]fen-> by Sweet, the <o> apparently having been erased (*King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. by Henry Sweet, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 45, 50 (London, 1871–72; corrected reprint 1958), p. 85, line 8). The text of the *Pastoral Care* translation in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.xi, also printed by Sweet, has very similar leanings: in the portions of the text for which it is extant, it agrees with the Hatton preference for the <e> variant in all but two of the corresponding cases (the exceptions being at pp. 248, line 15, and 254, line 4, which have <eo>); moreover, Cotton records an <e> variant at p. 84, line 8, corresponding to the single instance of <eo> in Hatton. My data on these variants derive largely from a search for words containing the sequence <-hefen-> and <-hefon-> in the *Dictionary of Old English: Old English Corpus* (<http://ets.umd.umich.edu/cgi/oec>, hereafter OEC), ignoring forms that turned out to represent lexemes other than derivatives of the word for 'heaven'. Altogether, 206 instances of <e> variants were found; aside from the Hatton 20 *Pastoral Care* (CP), the other texts that demonstrated an obvious preference for <e> over <eo> variants were the glosses to the Psalter in Cambridge, University Library Ff.1.23 ('PsGIC(Wildhagen)'; a manuscript of the mid-eleventh century, according to Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 13), and the glosses to the Eadwine Psalter in Cambridge, Trinity College R.17.1 ('PsGLE(Harsley)'; of the mid-twelfth century, see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 91). These data must, for obvious reasons, be regarded as preliminary and tentative: though providing an extremely handy sampling, the coverage (and reliability) of the OEC is for these purposes only as good as the editions from which its texts were entered. Manuscript witnesses other than those chosen as base texts by editors and/or used as input by the OEC are unavailable to be searched at present, except by more old-fashioned means (the Cotton text of the *Pastoral Care* is one such, the results from which given above derive from my own comparison of the text printed by Sweet with the OEC data from Hatton). We are therefore still some distance from a complete picture of the variant spellings of OE *heofon* in the surviving manuscripts, and hence a context for Wulfstan's form; at least for the eleventh century, the ongoing Manchester spellings project (which is working with all extant sources; see Scragg, 'Standard OE') promises to help fill this sort of need, and its results are eagerly anticipated.

<sup>30</sup> Wulfstan's use of texts by Ælfric (mainly in his Homilies IX and XII and his version of Ælfric's Second Pastoral Letter) has been much discussed (and is reviewed by Malcolm Godden, this volume). For further discussion and comparisons of technique, see esp. *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 27, 32–33, 304–06, 333; Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 23 (Bern, 1950), esp. pp. 117–82; Angus McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 35 (1949), 109–42 (pp. 121–22); A. P. McD. Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 239–64; Don William Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds in Wulfstan's Sermons' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1995), pp. 62–71; Hiroshi Ogawa, 'Revised Syntax in Wulfstan's Rewritings of Ælfric's Prose', in *Eigogaku no Shiten: Aspects of English Linguistics, Essays Presented in Memory of Professor Saburo Ohye* (Fukuoka, 1989), pp. 3–17.



If one is trying to characterize Wulfstan's attitudes towards spelling and linguistic orthodoxy, then one certainly also needs to examine the work done by his hand in emending the prefatory letter to Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care* in Hatton 20, since this is sometimes held up as an example of his concern for linguistic niceties.<sup>31</sup> In order to illustrate the types of change that Wulfstan made to Alfred's work, I give below an excerpt from the text as found in this manuscript.<sup>32</sup> Wulfstan's corrections/additions are printed in **bold**; the original readings that these replace (where substitution is being made) may be found in [brackets]. The various changes are then summarized.

7 forðon ic ðe bebiode ðæt ðu do **swa** [swæ] ic geliefe ðæt ðu wille, ðæt ðu ðe ðissa  
 woruldðinga to ðæm geæmetige swæ ðu oftost mæge, ðæt ðu ðone wisdom ðe ðe God  
 sealde ðær ðær ðu hiene befæstan mæge, **georne** befæste. Geðenc hwelc witu us ða  
 becomon for ðisse worulde, ða ða we hit nohwæðer ne selfe ne lufodon ne eac oðrum  
 5 monnum ne lefdon: ðone naman anne we lufodon **ðæt** [ðætte] we Cristne wæren, 7  
 swiðe **feawa** [feawe] ða ðeawas. Ða ic ða ðis eall gemunde ða gemunde ic eac hu ic  
 geseah, ær ðæm ðe hit eall forhergod wære 7 forbærned, hu ða circean giond eall  
 Angelcynn stodon maðma 7 boca **gefylde** [gefylða] ond eac micel **menigeo** [mengeo]  
 Godes ðiowa 7 ða swiðe lytle fiorme ðara boca wiston, for ðæm ðe hie hiora nanwuht  
 10 ongiotan ne meahton 7 **þæt wæs** for ðæm ðe **hy** [hie] næron on hiora agen geðiode  
 awritene. Swelce hie **cwædon** [cwæden]: 'Ure **yldran** [ieldran], ða ðe ðas stowa ær  
 hioldon, hie lufodon wisdom 7 ðurh ðone hie begeaton welan 7 us læfdon. Her mon  
 mæg giet gesion hiora swæð, ac we him ne cunnon æfter spyrigean, 7 for ðæm we  
 habbað nu ægðer forlæten ge ðone wisdom, for ðæm ðe we noldon to  
 15 ðæm spore mid ure mode onlutan.' Ða ic ða ðis eall gemunde, ða wundrade ic swiðe  
 swiðe ðara godena wiotona ðe giu wæron giond Angelcynn, 7 ða bec **ealle** [ealla] be  
 fullan geliornod hæfdon, ðæt hie hiora ða nænne dæl noldon on hiora agen geðiode  
 wendan. Ac ic ða sona eft me selfum andwyrde 7 cwæð: 'Hie ne wendon **ðætt** [ðætte]  
 æfre menn sceolden **swa** [swæ] **receleas** [reccelease] weorðan 7 sio lar **swa** [swæ]  
 20 **swyðe** oðfeallan; for ðære wilnunga **hy** [hie] hit forleton, 7 woldon ðæt her ðy mara  
 wisdom on londe wære ðy we ma geðeoda cuðon.'<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See for instance Whitelock (*Sermo Lupi*, p. 38) who remarks: 'The corrections in CP [i.e. the Alfredian *Pastoral Care*] show that the writer [i.e. Wulfstan] set store by linguistic minutiae.'

<sup>32</sup> Hatton 20, fols 1<sup>r</sup>–1<sup>v</sup>. My text is based on the facsimile edition (*The Pastoral Care: King Alfred's Translation of Gregory's Regula Pastoralis*, ed. by N. R. Ker, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 6 (Copenhagen, 1956)), together with an examination of the original manuscript, and corresponds to that printed by Sweet, *Pastoral Care*, p. 5, lines 1–25. For the opportunity to view the manuscript, and for their generous help and advice, I am extremely grateful to Dr Martin Kauffmann and the staff of Duke Humfrey's Library in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>33</sup> Translation: 'And therefore I command that you do as I believe that you wish to, namely that you disengage yourself from these worldly concerns as often as you can, in order that you may **eagerly** apply the wisdom that God gave you wherever you can apply it. Think what

## CHANGES TO SENSE

1. Additions: *georne* (3), *ȝ þæt wæs* (10), *swyðe* (20)

## CHANGES TO MORPHOLOGY

2. *ðætte* altered to *ðæt* (5) or *ðætt* (18)
3. *cwæden* altered to *cwædon* (11)

## CHANGES TO ORTHOGRAPHY

4. *swæ* altered to *swa* (1, 19 (twice))
5. early WS <ie> altered to LWS <y>, viz. *hy* (10, 20), *ylðran* (11)
6. inflexional <a> (nom./acc. fem. pl.) altered to <e>, viz. *gefylde* (8), *ealle* (16)
7. *reccelease* altered to *recelease* (19)
8. *feawe* altered to *feawa* (6)
9. *mengeo* altered to *menigeo* (8)

Whatever may have been Wulfstan's ultimate purpose in making changes in this text, his alterations are extensive, and it is clear that he was reading Alfred's words carefully. Sometimes he is obviously emending the sense, and there are occasions elsewhere in the text where he seems to be correcting what he sees as errors in Alfred's argument;<sup>34</sup> in others (point 1), he seems to be trying to clarify the syntax, as with the addition of *ȝ þæt wæs* in line 10, or rendering the prose style more forceful by the addition of one of his trademark intensifying adverbs (*georne*, line 3;

---

sorts of punishments came upon us then in this world, when we neither loved it [i.e. learning] ourselves nor passed it on to other people: we loved only the name that we were Christians, and very few loved the practices. When I remembered all this, then I also remembered how I saw, before it had all been devastated and burned up, how the churches throughout England had stood filled with treasures and books and also a great multitude of God's servants, and those derived very little benefit from the books, because they could not understand anything in them, **and that was** because they were not written in their own language. It is as if they had said: "Our forebears, who held these places before, they loved wisdom, and through it they acquired wealth and passed it on to us. Here one can still see their trail, but we do not know how to follow after them, and for that reason we have now lost both the wealth and the wisdom, because we did not want to bend down to the trail with our minds." When I remembered all this, then I marvelled very greatly at those good, wise people who had formerly been throughout England, and had learned in full all those books, that they had not wanted then to turn any part of them into their own language. But then I immediately answered back to myself and said: "They did not expect that people should ever become so careless and teaching decline so **greatly**; because of that they deliberately neglected it [i.e. translation], and intended that there would be the greater wisdom in this country the more languages we knew."

<sup>34</sup> Thus, for instance, where Alfred describes the Greeks as translating into their own language *eac ealle oðre bec* ('also all other books'), Wulfstan's hand has crossed out *ealle* and inserted *mænige* (fol. 2<sup>r</sup>, line 1; *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Sweet, p. 7, line 2), so as to have the preface say that the Greeks translated 'many other books' (and correct what he presumably considered a factual error on Alfred's part). For a full list of Wulfstan's changes, see *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Ker, pp. 24–25.

swyðe, line 20).<sup>35</sup> The majority of the alterations, though, seem much more nit-picking and concern themselves with the nuts-and-bolts of the orthography: so, for instance, the presence of early West Saxon <ie> spellings seems particularly to have niggled Wulfstan, and he very often converts these to late West Saxon <y> (thus *hie* becomes *hy*, lines 10 and 20);<sup>36</sup> by a similar token, early West Saxon *swæ* becomes typical late West Saxon *swa* (lines 1, 19 (twice)), and unstressed <a> (nom./acc. fem. pl. ending of strong adjectives) is converted into <e> (lines 8 and 16);<sup>37</sup> and there are several others (items 2, 7, 8, 9), all of which are typical of Wulfstan's activity in the Preface as a whole. Could it be, then, that Wulfstan was more motivated by a desire for linguistic correctness for its own sake, more troubled by a sensitivity to what he saw as 'the wrong spelling', than we have been allowing until now?

So it might appear, until that is we turn from examining the forms that Wulfstan emended and look instead at the things he let stand. In order to illustrate this point, I give below the same passage of Alfred's Preface as printed above, but this time ignoring the changes made by Wulfstan's hand, and instead picking out in **bold** the words containing features alien to late West Saxon and which he left untouched; these features are then listed.<sup>38</sup>

ȝ forðon ic ðe **bebiode** ðæt ðu do swæ ic **geliefe** ðæt ðu wille, ðæt ðu ðe ðissa woruldðinga to ðæm geæmetige **swæ** ðu oftost mæge, ðæt ðu ðone wisdom ðe ðe God

<sup>35</sup> The alteration of *cwæden* to *cwædon* in line 11 (feature 3) may also affect the sense, if we interpret the change as deliberately turning a subjunctive into an indicative, and hence having the Preface state with less qualification than Alfred had originally intended that the following remark was indeed what the servants of God actually said, rather than just what they might have said.

<sup>36</sup> And elsewhere in the Preface. Another example of the same change is that of <hiersumedon> (possibly; the erased <ie> is now impossible to read, and Sweet in fact prints <hersumedon>) to <hyrsumedon> (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, line 6; *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Sweet, p. 3, line 6).

<sup>37</sup> Both changes are made repeatedly (though not thoroughly) throughout the Preface. In the case of the latter, Sweet erroneously prints <æ> as the original inflexional form in all instances, apparently having been misled by the way in which Wulfstan uses the back of the original scribe's <a> graphs to form his <e>, before erasing the now-redundant first portion of the <a> (as well as the two noticed above, this alteration has been made to the endings of *oðra Cristna* (fol. 2<sup>r</sup>, lines 3–4; *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Sweet, p. 7, line 5) and *suma* (fol. 2<sup>r</sup>, line 5; *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Sweet, p. 7, line 6). Ker identifies the change correctly as one of <a> to <e> (see *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Ker, pp. 24–25, and his note to the corrected 1958 reprint of Sweet's edition, p. xii\*), but misses the alteration of *ealla* to *ealle* recorded above (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, line 15), probably because in this case Wulfstan has neglected to erase the remaining <a> material, leaving a graph looking like an <æ> (but clearly not intended to be one).

<sup>38</sup> All these forms may fairly uncontroversially be regarded as 'dialectally alien' to late West Saxon orthographic practice, appearing rarely at best in manuscripts whose written dialect is so labelled (as opposed to the sorts of variation acceptable *within* the late West Saxon tradition and noted in Wulfstan's own hand above).

sealde ðær ðær ðu **hiene** befæstan mæge, befæste. Geðenc hwelc witu us ða becomon for ðisse worulde, ða ða we hit nohwæðer ne selfe ne lufodon ne eac oðrum **monnum**  
 5 ne **lefdon**: ðone naman anne we lufodon ðætte we Cristne wæren, 7 swiðe feawe ða ðeawas. Ða ic ða ðis eall gemunde ða gemunde ic eac hu ic geseah, ær ðæm ðe hit eall forhergod wære 7 forbærned, hu ða ciricean **giond** eall Angelcynn stodon maðma 7 boca gefylda ond eac micel mengeo Godes **ðiowa** 7 ða swiðe lytle **fiorme** ðara boca wiston, for ðæm ðe hie **hiora** nanwuht **ongiotan** ne meahton for ðæm ðe **hie** næron on  
 10 **hiora** agen **geðiode** awritene. Swelce **hie** cwæden: ‘Ure ieldran, ða ðe ðas stowa ær **hioldon**, **hie** lufodon wisdom 7 ðurh ðone **hie** begeaton welan 7 us læfdon. Her **mon** mæg **giet gesion hiora** swæð, ac we him ne cunnon æfter spyrigean, 7 for ðæm we habbað nu ægðer forlæten ge ðone welan ge ðone wisdom, for ðæm ðe we noldon to ðæm spore mid ure mode onlutan.’ Ða ic ða ðis eall gemunde, ða wundrade ic swiðe  
 15 swiðe ðara godena **wiotona** ðe giu wæron **giond** Angelcynn, 7 ða bec ealla be fullan **geliornod** hæfdon, ðæt **hie** hiora ða nænne dæl noldon on **hiora** agen **geðiode** wendan. Ac ic ða sona eft me selfum andwyrde 7 cwæð: ‘**Hie** ne wendon ðætte æfre menn sceolden swæ reccelease weorðan 7 **sio** lar swæ oðfeallan; for ðære wilnunga hie hit **forleton**, 7 woldon ðæt her ðy mara wisdom on **londe** wære ðy we ma geðeoda cuðon.’

10. <io> for LWS <eo>, e.g. *bebiode* (1), *giond* (7), etc.<sup>39</sup>

11. <o> before a nasal consonant for LWS <a>, e.g. *monnum* (4), *londe* (19), etc.<sup>40</sup>

12. ‘back mutation’ before an intervening <t>, viz. *wiotona* (15)<sup>41</sup>

13. <e> (/e:/) for WS <æ> (/æ:/) as the *i*-mutation product of PGmc \*/ai/, viz. *lefdon* (5)<sup>42</sup>

14. <æ> in *swæ* (2), for LWS *swa*<sup>43</sup>

15. <ie> for LWS <y> or <i>, e.g. *geliefe* (1), *hiene* (3), *hie* (9, 17), etc.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> In Wulfstan’s day, <io> spellings are a feature mainly of Nhb and (to some extent) SE texts; see e.g. Campbell, *Grammar*, §§293–97; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.155–62.

<sup>40</sup> In later OE, <o> forms are typical of Angl dialects; see e.g. Campbell, *Grammar*, §130; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.3–5.

<sup>41</sup> In later OE, found in non-WS only; see e.g. Campbell, *Grammar*, §§210, 212; Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.103. It is possible that <ongiotan> (9) should also be included under this head, though <io> for the back mutation of PGmc \*/e/ would be odd in early WS and the form is more likely simply a scribal slip for expected \*<ongietan>. This verb is however (and more predictably) recorded in later SE texts with <-giot-> (Campbell, *Grammar*, §210(3)), and it may have been acceptable to Wulfstan as such.

<sup>42</sup> A SE feature; see e.g. Campbell, *Grammar*, §§197, 288–90; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.79(1), 5.189–91.

<sup>43</sup> The consistent LWS *swa* seems to represent a form with a long vowel lengthened from an unstressed WGmc or early OE \*/swa/, as against Alfred’s *swæ* with /æ:/ from the fully stressed variant WGmc \*/swa:/ (see Campbell, *Grammar*, §125; Hogg, *Grammar*, §3.25 n. 3).

<sup>44</sup> <ie> is found only very rarely outside early WS; for the basics, see e.g. Campbell, *Grammar*, §§185, 200–201, 299–301; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.49–50, 5.53, 5.74, 5.82–84, 5.163.

Some of these features (14, 15) are things that Wulfstan has emended elsewhere in the passage (compare 4 and 5 above), and which therefore indicate a lack of consistency rather than of interest per se. The others, however, are forms that seem not to have bothered him at all, but which nevertheless are very much at odds with the system of the dialect in which he himself wrote. Feature 13 is, moreover, normally regarded as not West Saxon at all (either early or late), but Wulfstan is just as prepared to let it be. And this is without considering those words which would have remained perfectly respectable in late West Saxon, but which clash violently with the spellings of the same words in Wulfstan's own repertoire (compare Wulfstan's insertion of *swyðe* in line 20 of the first version of the passage above with Alfred's *swiðe* in line 5). Whatever else we can accuse Wulfstan of doing, he plainly could not be convicted of trying to turn Alfred's Preface into even passable late West Saxon. That such would have been possible (and seen by some near-contemporaries as desirable) may be gathered if one compares the Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76 version of the Old English *Gregory's Dialogues*, which consistently converts the early West Saxon of its original into a much more standardized late West Saxon form (including changes to the lexis);<sup>45</sup> but Wulfstan, so far as we can tell, does not seem to have been interested in this sort of thoroughgoing dialectal 'translation'.

A completely satisfying explanation for what Wulfstan was doing in Hatton 20 may therefore be elusive. But I would suggest that what those non-West Saxon features that he consistently fails to alter have in common is that, while they have no part in the contemporary *West Saxon* dialect, the phonological forms that they represent were all still frequent enough in the other dialects of English with which we can reasonably expect Wulfstan (as a bishop of London later posted to Anglian areas) to have been well acquainted: hence 12 would have been encountered generally outside of West Saxon, 11 generally in Anglian dialects, 13 in the South-East, and 10 particularly in Northumbria as well as the South-East.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, the forms

---

<sup>45</sup> The version of the *Dialogues* in this manuscript was copied in the first half of the eleventh century (see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 328). For discussion of its language, see David Yerkes, *The Two Versions of Gregory's Dialogues: An Old English Thesaurus*, Toronto Old English Series, 4 (Toronto, 1979); and on its connections with the 'Winchester group', Helmut Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 63–83 (pp. 80–81), Walter Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätmittelenglische Sprachgebrauch: Untersuchungen zur geographischen und zeitlichen Verbreitung altenglischer Synonyme* (Munich, 1987), pp. 146–49.

<sup>46</sup> See the notes to the various features, above. The same applies to the two other major instances of non-WS forms in the Preface unemended by Wulfstan, namely the <a> (rather than broken <ea>) before <ld> in <onwald> (*Pastoral Care*, ed. by Sweet, p. 3, line 5), which was mainly a feature of Angl dialects in late OE (see Campbell, *Grammar*, §143; Hogg, *Grammar*, §§5.15, 5.20); and the <e> (rather than LWS <y>) as the *i*-mutation product of PGmc \*/au/ in *anlepne* (*Pastoral Care*, ed. by Sweet, p. 3, line 17), a feature of non-WS generally (see Campbell, *Grammar*, §200; Hogg, *Grammar*, §5.82).

that he most consistently altered were vanishingly rare in his own day in any dialect: the digraph <ie> is only really widespread in early West Saxon, and by the eleventh century would have seemed archaic,<sup>47</sup> as almost certainly would the appearance of <a> as the nominative/accusative feminine plural ending of strong adjectives,<sup>48</sup> and the long vowel represented by <æ> was subject to an isolated change in *swæ* (probably owing to low-stress usage), making its etymological identity with the virtually universal late West Saxon *swa* far from transparent.<sup>49</sup> If Wulfstan's apparently 'linguistic' changes in Hatton 20 can be grouped together at all, then, I would suggest that they can be best understood as motivated by the same factors that caused him to want to emend Alfred's phrasing more widely, cleaning up the syntax or adding emphasis in key places, and indeed (according to Ker) adding to and modifying the punctuation:<sup>50</sup> these changes seem to reflect a desire for clarity, for comprehensibility, for the removal of forms that looked like impediments to understanding what the text was saying; linguistic forms not likely to cause any confusion were not altered, whether they conformed to the norms of the late West Saxon *Schriftsprache* or not.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> See the note to feature 15 above.

<sup>48</sup> Campbell claims (*Grammar*, §§586–87, 641) that the nom./acc. fem. pl. strong adj. ending follows the corresponding nominal inflexion and appears spelt usually with an <a> throughout WS, but this is not borne out by the evidence. In fact, and as noted by Richard M. Hogg ('Phonology and Morphology', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. 1, *The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. by Richard M. Hogg (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 67–167 (p. 140)) and Pope (*Homilies of Ælfric*, I, 184), the strong pl. adj. inflexions are rarely distinguished for gender in later OE (this includes WS, the best Ælfric manuscripts being no exception), with the fem. nom./acc. endings consistently appearing as <e>; the Alfredian <a> in this position would therefore be apt to be confused with the gen. pl., and would certainly be another obvious target for emendation by Wulfstan.

<sup>49</sup> See the note to feature 14 above.

<sup>50</sup> See *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Ker, p. 25.

<sup>51</sup> The changes of the sort listed under features 2, 7, 8, and 9 above are inevitably more difficult to fit into a model for Wulfstan's behaviour, since they seem to reflect dissatisfaction with the Hatton scribe's spelling of individual words. Nonetheless, it is perfectly possible that these also represent instances where Wulfstan considered the existing spelling awkward enough to provide a source for momentary confusion: his apparent dislike for the extended conjunction *þætte* chimes with its rarity in LWS prose more generally; spellings of *menigu* in later OE without a medial <i> are also certainly less common than those with, and forms of *receleas* with a single <c> are far more numerous than those with <cc>; equally, <feawa> occurs so frequently with <-a> in grammatical contexts such as this in LWS that one suspects it had come to be regarded as an indeclinable pronoun (on the model of *fela*) rather than as an adjectival form inflected for the nom. pl. masc. (in which case LWS <-e> would be expected), and a form in <-e> might thus have struck users of LWS as odd (and for a similar view, see *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, I, 184). Similar reasoning would appear to lie behind Wulfstan's other comparable corrections as listed by Ker (*Pastoral Care*, pp. 24–25), e.g. <ebrisc> to <ebreisc> (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, line 21; *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Sweet, p. 7, line 1), and more

As such, Wulfstan's work in this manuscript is not persuasively illustrative of a 'linguistic' sensibility at all: he did not make changes because he was worried about the appearance of correctness or uniformity, but because the meaning of the text itself was what bothered him, and this can lend his dabblings a very uneven appearance.<sup>52</sup> What is more, and crucially, the orthographic forms that he himself employed, and such categories as their dialectal localization, are ultimately (perhaps) less interesting to us in reaching conclusions about his habits than is our understanding of the use to which he *put* these forms, since it is this latter that brings us nearer to characterizing his objectives.

### *Words and Allegiances*

When we turn our attention to the other chief aspects of Wulfstan's linguistic usage (the most discussed of which have been vocabulary, word formation, and syntax), similar conclusions suggest themselves. Lexis and syntax are stomping grounds that have been much more thoroughly stomped over by scholars of Wulfstan than has orthography/phonology, and their popularity perhaps stems from the more obviously central place these areas may claim in the definition of Wulfstan's (oft-mentioned) idiosyncracies as a writer, and in the understanding of his style. Jost's 1950 *Wulfstanstudien* is a particular milestone in the nailing down of the Archbishop's own output as opposed to that of his contemporaries and imitators, and one of the tools used in this definition of the canon is an analysis of Wulfstan's lexical and syntactic usage.<sup>53</sup> A short list of words identified by Jost as typical of Wulfstan, in this case as opposed to the items favoured by Ælfric, is given in table 1 below; Jost also has an

---

obviously in the case of the change of <creacas> to the term for the Greeks that Wulfstan must have preferred, <greccas> (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, line 22; *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Sweet, p. 7, line 1).

<sup>52</sup> These dabblings are not entirely like any other single case of his interventions in the other manuscripts discussed by Ker, but his motivations (insofar as they can be reconstructed) and the resultant effects in these codices are in any case diverse. His Latin corrections in Hatton 42 (to a chapter of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*) are perhaps amongst the most comparable to his activities in Hatton 20; Ker ('Handwriting', p. 328) describes them as 'minor "improvements", aimed at making the text clearer'. Sporadic glossing and updating in order to clarify meaning in vernacular manuscripts is, of course, hardly a practice confined to Wulfstan; it seems to have been particularly prevalent amongst users of OE texts in the twelfth century and later, whose habits (in some ways comparable to the Archbishop's) are discussed by Treharne ('Reading from the Margins'), and which culminate notably in the activities of the 'Tremulous Hand' of Worcester (see in particular Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991)).

<sup>53</sup> Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, which represents the culmination of work begun in his earlier articles 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', *Anglia*, 47 (1923), 105–23, and 'Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen', *Anglia*, 56 (1932), 265–315.

interesting discussion of diagnostic features of Wulfstan's syntax, drawing partly on the earlier work of Mohrbutter, and the more important of these are also given below.<sup>54</sup> An unfortunate aspect of the history of Wulfstan scholarship, which may be noticed here, is that most of the pre-Jost studies (although Mohrbutter is an honourable exception) use Napier's edition of the homilies fairly uncritically, and hence do not distinguish between the genuine and spurious homilies;<sup>55</sup> this renders their conclusions about Wulfstan's own usage at best unreliable.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> For typical features of Wulfstan's lexis see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, esp. pp. 155–57, summarized by Bethurum (*Homilies*, p. 27) and Malcolm Godden, 'Literary Language', in *Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. 1, *The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. by Hogg, pp. 490–535 (pp. 531–32); Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', pp. 208–09; and also the discussion by Orchard, 'Crying Wolf', esp. pp. 242–43, based on a comparison of versions of the Lord's Prayer by Wulfstan and Ælfric. Shigeru Ono, 'The Vocabulary of Ælfric and Wulfstan', in *Old English Studies from Japan: 1941–81*, ed. by Tadao Kubouchi, William Schipper, and Hiroshi Ogawa, Old English Newsletter Subsidia, 14 (Binghamton, NY, 1985), pp. 75–88, has a useful summary of previous work on Wulfstan's vocabulary, including some of that discussed below. Other brief attempts on this subject not otherwise dealt with in detail below include those by Mabel Falberg Dobyns, 'Wulfstan's Vocabulary: A Glossary of the Homilies with Commentary' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1973), pp. 1–16, and Mabel D. Brown, 'A Study of the Vocabulary of Archbishop Wulfstan' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1952) (an investigation of the vocabulary in Homilies VI, VII, XX, and XXI, and in Napier LIX). On syntax, see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 157–58, with further discussion of specific features at pp. 158–68, and also the summary in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 53–54; A. Mohrbutter, *Darstellung der Syntax in den vier echten Predigten der ags. Erzbischofs Wulfstan* (Lübeck, 1885); A. J. Daniels, *Kasussyntax zu den (echten und unechten) Predigten Wulfstans* (Leiden, 1904); Dobyns, 'Wulfstan's Vocabulary', pp. 7–8; Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), esp. pp. 340–41, 354. For more thoroughgoing (and recent) remarks on Wulfstan's revision of Ælfric's syntax, see further Ogawa, 'Revised Syntax'. This and related topics dealing with Wulfstan's syntax, rhythm, and manuscript punctuation are also dealt with in several papers by Tadao Kubouchi reprinted in his *From Wulfstan to Richard Rolle: Papers Exploring the Continuity of English Prose* (Cambridge, 1999) (see esp. 'A Note on Prose Rhythm in Wulfstan's *De Falsis Deis* (sic)' (pp. 33–46), 'Manuscript Punctuation, Prose Rhythm and S . . . V Element Order in Late Old English Orally-Delivered Prose' (pp. 47–61) and 'The Decline of S.Noun O.V. Element Order: The Evidence from Punctuation in Some Transition-Period Manuscripts of Ælfric and Wulfstan' (pp. 97–108)).

<sup>55</sup> *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, 4 (Berlin, 1883).

<sup>56</sup> A particular caveat in this regard should be sounded in the case of Dodd's Glossary of the Homilies (Loring Holmes Dodd, *A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies*, Yale Studies in English, 35 (New York, 1908; repr. Hildesheim, 1968)), an otherwise respectable guide whose usefulness is now severely limited. Attention should be drawn instead to the apparently



**Table 1: Some lexical and syntactic features characteristic of Wulfstan**

## LEXIS

*Wulfstan prefers:*

dryhten  
 (ge)beorgan, (ge)mildsian  
 geberan  
 gearwian  
 lagu  
 gesælig  
 werian  
 gecnawan  
 gegenge  
 gifan  
 aginnan, onginnan  
 (ge)hyran  
 lac  
 namian  
 gesamnian  
 talian  
 (ge)þolian  
 geþuht beon  
 synn, misdæd, gewyrht

*over:*

hælend  
 arian  
 cennan, acennan  
 gearcian  
 æ  
 eadig  
 gescyldan  
 on-, to-cnawan  
 þreat, heap  
 forgifan  
 beginnan  
 gehyrsumian  
 onsægdness  
 hatan  
 (ge)gaderian  
 tellan  
 forberan  
 gesewen beon  
 gylt

‘lord, God’  
 ‘protect, spare’  
 ‘give birth to’  
 ‘prepare’  
 ‘law’  
 ‘blessed’  
 ‘defend’  
 ‘recognize’  
 ‘troop, host’  
 ‘give’  
 ‘begin’  
 ‘obey’  
 ‘sacrifice’  
 ‘call, name’  
 ‘gather’  
 ‘reckon, consider’  
 ‘endure’  
 ‘appear’  
 ‘sin, guilt’

## SYNTAX

Some usages common in Wulfstan’s writings:

- *agan to donne*, ‘have to do something’
- *bedælan*, ‘deprive’, with gen. rather than dat.
- *deofol*, ‘devil’, usually without an article
- *god ælmihtig*, ‘God Almighty’, rather than *ælmihtig god*, *se ælmihtiga God*, *se ælmihtiga*
- *awendan fram*, ‘leave, quit’, rather than *gewendan fram*
- *gewendan to*, ‘travel to’, rather than *awendan to*
- *geleafa on god*, *lufu to gode*, ‘belief in God, love for God’, rather than *godes geleafa*, *godes lufu*
- absence of dative absolute construction

Several of these preferences are well known and have been discussed elsewhere; note especially Wulfstan’s characteristic liking for *dryhten* rather than *hælend* and *lagu* rather than *æ*.<sup>57</sup> Certain items with an otherwise quite important standing in Old English are hardly to be found in Wulfstan’s works at all, most prominent amongst them perhaps being *gylt* (especially given the importance of its conceptual field to

---

little-used glossary to Bethurum’s edition by Dobyns (‘Wulfstan’s Vocabulary’), which deserves to be more widely known.

<sup>57</sup> On *dryhten*, see esp. Orchard, ‘Crying Wolf’, p. 245; on *lagu*, see further the notes on Norse-derived vocabulary below.

his writings).<sup>58</sup> This is something that testifies to the noticeably small size of his vocabulary: as I count, there are only just over two thousand different lexical items in the whole of the homilies as edited by Bethurum.<sup>59</sup> This fact, especially in combination with the highly repetitive nature of Wulfstan's usage in general (and this extends to the level of phrasing and beyond), has been discussed in an important article by Orchard.<sup>60</sup>

Most of the lexical studies mentioned so far are those that have dissected Wulfstan's usage in terms of its identifying features, but have been less concerned with the origins (dialectal or otherwise) of its constituents. If one turns to look at this issue, the conclusions that have been drawn are similar to those reached above via the examination of orthography. Hence, although early studies like those by Scherer and Rauh listed what they felt to be words proper to speakers of Anglian dialects (as opposed to West Saxon) in Wulfstan, these are amongst the investigations that included the spurious homilies in their corpus of data, and Menner in 1948 convincingly struck off all but a very small number of these Anglianisms (as either not convincing Anglianisms, or not occurring in texts convincingly attributable to Wulfstan). Those surviving, according to Menner, are *æswic* ('deceit'); *fracoð*, *fracod* ('insult, disgrace'); *morþor* ('murder, violence'); and *unwæstm* ('barrenness').<sup>61</sup> Only a couple more contenders have been added since, namely *egesa* ('fear') and *gyre* ('terror').<sup>62</sup> The vast majority of Wulfstan's words would therefore seem to be either common throughout Old English or to be West Saxon in distribution; what Menner calls the 'rather colourless Anglian element' can be attributed to the influence of earlier homilists or to the Archbishop's 'search for fine phrases', and a smattering of such words should by no means be considered unusual even amongst later West

---

<sup>58</sup> On Wulfstan's use of *gylt* and its derivatives, see further below.

<sup>59</sup> This figure is based on an examination of the glossary produced by Dobyns ('Wulfstan's Vocabulary').

<sup>60</sup> Orchard, 'Crying Wolf'; see esp. p. 246 for a list of some of Wulfstan's most frequently used words and phrases. Based on an electronically produced tally of separate 'forms' in the Homilies, Orchard estimates Wulfstan's 'active vocabulary' to be 'something less than 4,000 words' (p. 247, n. 23); my own figure given above suggests that even this estimate is very much on the high side.

<sup>61</sup> Günther Scherer, *Zur Geographie und Chronologie des angelsächsischen Wortschatzes im Anschluss an Bischof Waerferth's Übersetzung der 'Dialoge' Gregors* (Leipzig, 1928); Hildegard Rauh, *Der Wortschatz der altenglischen Uebersetzungen des Matthaeus-Evangeliums untersucht auf seine dialektische und zeitliche Gebundenheit* (Berlin, 1936); Robert J. Menner, 'Anglian and Saxon Elements in Wulfstan's Vocabulary', *Modern Language Notes*, 63 (1948), 1–9.

<sup>62</sup> See Hofstetter, *Winchester*, pp. 160–61. See further the remarks in Franz Wenisch, *Spezifisch anglisches Wortgut in den nordhumbrischen Interlinearglossierungen des Lukas-evangeliums*, *Anglistische Forschungen*, 132 (Heidelberg, 1979), pp. 102–03 (*æswic*), 184–89 (*morþor*), 204–05 (on the odd occurrence of *nænig* in Wulfstan, but which does not appear to have formed part of his own active vocabulary).

Saxon writers.<sup>63</sup> These conclusions have been borne out by more recent lexicological analyses like those by Schabram (on the word-field responding to Latin *superbia*) and Seebold (on *sapiens* and *prudens*).<sup>64</sup> As may be seen from table 2 below, in the lexicalization of these diagnostic word-fields Wulfstan consistently sides with the Alfredian West Saxon usage, as against the Anglian.

**Table 2: Words for *sapiens*, *prudens*, and *superbus* in Wulfstan and elsewhere**

	<i>sapiens</i>	<i>prudens</i>	<i>superbus</i>
<i>Wulfstan</i>	wis	wær (snotor)	ofermod (prut)
<i>Alfred</i>	wis	wær	ofermod
<i>Ælfric</i> (and ‘Winchester group’)	wis	snotor	modig
<i>Anglian</i>	snotor	snotor, gleaw, wis, hoga	oferhygdig

What is also manifest in these cases, and once again as we saw with the orthography, is that Wulfstan does not seem concerned to go along with Ælfric’s choices, at least as far as the *prudens* and *superbus* fields are concerned. In the case of the vocabulary, this is of course symptomatic of a much more important division amongst writers of later Old English. Since at least Gneuss’s work of 1972, that is, scholars have recognized that the vocabulary of a group of texts identified with the main well-springs of the Benedictine Reform in England exhibits a consistent set of lexical preferences that mark it out as something of a ‘movement’ when put next to other late Old English texts; Ælfric is a key player in this group, which Gneuss connected particularly with Æthelwold’s school at Winchester (Æthelwold’s translation of the Benedictine Rule employs an early form of this distinctive vocabulary).<sup>65</sup> The

<sup>63</sup> Menner, ‘Anglian and Saxon Elements’, pp. 7, 8. On Ælfric’s use of Angl words, see the remarks in Malcolm Godden, ‘Ælfric’s Changing Vocabulary’, *English Studies*, 61 (1980), 206–23 (p. 222); and on the apparent acceptability of Angl vocabulary in WS earlier in the tenth century, see Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 25 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 316–25.

<sup>64</sup> Hans Schabram, *Superbia: Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz*, vol. 1, *Die dialektale und zeitliche Verbreitung des Wortguts* (Munich, 1965), esp. pp. 93–99; Elmar Seebold, ‘Die ae. Entsprechungen von lat. *Sapiens* und *Prudens*: eine Untersuchung über die mundartliche Gliederung der ae. Literatur’, *Anglia*, 92 (1974), 291–333 (pp. 314–16).

<sup>65</sup> See Gneuss, ‘Origin of Standard OE’, whose list of texts is enlarged upon in the so-called ‘Benediktiner-Gruppe’ of Seebold (‘Die ae. Entsprechungen von lat. *Sapiens* und *Prudens*’, esp. p. 327). Other key studies are those by Schabram (*Superbia*) and Hofstetter (*Winchester*), and see further the useful summary in Dieter Kastovsky, ‘Semantics and Vocabulary’, in *Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. 1, *The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. by Hogg, pp. 290–408 (pp. 346–49), and also Ono, ‘Vocabulary’, pp. 79–84. To these should be added the more recent work by Gretsch (*Intellectual Foundations*), who traces the

most thorough analysis relevant here is that by Hofstetter, which examines thirteen different word-fields, and for a host of Old English texts establishes which of the words they use within those fields belong to type ‘A’ (typically ‘Winchester’ words), type ‘B’ (words used generally in Old English), and type ‘C’ (words typically *not* used by members of the Winchester group). Hofstetter’s tables for Wulfstan and Ælfric are reproduced below.<sup>66</sup>

**Table 3: Hofstetter’s figures for the ‘Winchester’ and other vocabulary of Wulfstan and Ælfric**

<i>Wulfstan</i>							
		A		B		C	
1.						fremde	17
2.				martirdom	1		
3.				dyrstignes	3	geþristlæcan	3
						geþristian	1
4.						(ge)gearwian	20
5.				ecclesia	6		
6.				mægen <sup>a</sup>	2		
7.						mægen <sup>b</sup>	1
8.				ege	46	egesa	10
				woruldege	1	gryre	7
						heortgryre	1
9.				rihtan	4		
				rihting	1		
11.	behreowsian	1				hreowsung	3
	behreowsung	1					
12.				prut	6	ofermod	13
13.				cynehelm <sup>a</sup>	4		
				helm	1		

development of these lexical choices to the intellectual context responsible for the OE glosses to the Royal Psalter (London, British Library, Royal 2.B.v) and also instrumental in the production of OE glosses to Aldhelm’s prose *De uirginitate*. That Winchester as the centre at which this lexical usage may have been codified should not be equated uncritically with the local dialectal origins either of the words it espouses or (perhaps more importantly) of the phonological features that lie behind the ‘Standard Old English’ orthographic preferences is reflected in Peter Kitson’s conclusions regarding the localization of Ælfric’s language (‘Geographical Variation in Old English Prepositions and the Location of Ælfric’s and Other Literary Dialects’, *English Studies*, 74 (1993), 1–50 (esp. pp. 24, 46–47)).

<sup>66</sup> Hofstetter, *Winchester*, pp. 157, 38. Conventions and symbols are retained from Hofstetter (for details, see his pp. 4–20): the left-hand sequence of numbers designates the lexical fields treated; superscript letters distinguish different senses of the same lexeme; vertical lines around lexemes (‘| |’) indicate that subderivations on the same stem are included in the figures; and the figures to the right of each lexeme give the number of occurrences. The table for Ælfric is also adapted and reproduced by Kastovsky, ‘Semantics and Vocabulary’, p. 348.

## Ælfric

	A		B		C	
1.	ælfremed	21			fremde	1
	geælfremed	2				
2.	cybere	41	martir	113		
			martirdom	53		
3.	gedyrstlæcan	17	dyrstignes	30		
4.	(ge)gearcian	121				
	gearcung	4				
5.	gelapung	223			cirice	3
6.	miht <sup>a</sup>	38	mægen <sup>a</sup>	40		
			heafodmægen <sup>a</sup>	1		
			heahmægen <sup>a</sup>	1		
7.	miht <sup>b</sup>	94			mægen <sup>b</sup>	2
8.	oga	37	broga	2	egesa	2
			ege	71	gryre	1
			fyrhto	25		
9.	(ge)rihtlæcan	57	(ge)rihtan	18		
	rihtlæcung	1	rihting	12		
10.	(ge)cwysan	1			forþræstan	1
	tobrytan	25				
	tocwysan	27				
	tocwysednes	1				
11.	behreowsian	109				
12.	modig	133	pryte	1	oferhygdig	1
					ofermod	3
13.	wuldorbeag	15	cynehelm <sup>a</sup>	25	cynehelm <sup>b</sup>	3
			helm	5		

The difference between these tables (especially when it comes to column ‘A’) is clearly overwhelming. To pick out a well-known example, word-field 5 represents the concept of ‘church’ in the sense of ‘a congregation of people’: the Winchester group is very keen to use the word *gelapung* (originally ‘a gathering, an assembly’) in this sense; Wulfstan, on the other hand, is obviously entirely immune to the attractions of this late Old English ‘buzz word’ and, when he is clearly making use of this concept at all, prefers the Latin word *ecclesia*.<sup>67</sup> Other preferences include some

<sup>67</sup> E.g. at Homily XVIII.69, 71, and see the notes in Hofstetter, *Winchester*, pp. 158–59. See also the remarks in Shigeru Ono, ‘Undergytan as a “Winchester” Word’, in *Linguistics Across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, in Honour of Jacek Fisiak*, vol. 1, *Linguistic Theory and Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek, Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs, 32 (Berlin, 1986), pp. 569–77 (pp. 574–75). Ono also examines the distribution of verbs formed on *-cnawan* beside *understandan* and *-gytan* in Wulfstan, Ælfric, and elsewhere (‘Vocabulary’, pp. 84–86) and again notes important differences between the usage of the Archbishop and that of the Abbot.

of those already highlighted by Jost, notably that for *gegearwian* over Ælfric's (and the Winchester group's) (*ge*)*gearcian* in the sense 'prepare, supply'.<sup>68</sup>

It might be felt, especially looking at table 2 above, that Wulfstan has something in common with Alfred in terms of his vocabulary, and this would be an intriguing conclusion, especially in the light of the interest we have observed Wulfstan taking in Alfred's Preface to the *Pastoral Care*. Nevertheless, it is in fact more sensible to interpret this table as illustrating Wulfstan aligning himself with general West Saxon usage outside that of the Winchester group, rather than with any one other specific writer or text; certainly, if we take (as a useful sample) Hofstetter's table for Wulfstan and compare it with his data for Alfred, we find that Wulfstan shares lexical field preferences with Alfred on nine occasions, but that this figure is hardly to be distinguished from those for Wulfstan's shared preferences with the Vercelli Homilies (eight occasions), or the Blickling Homilies (seven occasions).<sup>69</sup>

Hence, though his usage is once again definitely to be classified as 'late West Saxon' (as opposed to that of any other dialect), Wulfstan appears to be unimpressed by, or at least does not care to imitate, the choices espoused by Ælfric, Æthelwold, and their associates; and this is, if anything, clearer when it comes to vocabulary than in the case of orthography. In many ways this is not surprising: we tend fondly to characterize Wulfstan as a jobbing ecclesiastic up to his episcopal armpits in the pragmatics of sin, and imagine him most clearly dealing bluntly and busily with these concerns in his capacity as legislator and preacher; and, though this is a one-dimensional stereotype that underestimates his intellectual range and contribution, the authorial persona that it reflects, and the particular relationship with their audience that his texts espouse, certainly do not bespeak a writer to whom one would naturally attribute the desire to be associated with the sort of *recherché*, even cliquy usage of the Winchester group. In this connection, it may be interesting to note that Ælfric himself starts to jettison some of these words as his career progresses and moves in the direction of the perhaps more demotically accessible Wulfstan preferences, albeit only in a very few cases (notably *martir*).<sup>70</sup> And on a more mundane

---

<sup>68</sup> See above.

<sup>69</sup> See Hofstetter's tables for Alfred and the Vercelli and Blickling collections (*Winchester*, pp. 305–11, 168, 172), and Kastovsky's table for Alfred ('Semantics and Vocabulary', p. 347), which helpfully combines the results from Hofstetter's separate surveys of the OE *Pastoral Care*, *Boethius*, and *Soliloquies*. The shared preferences are as follows. Wulfstan and Alfred: fields 1 (preference for *fremde*), 2 (*martir*-), 3 (*brist*-), 4 ((*ge*)*gearwian*), 7 (*mægen*<sup>b</sup>), 8 (*ege*), 9 (*riht*-), 11 (*hreows*-), 12 (*ofermod*). Wulfstan and Vercelli: 1 (*fremde*), 3 (*brist*-), 4 ((*ge*)*gearwian*), 6 (*mægen*<sup>a</sup>), 7 (*mægen*<sup>b</sup>), 9 (*riht*-), 11 (*hreows*-), 12 (*ofermod*). Wulfstan and Blickling: 1 (*fremde*), 4 ((*ge*)*gearwian*), 6 (*mægen*<sup>a</sup>), 7 (*mægen*<sup>b</sup>), 8 (*ege*), 9 (*riht*-), 13 (*cynehelm*<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>70</sup> See Godden, 'Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary', esp. pp. 208–09, and further Ono, 'Vocabulary', pp. 87–88. On the relatively few and commonplace Latin-derived and -mediated items in Wulfstan's vocabulary, see the remarks in Dobyns, 'Wulfstan's Vocabulary', pp. 2–3.

level, there is nothing to say Wulfstan ever had much to do with Winchester itself or its immediate intellectual milieu. If his language does not show affinities with the scholarly culture of the Benedictine Revival and the South-West, however, can it be said to wear the colours of any other association? If there is any constituent part of Wulfstan's language that might be claimed to do this, then it is surely what Whitelock calls 'the rather large Scandinavian element' in his vocabulary, of which words Bethurum comments further: 'these are only to be expected of a man who addressed audiences in York'.<sup>71</sup>

It is undeniable that Wulfstan is a crucial figure in the early use and popularization of at least one Norse-derived word, namely Old English *lagu* ('law'); he is also notably fond of *grið* and *þræl* and their numerous derivatives.<sup>72</sup> Nonetheless, we should be very careful lest we overestimate either Wulfstan's own usage of Norse-derived words or his role in the introduction of originally Scandinavian items into English more widely. At the time of writing, no single, convenient list of Norse-derived words occurring in Wulfstan's texts exists; the following (table 4) is presented as a makeshift preliminary only, with items drawn uncritically from the usual authorities on Norse-derived vocabulary in Old English.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 44 (Whitelock continues: 'It is natural enough that an archbishop of York should adopt some of the vocabulary of the Scandinavianized North'); *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 54. Godden ('Literary Language', p. 532) makes a similar comment but also has other factors in mind; he describes this Norse-derived element as 'perhaps only a reflection of Wulfstan's greater contact with the north of England, through his office as Archbishop of York, but it suggests that he may have been somewhat more receptive [i.e. than Ælfric] to new words coming in through the colloquial language'.

<sup>72</sup> On the early history and semantic development of OE *lagu*, see in particular Andreas Fischer, 'Lexical Change in Late Old English: From *æ* to *lagu*', in *The History and the Dialects of English, Festschrift for Eduard Kolb*, ed. by Andreas Fischer, Anglistische Forschungen, 203 (Heidelberg, 1989), pp. 103–14; Godden, 'Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary', pp. 214–17. On *grið*, see further Christine E. Fell, 'Unfrið: An Approach to a Definition', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 21 (1982–83), 85–100; Philip Randall McKinney, 'To Munde Us Sylfum: A Semantic Study of the Old English Legal Terms for Protection' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1994), esp. pp. 82–105, 224–33.

<sup>73</sup> Thus Dietrich Hofmann, *Nordisch-Englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana, 14 (Copenhagen, 1955) (esp. §§204–05, 267–86, 310–16) and Hans Peters, 'Zum skandinavischen Lehnwort im Altenglischen', *Sprachwissenschaft*, 6 (1981), 85–124, from whom I have tried to extract all items of probable and possible Norse derivation listed by them as occurring in OE texts usually now regarded as Wulfstan's. On the Wulfstan canon, see the summaries in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 24–49; Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds', pp. 201–08; in the case of the legal corpus, I have however accepted Wormald's recent deletion from the canon of *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, *Gerefa*, and the *Northumbrian Priests' Law* (Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 330–66, 387–97; 'Holiness of Society', esp. pp. 208–13). I have included in the list in table 4 purely semantic loans (e.g. *eorl* in its new sense 'earl') and likely loan-translations (e.g. *drincelean*), but have not listed separately subderivations upon originally loaned stems (in the case of *lagu*

**Table 4: Preliminary list of Norse-derived words (and phrases) in Wulfstan's texts**

? <i>afol</i> , 'skill, power'	[cf. ON <i>afl</i> ]
<i>bonda</i> , 'householder'	[cf. ON <i>bóndi</i> ]
<i>cost</i> , 'manner, condition'	[cf. ON <i>kostr</i> ]
? <i>craftian</i> , 'implore, summon'	[cf. ON <i>krefja</i> ]
? <i>cwiddian</i> , <i>cweddian</i> , 'make a claim against'	[cf. ON <i>kveðja</i> ]
? <i>drincelean</i> , 'entertainment given by lord to tenants'	[cf. ON <i>drekku-laun</i> ]
<i>eorl</i> , 'regional governor'	[cf. ON <i>jarl</i> ]
? <i>fesian</i> , <i>tofesian</i> , 'drive, impel'	[cf. ON <i>*feysa</i> ]
? <i>forrædan of life</i> , 'kill treacherously'	[cf. ON <i>ráða af lífi, taka af lífi</i> ]
? <i>gegenge</i> , 'host, troop'	[cf. ON <i>gengi</i> ]
<i>grið</i> , etc., 'peace, sanctuary'	[cf. ON <i>grið</i> ]
<i>hamsoen</i> , 'offence of attacking a man in his own house'	[cf. ON <i>heimsókn</i> ]
? <i>hold</i> , 'land-holder (ranking below <i>eorl</i> )'	[cf. ON <i>hóldr</i> ]
<i>lagu</i> , etc., 'law'	[cf. ON <i>lög</i> , < <i>*lagu</i> ]
<i>lahbryce</i> , 'breach of the law'	[cf. ON <i>lögbrót</i> ]
<i>lahriht</i> , 'legal right'	[cf. ON <i>lögrett</i> ]
<i>lahslit</i> , 'fine for breach of the law'	[cf. OSw <i>laghslit</i> ]
<i>marc</i> , 'mark (coin)'	[cf. ON <i>mörk</i> ]
? <i>næm</i> , <i>nam</i> , '(legal) seizure'	[cf. ON <i>nám</i> ]
? <i>nydgylð</i> , 'exaction, tribute'	[cf. ON <i>nauðgjalð</i> ]
? <i>nydmage</i> , <i>nydmæg</i> , 'close kinsman'	[cf. ON <i>nauðleyti</i> ]
? <i>ora</i> , 'öre (coin)'	[cf. ON <i>aurar</i> ]
? <i>ran</i> , <i>ren</i> , 'robbery, plunder'	[cf. ON <i>rán</i> ]
<i>sehtan</i> , 'reconcile, make peace'	[cf. ON <i>sætta</i> , < <i>*saht-</i> ]
? <i>þegengylð</i> , 'legal monetary value of a thegn'	[cf. ON <i>þegn-gildi</i> ]
<i>þræl</i> , etc., 'slave'	[cf. ON <i>þræll</i> ]
? <i>unsac</i> , 'innocent'	[cf. ON <i>ósekr</i> ]
<i>utlah</i> , 'outlawed', <i>utlaga</i> , 'outlaw'	[cf. ON <i>útlagr</i> , <i>útlagi</i> ]

I have produced here the fullest list that seems to me possible, and it includes several dubious items (marked with a '?'), some of these being (in my opinion) extremely unsafe etymologically; but even so its length is not exactly enormous.<sup>74</sup> Moreover,

---

and *grið* in particular, these are numerous). See also the specific remarks on Wulfstan's vocabulary in *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, pp. 44–45; *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 54; and Dobyns, 'Wulfstan's Vocabulary', p. 3. Bethurum would also add OE *wicing* and *wælcyrle* but, as Peters ('Skandinavischen Lehnwort', pp. 122–23) points out, both words occur in much earlier OE texts and must certainly be regarded as native.

<sup>74</sup> This is not the place to venture into discussion of these etymologies. Moreover, at the time of writing Ms Sara Pons-Sanz is pursuing a thorough analysis of the Norse-derived material in Wulfstan's works as part of her doctoral research at the University of Cambridge, and further comment on this subject should await her conclusions. I am indebted to Ms Pons-Sanz for her advice in the drawing up of the list given above.



almost all the items listed relate either to a very specifically technical, legislative domain or would be most useful in a secular, administrative context. There is nothing at all here that could be said to point categorically (or even with a great deal of likelihood) to Wulfstan's attempting to endear himself to the sensibilities of a local Danelaw audience by appealing to what we might loosely call their 'everyday' vocabulary. This is especially interesting when we consider that there *are* Norse-derived words that belong to this wider, more 'basic' lexis elsewhere in the late Old English textual corpus: they are to be found not only in pieces like the obviously northern glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels, but also in the 'D' manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which (despite its probable northern connections) now seems likely to have been copied in eleventh-century Worcester and which (for instance) has the first recorded occurrence of *tacan* ('take').<sup>75</sup> Before we pronounce upon the influence of York language on Wulfstan's habits, we should of course also give due consideration to whether or not his use of Norse-derived words actually increases in those texts written as his acquaintance with the northern archbishopric grew stronger. This is a question which remains to be answered fully, but it is clear even from a very cursory examination that his 'favourite' Scandinavianisms (especially *lagu*) are widespread throughout his canon.<sup>76</sup> At least at the moment, I tend towards the opinion that the Norse-derived words that Wulfstan uses should be seen less as the result of any particular dialectal association or attempt at ethnic bonding, than as proper to the vocabulary of someone in touch with the niceties of turn-of-the-millennium legal and administrative culture, the boundaries between whose 'legal' and 'literary' activities were moreover porous to say the very least.

---

<sup>75</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.iv; see the edition *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. VI, *MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), esp. pp. lxxviii–lxxx on provenance, and also Patrick Wormald, *How Do We Know so Much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?*, Deerhurst Lecture 1991 (Deerhurst, 1993). Amongst others, D has the first English attestations of *feolaga* (1016, < ON *fēlagi*), *witter* (1067, < ON *vittr*), and *hytte* (1066, < ON *hitta*), beside *tacan* (1072, < ON *taka*). See the entries in Peters, 'Skandinavischen Lehnwort'; there is also a guide to Norse-derived words occurring only in D in Alarik Rynell, *The Rivalry of Scandinavian and Native Synonyms in Middle English, Especially Taken and Nimen (with an excursus on Nema and Taka in Old Scandinavian)*, *Lund Studies in English*, 13 (Lund, 1948), pp. 47–51. For some general points on the difficulties involved in making judgements as to a text's regional affiliations on the basis of its Norse-derived vocabulary, see my earlier remarks in 'The Battle of Maldon l. 91 and the Origins of Call: A Reconsideration', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 100 (1999), 143–54 (pp. 147–48).

<sup>76</sup> *Lagu* is found already, for instance, in Homily Ib (line 9), one of the group of eschatological homilies that Bethurum (*Homilies*, pp. 101–02) associates with Wulfstan's early career as Bishop of London.

### *Style, Sound, and Substance*

Once again, the *use* to which language is put proves to be key, and ultimately more important in understanding what makes Wulfstan tick than are the origins of the constituent parts of that language. The issue of *choice*, and hence necessarily the impact of such (often inscrutable) factors as method, intent, and style, is of course always crucial when it comes to the study of literary language, and is probably of especial import in the present case. If in this last section of my essay I step over the boundaries of a linguistic remit as narrowly defined, then it is in the full knowledge that the ostensibly 'linguistic' and 'literary' are in such instances hardly to be separated. A series of relatively recent studies of Wulfstan's diction and method have indeed deftly shown the truth of this and have as a result been able to define more successfully what our writer is 'about'. Particularly important in this connection is Orchard's 1992 article, in which he demonstrates that Wulfstan's relatively small vocabulary and highly repetitive diction are intimately tied up with his mode of composition, a formulaic, 'oral-traditional' style analogous to (though equally somewhat different from) that of Old English poetry;<sup>77</sup> amongst other things, this approach may fruitfully be considered in conjunction with what has been said above about Wulfstan's distance from the scholarly *literati* of the so-called Winchester group.<sup>78</sup> There have been other, recent attempts at defining Wulfstan's linguistic usage that have also shown a new interest in reckoning with intention and method: wearing his beliefs so very clearly on his sleeve, our Archbishop is in particular something of a sitting duck for scholars of speech-act theory; see in particular the work of Green, which traces the strategies of inclusiveness, intensification, and emphasis in the homilies, with some (perhaps) predictable but nonetheless useful results.<sup>79</sup>

Language is, it hardly needs saying, the medium for a message, and can be expected to respond somewhat to variations in the context and purpose of that message, with changes in its stylistic features and their concomitant linguistic choices. Even within what is, on the face of it, a repetitive and predictable system like Wulfstan's, this truism can be clearly borne out, and this is what emerges from Hollo-

---

<sup>77</sup> Orchard, 'Crying Wolf'. For a recent consideration of the 'oral' nature of Wulfstan's style, and its interaction with 'learned' culture, see Don W. Chapman, 'Germanic Tradition and Latin Learning in Wulfstan's Echoic Compounds', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 101 (2002), 1–18.

<sup>78</sup> In this connection, note Ogawa's examination of Wulfstan's syntax ('Revised Syntax', esp. pp. 13–14), which describes his usage as generally 'lower' or more 'colloquial' in style than that of Ælfric.

<sup>79</sup> Eugene Green, 'On Syntactic and Pragmatic Features of Speech Acts in Wulfstan's Homilies', in *Insights in Germanic Linguistics*, vol. 1, *Methodology in Transition*, ed. by Irmengard Rauch and Gerald F. Carr, Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs, 83 (Berlin, 1995), pp. 109–25.

well's study from 1977.<sup>80</sup> Hollowell takes as her starting point remarks by Bethurum on the differences between Wulfstan's more famous, 'grand' style and the 'plainer' passages which she describes as revealing that he had also mastered a form 'suitable for teaching'.<sup>81</sup> To aid in a necessarily (very) brief summary of these arguments, two typifying excerpts follow: (a) is a 'plain' passage from Homily II, (b) a famous bit of 'high style' hyperbole from the *Sermo Lupi*.

(a)

Leofan men, hit gewearð hwilum on ðære byrig þe is genamod Hierusalem, þæt ures Drihtnes þegnas agunnon specan wið hine ymbe þæt mære tempelgeweorc þe þær geworht wæs Gode to wyrðmynte. Þa sæde he heom þæt his sceolde weorðan æghwylc stan on uferan dagum grundlinga toworpen. And ða agunna hi hine eft acsian dihllice  
 5 hwænne þæt geweorðan sceolde, ⁊ eac be hwylcum tacne man agytan mihte hwænne eft his sylfes tocyme towerd wurde, ⁊ hwænne þisse worulde geendung weorðan scolde. Þa andwyrde he heom ⁊ cwæð þæt hy ðearfe ahtan þæt hi wære wurdan þæt hy ænig man to swicollice ne bepæhte mid leaslicre lare ⁊ mid egeslican gylpe.<sup>82</sup>

(b)

Her syndan þurh **synleawa**, swa hit þincan mæg, sare gelewede to manege on earde. Her syndan mannsлагan ⁊ mægslagan ⁊ **mæsserbanan** ⁊ **mynsterhatan**; ⁊ her syndan mansworan ⁊ **morpörwyrhtan**; ⁊ her syndan myltestran ⁊ **bearnmyrðran** ⁊ fule forlegene horingas manege; ⁊ her syndan wiccan ⁊ wælcyrian, ⁊ her syndan ryperas ⁊  
 5 reaferas ⁊ **worldstruder**as ⁊, hrædest is to cweþenne, mana ⁊ misdæda ungerim ealra. And þæs us ne scamað na, ac þæs us scamað swyþe þæt we bote aginnan swa swa bec tæcan, ⁊ þæt is gesyne on þysse earman forsyngodon þeode.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Ida Masters Hollowell, 'Linguistic Factors Underlying Style Levels in Four Homilies of Wulfstan', *Neophilologus*, 61 (1977), 287–96; this draws on her earlier 'Wulfstan's Style: A Linguistic Analysis' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1972), esp. the first two chapters.

<sup>81</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 89.

<sup>82</sup> II.28–39. Translation: 'Dear people, it happened once in that city which is called Jerusalem, that our Lord's servants began to speak with him concerning that famous temple-building that had been built there in honour of God. Then he said to them that every stone of it would be cast down to the earth in later days. And then they began again to ask him quietly when that would come about, and also concerning through what sign it might be perceived when his own coming again would be at hand, and when the end of this world should come about. Then he answered them and said that they had need that they become watchful, so that no one might trick them very deceitfully with false teaching and with terrible boasting.'

<sup>83</sup> XX(E, I).160–69; nominal compounds in bold occur only in Wulfstan's writings, on which see further below. Translation: 'Here, as it may appear, too many in this country are sorely injured through sinful injuries. Here there are murderers and kin-killers and priest-killers and church-haters; and here there are perjurers and doers of murders; and here there are prostitutes and child-murderers and many horrible adulterous fornicators; and here there are witches and sorceresses, and here there are robbers and plunderers and spoliators and, to say most briefly, a thoroughly countless number of wickednesses and evil deeds. And we are not

The differences between these two excerpts are both numerous and, for the most part, obvious. Though there is the odd figure of sound in passage (a), that is, there are clearly many more in (b), with numerous opportunities to admire what we think of as the archetypally Wulfstanian lectern-thumping impact of noun-heavy, list-like sequences. Hollowell also differentiates the syntactic structures of passages like these two: the plainer style consistently goes in for shorter clauses, but with much more subordination (and much more information content in its subordinate clauses), as befits its greater interest in explanation; the relatively 'high' style, by contrast, is all about forward movement, with much less syntactic complexity because much less new information — rather, its remit is to hammer home what has already been said by stressing and restressing the same ideas in new ways. As Hollowell succinctly says of the effect of clauses such as these, 'Any mental operations at work slide over them almost without becoming involved, and the clauses function largely as rhythmic units.'<sup>84</sup>

The effects of the differences in context and style upon linguistic choice are never very far to seek. One aspect of Wulfstan's usage that deserves more attention from this point of view is a comparison between his 'legal' and 'homiletic' texts. Of course, these 'types' of text are often very alike indeed, employing markedly similar styles and oftentimes reusing and sharing large chunks of material to the extent that drawing the boundary between them is not always a useful, let alone an easy, pastime; any difference between their linguistic preferences is thus never going to be immense.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, even a quick look reveals some differences in lexis, and this is not just confined to words with an obviously technical, legal remit. For example, we have already noticed the apparent restrictions in Wulfstan's vocabulary when it comes to general words describing sin, crime, or guilt. Even though one would think he would be grateful for all the variant expressions he could find in this field, that is, he hardly ever uses *gylt* at all in nominal constructs: I have found only two instances, both of which appear to be governed by stylistic constraints (in each case creating echoes upon forms of the verbs *agyltan* and *forgyltan*, which are slightly more common in Wulfstan's writings).<sup>86</sup> Another form that he steers very

---

ashamed by this at all, but we are greatly ashamed that we should begin the remedy as the books teach, and that is obvious in this wretched nation, destroyed by sin.'

<sup>84</sup> Hollowell, 'Linguistic Factors', p. 291; the excerpts from Homilies II and XX printed above are based on those quoted by Hollowell at pp. 290, 293. See further the remarks in Ogawa, 'Revised Syntax', esp. pp. 13–14.

<sup>85</sup> Discussion on this topic is plentiful; for recent remarks, see in particular Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 333, 339–41, and 'Holiness of Society', esp. pp. 203–06.

<sup>86</sup> 'forgyf us, Drihten, ure *gyltas*, swa we forgyfað þam ðe wið us *agyltað*' ('forgive us, Lord, our sins, as we forgive those who sin against us'; II Cnut 2a, a version of the Lord's Prayer); 'þe mid openan heafodgy~~l~~*tan* hy sylfe forgy~~l~~*tað*' ('who with open, deadly sins condemn themselves'; Homily XV.6). On echo using compound elements in Wulfstan, see further below.

much clear of in his homiletic works is *scyldig* ('guilty'). This stem is otherwise quite common amongst Old English prose writers, but Wulfstan is to be found employing it only once as a simplex in his Homilies (and then not in the main text), twice prefixed by *un-*, and once in the verbal form *forscyldgode*.<sup>87</sup> However, *scyldig* in its more specific, legalistic sense of 'guilty so as liable to forfeit' is much more frequent in the law-codes ascribed to Wulfstan: it is recorded fifteen times as a simplex and several more as the second element of the compounds *deapscyldig* ('condemned to death'), *emscyldig*, *efenscyldig* ('liable to the same penalty'), *feorhscyldig* ('condemned to lose one's life'), and *handscyldig* ('condemned to lose a hand').<sup>88</sup> The use of *scyldig* is moreover obviously conditioned by its conventional, formulaic function in set phrases like *weres scyldig*, 'liable to pay wergild', and *feores scyldig*, 'liable to forfeit one's life', which are found several times in earlier law-codes before Wulfstan adopts them.<sup>89</sup> This is a simple example, but context, register, and style plainly do play a part in prescribing lexical choice, even in a system apparently as tightly regulated as Wulfstan's; the options open to him and the factors conditioning them need to be examined more closely before we can fully claim to understand his vocabulary, and one would especially like to see more work comparing his habits with his expressly, technically legal as opposed to his 'homiletic' hat on.

Probably the clearest impact of the use of style on linguistic structures, however, comes in the realm of word formation, which is Wulfstan's most obviously inventive domain. His originality and idiosyncrasy in a passionate liking for certain compound formations, especially amongst nominal compounds, has long been appreciated; many have commented upon his coining of forms with *þeod-*, or *woruld-*, or *riht-* as their first elements, which are often interpreted as having generally intensifying functions rather than the specific semantic content we might expect of them elsewhere in Old English.<sup>90</sup> Another particular favourite is the prefix *un-*, very useful to a writer wishing to stress the *absence* of virtue as a litotic, perhaps even ironic subtext to the presence of wickedness (seen perhaps most clearly in formations like *unriht*, 'wrong,

<sup>87</sup> Thus *scyldig* ('guilty'), marginal translation of Xb (cf. *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 195n); *unscyldig* ('innocent'), XI.229, XX(E, I).80; *forscyldgode* ('condemned'), V.23.

<sup>88</sup> *Scyldig*: Edward-Guthrum 6.5, V Æthelred 28.1, 30, VI Æthelred 37, Cnut 1020 17, II Cnut 15.1, 15.1a, 15.2, 16, 57, 63, 69.2, 73.1, 76.1a, 83. *Deapscyldig*: Edward-Guthrum 5, II Cnut 44. *Emscyldig*, *efenscyldig*: Cnut 1020 12, II Cnut 76.2. *Feorhscyldig*: *Grið* 4, 13, 15. *Handscyldig*: *Grið* 13.1. References (from the OEC) are to *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16) by law (and section) number. As a simplex, *scyldig* is also recorded in a legal context in Napier L (OEC HomU40, line 178), a text not printed by Bethurum, but claimed by her (*Homilies*, p. 39) and Whitelock (*Sermo Lupi*, pp. 21–22) as a non-homiletic work also by Wulfstan.

<sup>89</sup> *Weres scyldig*: II Cnut 63, 69.2, 73.1, 83, Edward-Guthrum 6.5; II Æthelstan 3.1, 17, 20.8. *Feores scyldig*: V Æthelred 30, VI Æthelred 37, II Cnut 57; Alfred 1 4, 4.2, II Æthelstan 4, 6, VI Æthelstan 1.4, 1.5, III Æthelred 16.

<sup>90</sup> See e.g. *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 90; Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds', p. 7; Godden, 'Literary Language', p. 532.

absence of right'); Wulfstan uses over thirty different *un-* formations in the Homilies with more variety in their functions than merely that of straightforward negation.<sup>91</sup>

His adventures in compounding extend much further than this, though. In passage (b) above, I have picked out in bold type the nominal compounds occurring here that are unique to Wulfstan; even in this brief excerpt of seven lines, there are six of these (though of course he uses most of them several times in total). Chapman has demonstrated that this very high apparent degree of creativity relates in a great many cases directly to Wulfstan's liking for the two-stress 'echoing pair' as a fundamental syntactic and rhythmical unit in his texts.<sup>92</sup> Wulfstan is certainly not the only Old English writer to have a liking for such pairs, of course: they go back to the beginnings of English prose and must certainly have formed part of the stock devices of the spoken language (as pithy constructs like *bright and breezy* or *black and blue* still do), as well as likely being reinforced by certain aspects of the Latinate rhetorical tradition.<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, Wulfstan seems especially keen on these pairings, and moreover a large number of them utilize compounds to supply part of the echo, whether lexical or just phonetic, whether on another compound or on a simplex; as Tupper has demonstrated, there are nearly twice as many such echoing compounds in Wulfstan's prose as there are in the works of Ælfric or in the Blickling Homilies.<sup>94</sup> One of the main reasons for the frequent use of compounds in these phrasal pairs is, as Chapman explains, because they provide a wealth of extra possibilities in the search for echoes that simplexes cannot provide: one can echo identical first

---

<sup>91</sup> Hence the negative use, e.g. *unhæl* ('unwhole'); an intensifying use, e.g. *unwrenc* ('evil design'); and a pejorative use, e.g. *unweder* ('bad weather'). See e.g. Dobyns, 'Wulfstan's Vocabulary', p. 6; Orchard, 'Crying Wolf', pp. 245, 249; Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds', pp. 7–8.

<sup>92</sup> These 'echoing pairs' are normally two words linked by 'and', and which alliterate, rhyme, or show an echo of their lexical (stem) material. See Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds', esp. pp. 45–57, 123–29.

<sup>93</sup> On the widespread occurrence of such collocative pairs especially in the Mercian tradition, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Prose of Alfred's Reign', in *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. by Stanley, pp. 67–103 (p. 78); the presence of this effect (amongst others) in legal codes is also noted by Dorothy Bethurum, 'Stylistic Features of the Old English Laws', *Modern Language Review*, 27 (1932), 263–79, though see also Mary P. Richards, 'Elements of a Written Standard in the Old English Laws', in *Standardizing English: Essays in the History of Language Change in Honor of John Hurt Fisher*, ed. by Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., Tennessee Studies in Literature, 31 (Knoxville, 1989), pp. 1–22 (pp. 11–12); and on this feature in general terms, see Godden, 'Literary Language', esp. p. 524. On the echo specifically of compound elements, see Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds', esp. pp. 8–15, and pp. 123–29 on their formulaic nature, and further Chapman, 'Germanic Tradition and Latin Learning', esp. pp. 2–3, and works there cited.

<sup>94</sup> James Waddell Tupper, *Tropes and Figures in Anglo-Saxon Prose* (Baltimore, 1897), p. 38; cited in Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds', p. 13. On Wulfstan's liking for echoic pairs in general, see also Orchard, 'Crying Wolf', pp. 245, 248–49.

elements in different compounds, identical second elements, or first elements with second.<sup>95</sup> The other great advantage is that the words so formed are usually very easy to analyse, their senses transparent as long as their elements are familiar, which is certainly not so in the case of the alternative option, the importation of a new stem (which may also less readily form part of the natural sequence of ideas in a passage). The usefulness that Wulfstan found in these formations may be seen in his apparently ready generation of new compounds in order to fit echoing contexts; these contexts themselves can often be regarded as formulaic, able to vary their elements within recognized patterns in a way analogous to the ‘formulaic systems’ of Old English poetry, which explains why several of these original compounds often look very similar to one another.<sup>96</sup> Table 5 contains Chapman’s list of compounds that are unique to Wulfstan and that occur in these echoing contexts; and of course there are others that one could add which just do not echo so obviously, but which are also unique to him.<sup>97</sup>

**Table 5: Nominal compounds in ‘echoing pairs’ in Wulfstan’s Homilies that are unique to him**

ælmesgyfu	fæstenbrycas	loflac	stuntwyrde	wodfræca
ælmesriht	felawyrde	luðerfulle	synleawa	wodscinn
aðbricas	freolsbrycas	manswican	tempelgeweorc	wohdomas
bealubendum	freoriht	mansylene	þeodfeond	wordlogan
bearnmyrðran	gearfæce	mæggræsas	þeodlicetere	woruldafelum
cyricgemanan	hadbricas	mæsserbanan	þrælriht	woruldsnotera
cyrichatan	hocorwyrde	modstaðolnysse	unlara	
cyricmærsunge	læsborenan	mynsterhatan	unweoda	
efenmihtig	lahbricas	notgeorn	wærsagol	
eorðwered	leohtgescota	siblegeru	wedbrycas	

<sup>95</sup> Chapman, ‘Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds’, esp. pp. 79–122, 209–13; and see also his ‘Pragmatics of Analyzing Compounds in Wulfstan’s Sermons’, in *The Twenty-Third LACUS Forum*, ed. by Alan K. Melby (Chapel Hill, NC, 1997), pp. 575–84; ‘Motivations for Producing and Analyzing Compounds in Wulfstan’s Sermons’, in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics* (1996), ed. by Jacek Fisiak and Marcin Krygier, Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs, 112 (Berlin, 1998), pp. 15–21; and ‘Germanic Tradition and Latin Learning’.

<sup>96</sup> Chapman, ‘Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds’, esp. pp. 123–56. As an example of these formulaic systems, note the various permutations of phrases involving any two or more compounds formed on *mann-* (‘man, person’), *man-* (‘crime, sin’), *morþ(or)-* (‘murder’), and sometimes also *mæg-* (‘kin’) which recur especially frequently in Wulfstan’s writings: e.g. *mansworan 7 morðwyrhtan* (‘evil-swearers and murder-workers’; Homily VII.130); *man-slagan 7 [ . . . ] mansworan* (‘man-slayers and evil-swearers’; Homily XIII.93); *mægslagan 7 morðslagan 7 mansworan* (‘kin-slayers and murder-slayers and evil-swearers’; Cnut 1020 15).

<sup>97</sup> Chapman, ‘Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds’, pp. 199–200 (forms and cases are given as they appear in the texts).

It could be said (and it has sometimes been said) that Wulfstan's noun-heavy, compound-rich passages come to look quite similar to Old English poetry.<sup>98</sup> There are obviously several interrelated issues here, and Wulfstan's relationship with verse is a potentially complex matter which there is no space here to do more than touch upon; but it may be said with fairness that this comparison with Old English poetry ought not to be made too lightly or simplistically. Wulfstan's traditional, formulaic style, his rhythm and in particular his liking for echoing pairs of words, naturally lends itself to compounds in a way that is similar to that in which poetry responds to its own metrical and syntactic pressures, but these pressures themselves are only partly comparable to those in Wulfstan's prose.<sup>99</sup> It is true in general, moreover, that Wulfstan is very rarely to be found employing anything that could be labelled 'poetic diction': Chapman finds only three of the echoing compounds that he studies in Wulfstan to be otherwise recorded only in verse (namely *dægweorc*, *geardagum*, and *þeodscaðan*).<sup>100</sup> There is at least one other word, in fact, that Wulfstan shares only with a poetic context, and that is *wæpengewrixl* ('conflict, hostile encounter'), otherwise surviving only in *The Battle of Brunanburh*.<sup>101</sup> Since *Brunanburh* is a Chronicle poem, it is not at all unlikely that Wulfstan had read it, and his use of the word may even therefore be a direct lift from the poem;<sup>102</sup> whatever speculations we may be tempted to make in this connection, there is certainly more to look into as

---

<sup>98</sup> See e.g. Hollowell, 'Linguistic Factors', p. 295.

<sup>99</sup> See the useful discussion in Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds', pp. 158–62, 210–13; for earlier opinions on the 'poetic' quality of Wulfstan's writing, see Hollowell, 'Linguistic Factors', p. 294. On the rhythmical, 'metrical', and rhetorical delineation of Wulfstan's prose style more generally, see most notably McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose'; Louis Arden Sheets, 'Wulfstan's Prose: A Reconsideration' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1964); William Lewis DeLeeuw, Jr., 'The Eschatological Homilies of Wulfstan: A Rhetorical Analysis' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Auburn University, 1972); Raachel Jurovics, 'Sermo Lupi and the Moral Purpose of Rhetoric', in *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, 1978), pp. 203–20; Ida Masters Hollowell, 'On the Two-Stress Theory of Wulfstan's Rhythm', *Philological Quarterly*, 61 (1982), 1–11 (which draws on the third chapter of her 'Linguistic Analysis').

<sup>100</sup> Chapman, 'Stylistic Use of Nominal Compounds', pp. 158–59. See also the remarks in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 94, and Godden, 'Literary Language', p. 533.

<sup>101</sup> Homily XX(C).100, XX(EI).103, and at line 51 in *Brunanburh*; see e.g. *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. by E. V. K. Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 6 (New York, 1942), p. 19, and the remarks in Brown, 'Study', pp. 86–89.

<sup>102</sup> The 'poetic' material in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a. 959 (DE) and 975 (D) is commonly attributed to Wulfstan. See notably Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik'; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 24 (1942), 25–45 (pp. 38–39); *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 47.



regards his lexical links to poetry, even if generally, on the face of it, these seem to be rather few and isolated. As remarked above, it does not appear to be out of a desire for a versified style that Wulfstan crafted his compounds; rather, these fit in very well with the tactics of his 'high' style passages, since they convey a meaning which is clear in itself, easy to analyse and understand, while at the same time allowing themselves simply to be combined and built up through the close repetition of only slightly varying ideas into some tremendously emphatic sequences, hammering Wulfstan's message home.<sup>103</sup>

In conclusion, this latter point tallies with the theme that has been emerging throughout this essay: if anything characterizes Wulfstan's attitudes towards and use of language, then it is an insistence on clarity, an absolutely unabashed desire to get his meaning and message across. The constituent elements of his linguistic usage can be fairly labelled as 'late West Saxon', but this is a late West Saxon that falls outside the self-consciously scholarly tradition associated with Winchester and the Benedictine Reform movement, especially Ælfric; as a result, it can look rather colourless, and may provide little of immediate interest in terms of the purely dialectological, geographical end of traditional philology. But, once again, study of Wulfstan's language has probably proven most fruitful when it has looked beyond this, to examine what the linguistic building blocks he plays with were actually used for. One of his many, famous targets for abuse in the *Sermo Lupi* are those of God's messengers 'þe soþes geswugedan ealles to gelome, and clumedan mid ceafþum þær hy scoldan clypian'.<sup>104</sup> Nobody could accuse Wulfstan of not leading by example.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> For further remarks on Wulfstan's formation and use of compounds (and their relationship to phrases), see also Sara M. Pons-Sanz, 'For Gode and for Worulde: Wulfstan's Differentiation of the Divine and Worldly Realms through Word-Formation Processes', *English Studies* (forthcoming).

<sup>104</sup> XX(EI).183–84; 'who kept quiet about the truth completely too often, and mumbled with their mouths where they ought to have cried out.'

<sup>105</sup> I am grateful to all those with whom I have discussed earlier versions of this paper or who have otherwise generously offered advice, especially Sara Pons Sanz, Matthew Townend, and Elaine Treharne.



## Re-editing Wulfstan: Where's the Point?

ANDY ORCHARD

It has recently been noted that 'Ælfric is fortunate in his editors';<sup>1</sup> true enough: the heroic and concerted efforts over a period of half a century of Peter Clemoes, John Pope, and Malcolm Godden have made it so.<sup>2</sup> Throughout very nearly the same period, however, scholars and students of Wulfstan's preaching works have had to rely on Dorothy Bethurum's 1957 edition of his sermons, itself heavily reliant on Arthur Napier's edition of Wulfstan-related material of 1883, and Karl Jost's detailed survey of 1950.<sup>3</sup> Yet not only is Bethurum's edition incomplete, as Jonathan

---

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Donoghue, review of *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, by Malcolm Godden, *Notes and Queries*, 247, n.s., 49 (2002), 111–13 (p. 113).

<sup>2</sup> *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 17 (Oxford, 1997); *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 5 (Oxford, 1979); *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, 2 vols, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 259–60 (London, 1967–68). For a sense of the (continuing) explosion of interest in Ælfric, see e.g. Luke M. Reinsma, *Ælfric: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1987); Aaron J. Kleist, 'An Annotated Bibliography of Ælfrician Studies: 1983–1996', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 503–52.

<sup>3</sup> *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957); *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, 4 (Berlin, 1883; repr. with a supplement by Klaus Ostheeren, Dublin, 1967); Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 23 (Bern, 1950). There was a golden period in Wulfstan studies from the 1940s to the 1960s when a number of extremely important studies were published, including the following: *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1939; 3rd edn, London, 1963); Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum', *English Historical Review*, 56 (1941), 1–21; Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series,

Wilcox has most fully outlined,<sup>4</sup> but there are grave problems with her general approach that have hindered proper appreciation of significant developments and subtleties in Wulfstan's preaching style. Indeed, such is the rudimentary level of critical analysis of Wulfstan's rhetorical technique that the very use of terms like 'developments' and 'subtleties' with regard to Wulfstan's prose may well seem out of place; most commentators seem to allow him a maximum of two voices: loud and louder.<sup>5</sup> The shortcomings of Bethurum as an accurate reporter of manuscript readings have been noted by (for example) Christine Franzen, Ian McDougall, and Jonathan Wilcox;<sup>6</sup> likewise, her whole stemmatic approach to editing, which is

---

24 (1942), 25–45; Dorothy Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 57 (1942), 916–29; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *English Historical Review*, 63 (1948), 433–52; Angus McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 35 (1949), 109–42; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 72–85; *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. by James M. Ure, Edinburgh University Publications in Language and Literature, 11 (Edinburgh, 1957); *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Bern, 1959); Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', in *Franci-plegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. by Jess B. Bessinger, Jr. and Robert P. Creed (New York, 1965), pp. 214–31; Roger Fowler, 'A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor', *Anglia*, 83 (1965), 1–34; Dorothy Bethurum, 'Wulfstan', in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. by Eric Gerald Stanley (London, 1966), pp. 210–46.

<sup>4</sup> See in particular Jonathan Wilcox, 'Wulfstan and the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 83–97; Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 199–217.

<sup>5</sup> So, for example, Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), p. 460, notes that Wulfstan's celebrated *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (Bethurum XX) 'makes its effect by sheer monotony of commination', while Stephanie Hollis, 'The Thematic Structure of the *Sermo Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 175–95 (p. 175), points out of the same work that 'even its admirers have regarded it as little more than a stringing together of the nation's sins and tribulations which impresses by its horrific accumulation of detail'. The best analysis of Wulfstan's style remains McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose'; see further A. P. McD. Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 239–64.

<sup>6</sup> Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 32–33; Ian McDougall, 'Some Remarks on Dorothy Bethurum's Treatment of Glosses in MS. Bodleian Hatton 113', *American Notes and Queries*, 8 (1995), 3–4; Jonathan Wilcox, 'Napier's "Wulfstan" Homilies XL and XLII: Two Anonymous Works from Winchester?', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 90 (1991), 1–19 (p. 8, n. 31).

intended to uncover a pure 'original' text before it was butchered by the successive meddling of pesky scribes, has largely buried in the critical apparatus the rewriting over time of his own works by Wulfstan himself (who is now widely recognized as one of those pesky scribes), as well as other clues in the manuscripts.<sup>7</sup>

It could have been so different. If only Dorothy Bethurum had acted on the implications of her own observation that 'the punctuation of the manuscripts is the best guide to Wulfstan's intentions'.<sup>8</sup> And if only Dorothy Whitelock had not taken against Karl Jost's setting out in 1959 of Wulfstan's prose in discrete lines of predominantly two-stress phrases (following Angus McIntosh, who was himself largely following manuscript punctuation).<sup>9</sup> In this clash of wills (or in her case 'won'ts'), Whitelock won, with the sad result that current readers of Wulfstan are denied an important set of clues about the author's intention.<sup>10</sup> Wulfstan's sermons are surely ripe for re-editing, with due attention paid to their very different manuscript versions and contexts, as well as to the clues offered by their various punctuation.<sup>11</sup>

There are, however, a number of significant problems with interpreting medieval punctuation, not the least of which is its often idiosyncratic and haphazard application by individual scribes, coupled with the frequent difficulty of determining

---

<sup>7</sup> See now Andy Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', in *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. by Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe, AZ, 2003), pp. 311–40.

<sup>8</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 92–93.

<sup>9</sup> Dorothy Whitelock voices her objections in the course of her detailed review of Jost's edition of the *Institutes of Polity* in *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 12 (1961), 61–66 (p. 66), where she claims: 'to stress in accordance with McIntosh's theory does violence to the natural emphasis, and there are places in [Jost's] own edition where the arrangement as verse is difficult, and at times it breaks down altogether. While it is undoubted that Wulfstan usually uses short syntactical phrases containing two stresses, the printing of these as verse lines tends to obscure the subtler rhythms and distract attention from the building up of his periods. Yet this is a personal opinion which others may not share.' For McIntosh's theories, see his 'Wulfstan's Prose', esp. pp. 134–35.

<sup>10</sup> In a personal communication to a young Peter Clemoes (dated 5 February 1953, and now in my possession), the venerable Kenneth Sisam seems to align himself with the position espoused by Whitelock, saying: 'my experience of MS punctuation isn't encouraging for the solution of difficult passages, but every editor should be on the watch for hints from it in a carefully prepared MS that comes from the author. I am against McIntosh's suggestion that it should be reproduced in *edited* texts.'

<sup>11</sup> There exist a number of useful websites offering different manuscript versions of some of the sermons; see, for example, the versions of Bethurum I–V by Joyce Lionarons (<http://webpages.ursinus.edu/jlionarons/wulfstan/>) and of Bethurum XX (the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*) by Melissa Bernstein (<http://www.cif.rochester.edu/~mjbernst/wulfstan/>). I am preparing a new edition of Wulfstan's Old English sermons, and Tom Hall is working on a similar edition of Wulfstan's Latin works.

whether any given mark is scribal or the result of a later reader or annotator.<sup>12</sup> Preliminary studies of manuscript punctuation of Wulfstan's works, however, reveal a good degree of consistency between manuscripts, although individual scribes clearly expressed their own preferences.<sup>13</sup> As Neil Ker noted: 'Texts written in these manuscripts by scribes contemporary with Wulfstan have similar punctuation, either original or added. The added punctuation may be by Wulfstan himself: one can hardly tell.'<sup>14</sup> In attempting to assess Wulfstan's own attitude to punctuation, it seems safest to proceed by considering first those few texts known to have been written and punctuated by Wulfstan himself, then those manuscripts produced under his supervision (often including his own annotations and corrections), before finally analysing those manuscripts produced after Wulfstan's death which preserve his works.

Neil Ker's identification of Wulfstan's hand in a number of manuscripts associated with Worcester and York offers the opportunity to analyze his own preferences in punctuation in some detail, brief though many of his annotations are.<sup>15</sup> As Ker notes: '[s]entences written by Wulfstan are amply punctuated by means of the

---

<sup>12</sup> On medieval punctuation in general, see Malcolm Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992). See too Peter Clemoes, *Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1952), reprinted as *Old English Newsletter Subsidia*, 1 (Binghamton, NY, 1980).

<sup>13</sup> See in particular McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', pp. 25–26; Tadao Kubouchi, 'What's the Point? Manuscript Punctuation as Evidence for Linguistic Change', in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak and Akio Oizumi (Berlin, 1998), pp. 171–88; Tadao Kubouchi, *From Wulfstan to Richard Rolle: Papers Exploring the Continuity of English Prose* (Cambridge, 1999); Hiroshi Ogawa, *Studies in the History of Old English Prose* (Tokyo, 2000), pp. 272–78.

<sup>14</sup> Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in the Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31 (p. 326).

<sup>15</sup> Ker, 'Handwriting'. The manuscripts in question are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, pt 1 (s. xi<sup>1</sup>), pp. iii–xii and 1–294; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4<sup>o</sup>) (s. xi<sup>1</sup>), fols 48<sup>r</sup>, 65<sup>v</sup>–66<sup>v</sup>, and 81<sup>r</sup>; London, British Library, Additional 38651 (s. xi<sup>im</sup>), fols 57–58; London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.iii (s. x/xi<sup>1</sup>), fols 31–86 and 106–50; London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i (Worcester or York, s. xi<sup>im</sup>), fols 70–177; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii (Worcester, s. xi<sup>1</sup>–xi<sup>ex</sup>), fols 1–118; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv (Worcester or York, s. xi<sup>1</sup>), fols 114–79; London, British Library, Harley 55 (s. xi<sup>1</sup>), fols 1–4; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20 (890–97); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42 (Brittany, s. ix<sup>2</sup>; France, s. x); Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1382 (U. 109), fols 173<sup>r</sup>–198<sup>v</sup>; York, Minster Library, Additional 1 (s. xi<sup>1</sup>–s. xi<sup>2</sup>). Facsimiles of a number of annotations in Wulfstan's hand are found in *A Wulfstan Manuscript Containing Institutes, Laws and Homilies (British Museum Cotton Nero A.I)*, ed. by Henry R. Loyn, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 17 (Copenhagen, 1971), both on the folios mentioned and as an Appendix.

punctus versus (;) at the end of the sentence, and either a simple point (.) or the punctus elevatus (:) within the sentence.<sup>16</sup> The most extensive surviving example of a text written and punctuated by Wulfstan himself is found on fol. 66<sup>v</sup> of Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°) and deserves close study for the clues it offers both about Wulfstan's continual tinkering with his own prose and about his developing style.<sup>17</sup> The whole manuscript has been reproduced in facsimile with an extensive commentary,<sup>18</sup> and recently Johan Gerritsen has offered a detailed codicological study, suggesting that the manuscript was written at Worcester, with corrections by Wulfstan in every single quire, at some time during the period 1020–22, specifically to accompany Bishop Gerbrand to Roskilde after his consecration by Archbishop Æthelnoth at Canterbury.<sup>19</sup>

The text on fol. 66<sup>v</sup> is usually held to refer to the brief *sententiae* drawn from Jeremiah that immediately precede it and was apparently added to by Wulfstan on several occasions;<sup>20</sup> Gerritsen notes that 'Wulfstan's closing punctus versus to his annotations on fol. 66<sup>v</sup> offset onto 67 [...] it cannot therefore have been due to any other cause than Wulfstan closing the book before the ink had properly dried'.<sup>21</sup> These notes therefore offer a peculiarly intimate glimpse of Wulfstan in action during the last few years of his life (he died on 28 May 1023). I offer below an edition of the text in Copenhagen 1595, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>, lines 16–31, that gives full weight to the punctuation and capitalization of the original manuscript, dividing the text *per cola et commata* as the punctuation suggests, and leaving a line between each new sentence; I have also numbered each line of the edition for ease of reference, indicating the beginning of each manuscript line by a forward slash ('/'): <sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Ker, 'Handwriting', p. 318.

<sup>17</sup> On this passage see also Richard Dance, this volume.

<sup>18</sup> *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595*, ed. by James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 25 (Copenhagen, 1993). See too the review by J. Gerritsen in *English Studies*, 76 (1995), 202–04.

<sup>19</sup> Johan Gerritsen, 'The Copenhagen Wulfstan Manuscript: A Codicological Study', *English Studies*, 79 (1998), 501–11.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ker, 'Handwriting', p. 320, who notes: 'The writing and spacing suggest that the original passage [...] was added to on three or four occasions.'

<sup>21</sup> Gerritsen, 'Copenhagen Wulfstan Manuscript', p. 509.

<sup>22</sup> Translation: 'He who will not comprehend the interpretation of this little thing, I don't believe that he will take notice of something bigger, just as he should of his own necessity. But do as I teach: love God fully, and often pay attention to his teachings in your heart; then things will prosper for you and turn out better for you in God's eyes and the world's, believe it if you will. Everyone needs spiritual nourishment. He who is out of the country and far from his home: how can he come home if he will not learn how the path lies that leads to his home? How can we find the direct path to heaven unless we grow accustomed to what we often seek, and fully consider how we can come there? True it is what I say, let him believe it who will:

- A1** Se þe þyses lytlan nele andgyt niman ·  
**A2** ne truwie ic æt / maran þæt he wille gyman ·  
**A3** swa swa he scolde his agenre / þearfe ·  
**A4** Ac do swa ic lære lufa god georne ·  
**A5** ȝ be/seoh on þinre heortan gelome to his laran ·  
**A6** þonne sceal / þe spowan ȝ þe bet limpan ·  
**A7** for gode ȝ for worolde · / gelyf gif þu wille ;  
**A8** Ælc man behofað gastlices fostres · /  
**A9** Se þe bið of earde ȝ feor of his cyððe ·  
**A10** hu mæg he ham cuman gif he nele / leornian ·  
**A11** hu se weg licge þe lið to his cyððe ; /  
**A12** Hu mage we to hefenan rihtne weg aredian ·  
**A13** buton we gewunian · / þæt we oft spyrian ·  
**A14** ȝ geornlice smeagean hu we magan ðyder cuman ; /  
**A15** Soð is þæt ic secge · gelyfe se þe wille ·  
**A16** Se gefærð gesællice þe godcunde / lare ·  
**A17** oftost gehyreð ȝ geornlicost gymeð · AMEN ; /  
**A18** Qui *est* ex deo : uerba dei audit ;  
**A19** Non in sola pane / uiuit homo ·  
**A20** sed in omni uerbo quod procedit / de ore dei ;  
**A21** Beati qui audiunt uerbum dei / et custodiunt illud ;

Laid out in this way, several obvious patterns emerge. The first is the clear separation of languages: **A1–17** are in Old English, **A18–21** in Latin. The Latin phrases represent three variations on a single theme, evidently arranged in an envelope pattern (compare *Qui ... uerba dei audit* (**A18**) and *qui audiunt uerbum dei* (**A21**)),<sup>23</sup> with the middle element paraphrasing the other two (*uerbo quod procedit de ore dei*

---

he travels blessedly who most often hears and most fully heeds godly teaching, amen. He is from God, who hears God's word. Man does not live by bread alone, but by the word which proceeds from the mouth of God. Blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it well.' Here and throughout the rest of the paper, I use the symbols 'ȝ' to denote a capital (usually rubricated) tironian *nota*, italics to signify expanded abbreviations and suspensions, square brackets to indicate material supplied editorially, usually for material lost through physical damage to the manuscript, ticks to indicate scribal emendation, double strike-through to indicate erasure where the original is still visible, and double angle-brackets to indicate material supplied in Wulfstan's own hand.

<sup>23</sup> On the so-called 'envelope' pattern (sometimes called ring-composition), see (for example) Adeline C. Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York, 1935), pp. 9–29; Horst Paul Battles, 'The Art of the Scop: Traditional Poetics in the Old English *Genesis A*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1998), pp. 241–305.



(A20)). The last sentence of the Old English (A15–17) represents an obvious expansion and translation of the last sentence of the Latin (A21), but comprises an equally obviously artful rendering of its source, fleshing out the bare bones of the Latin with two characteristically Wulfstanian two-stress phrases (both *Soð is þæt ic secge* and *gelyfe se þe wille* (A15) are widely attested in Wulfstan's works),<sup>24</sup> and introducing a range of ornamental devices elsewhere associated with Wulfstan, notably alliteration (*Soð ... secge ... gesællice*; *gelyfe ... lare*; *geornlicost gymeð* (A15–17)), doublets (*oftost gehyreð 7 geornlicost gymeð* (A17)), and parallel syntax (*gelyfe ... gefærð ... gehyreð* (A15–17)).<sup>25</sup> The medial pointing found in three lines of the Old English (at A7, 13, and 15) only highlights the fact that fully sixteen of the seventeen lines of Old English can be divided into two 'half-lines' linked by unstressed rhyme on the two endings *-an* and *-e* without damage to the sense or syntax (*lytlan : niman*; *maran : gyman*; *scolde : pearfe*; *lære : georne*; *heortan : laran*; *spowan : limpan*; *worulde : wille*; *earde : cyððe*; *cuman : leornian*; *licge : cyððe*; *hefenan : aredian*; *gewunian : spyrian*; *smeagean : cuman*; *secge : wille*; *gesællice : lare*; *gehyreð : gymeð* (A1–7 and A9–17)). The artful arrangement of this apparently casual piece will be clear.

It has been shown elsewhere that entire sermons were composed by Wulfstan in this same high style, which is perhaps particularly to be associated with his later writings; indeed, in some manuscripts the punctuation is even more insistent than here, with almost every 'half-line' indicated by pointing.<sup>26</sup> In the passage above from Copenhagen 1595 the sole line of Old English that does not conform to this pattern (A8) seems isolated in other ways, and indeed looks to have been added later to fill a gap in a manuscript line, apparently as a rough equivalent to the Latin phrase found at A19.<sup>27</sup> If we discount this stray line it is surely striking the extent to which the remaining Old English phrases dispose themselves neatly into a series of four examples of the so-called *tricolon* (where a sentence is made up of three elements of

<sup>24</sup> For *Soð is þæt ic secge*, see e.g. Bethurum IX.143; XI.137; XVII.65; XVIII.73; XX(BH).33; XX(C).39; XX(EI).37 and 187; XXI.10. For *gelyfe se þe wille*, see e.g. Bethurum VI.196; Xc.14; XIII.79; XX(BH).77; XX(C).88; XX(EI).84.

<sup>25</sup> For general discussions of Wulfstan's style, see the items mentioned in note 5 above.

<sup>26</sup> See further Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', esp. pp. 328–40. A similar situation obtains with respect to Old English verse: while the poems in the Junius manuscript are almost invariably pointed after every half-line, *Beowulf* is generally only pointed after every full line. On punctuation in poetic manuscripts, see Andy Orchard, *A Critical Companion to 'Beowulf'* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 40–42.

<sup>27</sup> A *signe de renvoi* connects this single hanging phrase with the Latin section beginning *Non in sola pane*. Cf. the text offered by Ker, 'Handwriting', p. 320, which supersedes that produced by Holthausen in 1890 (F. Holthausen, 'Angelsächsisches aus Kopenhagen', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 34 (1890), p. 228), and includes a smaller-scale facsimile as plate VII. Ker silently transposes the phrase *Ælc man behofað gastlices fostres*, placing it immediately before *Non in sola pane*, but note how in the manuscript itself Wulfstan carefully separates the Latin and vernacular texts.

roughly equal size), with a fifth case (A4–7) where the same basic *tricolon* has been augmented by another pair of characteristically Wulfstanian two-stress phrases (since both *for gode 7 for worolde* and *gelyf gif þu wille* are widely attested elsewhere in Wulfstan's works).<sup>28</sup> The same kind of artful arrangement of words and phrases witnessed earlier is again evident, with several examples of (for example) the envelope pattern (*his cyððe ... his cyððe* (A9 and 11); *Hu mage we ... hu we magan* (A12 and 14)), ornamental alliteration (*lære lufa ... laran ... limpan* (A4–6); *cyððe ... cuman ... cyððe* and *leornian ... licge ... lið* (A9–11); *rihtne ... aredian* and *weg ... gewunian* (A12–13)), and other types of repetition (*hu ... hu ... Hu ... hu* (A10–12, 14); *weg ... weg* (A11–12); *we ... we ... we ... we* (A12–14)). It will at all events be clear that even in this brief autograph passage, which otherwise bears all the hallmarks of his idiosyncratic style, Wulfstan has produced a well-crafted and artful piece, the main structures of which are amply signposted by the basic punctuation employed. Such a conclusion surely invites closer scrutiny of the punctuation employed elsewhere in manuscripts known to have passed through Wulfstan's hands.

Extra impetus is lent to such an investigation by the distinct possibility that Wulfstan may have either influenced scribal practice in those manuscripts produced under his supervision or in some places added punctuation in his own hand. Close analysis of manuscript punctuation in a text surviving in a range of manuscripts, including ones annotated by Wulfstan himself, seems most likely to offer the best indications of how Wulfstan's sermons were both written and read by Wulfstan's contemporaries. Critical discussion of Wulfstan's sermons has in the past tended to focus on the more urgent texts that deal with apocalyptic themes in an often frenzied and frenetic fashion; most of the more earnestly hortatory sermons dealing with the more quotidian (not to say pedestrian) aspects of Wulfstan's pastoral interests have been largely ignored. Bethurum characterized such sermons under two main headings, dealing respectively with what she termed 'The Christian Faith' (Bethurum VI–XII) and 'Archiepiscopal Functions' (Bethurum XIII–XVIII). Bethurum Xc, entitled *HER ONGYND BE CRISTENDOME* ('Here it begins concerning Christianity'),<sup>29</sup> seems an utterly characteristic sermon of just this general and hortatory type, and rarely rises to the heightened pitch of Wulfstan's more widely celebrated tub-thumping moments; as such, its punctuation offers many useful points of comparison (as it were) for the punctuation of Wulfstan's more widely studied works.

<sup>28</sup> For the phrase *for gode 7 for worolde*, see e.g. Bethurum VI.108; IX.127; XX(BH).64; XX(C).77; XX(EI).71; XXI.5, 22, and 34. For the phrase *gelyf gif þu wille*, cf. the phrase *gelyfe se þe wille* in note 24 above.

<sup>29</sup> The same rubric is found in red in three of the four manuscripts containing the sermon (BCE (for manuscript sigla, see below)); the fourth manuscript (I) simply reads *BE CRISTENDOME*. For a discussion of the relationship between the manuscripts, see *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 18–19.

Bethurum Xc survives in four manuscripts:<sup>30</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 (s. xi<sup>1</sup>, prob. SE England, prov. Exeter), fols 204–29 [= B];<sup>31</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (s. xi<sup>med</sup>), pp. 56–60 [= C];<sup>32</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (formerly Junius 99 [S.C. 5210]; Worcester, s. xi<sup>2</sup>), fols 38–44 [= E];<sup>33</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i (Worcester or York, s. xi<sup>in</sup>), fols 76<sup>v</sup>–83<sup>v</sup> [= I].<sup>34</sup> In two of these manuscripts (CE), Bethurum Xc is immediately preceded by a Latin text (Bethurum Xb), also attributed to Wulfstan, which draws heavily on the so-called *Scarapsus* of Pirmin of Reichenau and the *De pressuris ecclesiasticis* of Atto of Vercelli.<sup>35</sup> Karl Jost was the first to assess the relationship between this Latin text, its sources, and the Old English version that comes at the end of this chain of influence.<sup>36</sup> A further Old English version of some of the same Latin themes (Bethurum Xa), drawing on the *Regula canonicorum* attributed to Amalarius of Metz, is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 ([S.C. 5232]; Worcester, s. xi; additions s. xi<sup>2</sup> and s. xi<sup>ex</sup>), fols 55b–57b [= G].<sup>37</sup> Neil Ker has noted the presence of no fewer than twenty-six different annotations in Wulfstan's own hand in Nero A.i (I), of which four occur on the very folios containing Bethurum Xc.<sup>38</sup> In the extracts that follow the punctuation and capitalization presented are those found in that manuscript, except where stated. Such an approach has the added advantage that the punctuation of MS I has already been studied with respect to Bethurum XX (the so-called *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*) and XXI, so providing further points of comparison, and the existence of Wulfstan's Latin source (in the form of Bethurum Xb) offers a further control to Wulfstan's rhetorical embellishment of his base text.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Christine Franzen, *Worcester Manuscripts*, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, 6 (Tempe, AZ, 1998) includes facsimiles of EG; Jonathan Wilcox, *Wulfstan Texts and Other Homiletic Materials*, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, 8 (Tempe, AZ, 2000) includes a facsimile of B; *A Wulfstan Manuscript*, ed. by Loyn, contains a facsimile of I.

<sup>31</sup> N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 68; Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001), no. 108.

<sup>32</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 49; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 65.

<sup>33</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 331; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 637.

<sup>34</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 164; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 341.

<sup>35</sup> Bethurum Xb is found on pp. 53–56 of Corpus 201 (MS C) and on fols 34–38 of Hatton 113 (MS E).

<sup>36</sup> Karl Jost, 'Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen', *Anglia*, 56 (1932), 265–315 (pp. 280–83); cf. his *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 47–55. For a full list of sources employed by Wulfstan, see the entries by Stephanie Hollis, citing Bethurum, in the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database as found on the World Wide Web at <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>.

<sup>37</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 338; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 644.

<sup>38</sup> Ker, 'Handwriting', pp. 15–18.

<sup>39</sup> See McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', pp. 134–35 (for Bethurum XX), and Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', pp. 328–40 (for Bethurum XXI).

The opening of Bethurum Xc is punctuated as follows (Bethurum Xc.3–10; MS I, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>, lines 13–24):<sup>40</sup>

- B1**     *Leofan men* Eallum cristenum mannum / is micel þearf [.]<sup>41</sup>  
**B2**     þæt hy heora cristendomes / gescad witan ·  
**B3**     ȝ þæt hy heora cristendom / rihtlice healðan ;  
**B4**     Be cristes agenum / naman syn *cristene* genamode ∴  
**B5**     forþam / crist is cristenra heafod ·  
**B6**     ȝ ealle cristene / men sindan to cristes limum getealde · /  
**B7**     ȝyf hy heora cristendom gehealðað / mid rihte ;  
**B8**     Lytel fremað þeah cristen / nama ·  
**B9**     butan cristenum dædum ∴ /  
**B10**    ac se bið rihtlice cristen ·  
**B11**    þe cristes / larum ȝ his lagum folgað ;

The punctuation breaks the opening passage into three units, comprising a total of eleven lines. Perhaps the most striking fact is that words beginning with the element *crist-* appear no fewer than fourteen times in this brief passage and are found once in every single line of the first and third sentences (**B1–3** and **B8–11**), but twice in three of the four lines of the second sentence (**B4–6**). Such a dense repetition of elements represents a clear embellishment of Wulfstan's Latin source, where the same element is found only six times in the corresponding passage (Bethurum Xb.3–7; MS C, p. 53, lines 31–34):<sup>42</sup>

- b1**     *A cristo enim cristiani* sunt nominati · /  
**b2**     *cristus* autem caput<sup>43</sup> nostrum est et nos membra eius ·  
**b3**     Verumtamen non se / *glorietur cristianum* ·  
**b4**     qui nomen tantum habet · et fac`tum` non habet ·  
**b5**     *Cristianus* / igitur ille est ·  
**b6**     qui *cristum* in omnibus imitatur

<sup>40</sup> Translation: 'Dear people: there is a great necessity for all Christian folk that they understand the significance of their Christianity and that they rightly uphold their Christianity. From Christ's own name are Christians named, since Christ is the head of Christianity, and all Christian folk are reckoned as Christ's limbs, if they uphold with right their Christianity. Yet a Christian name is of little effect without Christian deeds; but he is rightly Christian who follows Christ's teachings and his laws.' Very similar passages are found in Bethurum VII.3–6, VIIa.4, VIIb.69–72, VIIc.100–03, as well as in Napier LXI, p. 310, lines 16–21.

<sup>41</sup> An erasure masks an original point that is still clearly visible in the manuscript.

<sup>42</sup> Translation: 'For Christians are named from Christ; but Christ is our head, and we are his limbs. Indeed, let no one boast that they are Christian, who only has the name and not the deed. Therefore he is a Christian who imitates Christ in all things.' The same passage appears in MS E, fol. 34<sup>r</sup>, lines 18–22.

<sup>43</sup> Changed from *capud*.

An element of paronomasia merely suggested by the Latin (*nominati ... nomen* (**b1** and **b4**)) is likewise made more immediate in the Old English (*naman ... genamode* (**B4**)), and is used as a linking device to connect the second and third sentences of the Old English through anaphora (the repetition of words or phrases at the beginnings of consecutive sentences); in this context one might compare *cristes ... naman ... cristene genamode* (**B4**) with *cristen nama* (**B8**). Indeed, the vernacular rendering goes still further than its Latin source by employing the parallel rhetorical device of epiphora (the repetition of words or phrases at the endings of consecutive sentences) to connect the first and second sentences of the Old English (compare *hy heora cristendom rihtlice healdan* (**B3**) with *hy heora cristendom gehealdað mid rihte* (**B7**)), a feature emphasized through chiasmus.

The artful use of such 'echo-words', as highlighted by the punctuation, is a feature more commonly associated with vernacular poetry,<sup>44</sup> although its widespread use in Old English homiletic prose in particular is slowly being recognized.<sup>45</sup> A similar use of the device is found later on in Bethurum Xc, where the Latin source offers an innocuous sentence devoid of any repetition at all (Bethurum Xb.38–40; MS C, p. 54, lines 17–18).<sup>46</sup>

c1	Omnis itaque qui / ecclesiam dei expoliat ·
c2	uel in aliqua re nocuerit ·
c3	sacrilegii reus existit · /

In Wulfstan's Old English, by contrast, a self-contained passage with linking repetition is established (Bethurum Xc.45–48; MS I, fol. 78<sup>r</sup>, lines 10–14).<sup>47</sup>

C1	La hwæt fremað / cyrichatan ·
C2	cristendom on unnyt : /
C3	forðam ælc þæra bið godes feond ·
C4	þe bið / godes cyrcena feond :
C5	ȝ þe godes cyrcena / riht ·
C6	wanað opþe wyrdeþ ;

<sup>44</sup> See e.g. John O. Beaty, 'The Echo-Word in *Beowulf* with a Note on the *Finnsburg Fragment*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 49 (1934), 365–73; James L. Rosier, 'Generative Composition in *Beowulf*', *English Studies*, 58 (1977), 193–203; Battles, 'The Art of the Scop', pp. 168–240; Orchard, *A Critical Companion to 'Beowulf'*, pp. 78–85.

<sup>45</sup> See Samantha Zacher, 'The Style and Rhetoric of the Vercelli Homilies' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 2003), pp. 172–73.

<sup>46</sup> Translation: 'And so everyone who despoils God's Church or harms it in any way, stands guilty of sacrilege.' The same passage appears in MS E, fol. 35<sup>r</sup>, lines 16–18.

<sup>47</sup> Translation: 'Lo, what do persecutors of the Church do in iniquity against Christianity? For each of those is an enemy of God, who is an enemy of God's Church and diminishes or destroys the rights of God's Church.'

What is emphasized here through both punctuation and verbal repetition is the linking sequences *godes feond ... godes ... feond* (C3–4) and *godes cyrcena ... godes cyrcena* (C4–5) that together highlight a tripartite structure of clauses of increasing length (a so-called *tricolon abundans*) that has little or no warrant in the Latin source (*bið godes feond ... þe bið godes cyrcena feond ... þe godes cyrcena riht wanað oþþe wyrdeþ* (C3–6)). Such a fondness for tripartite structures is perhaps the more surprising since Wulfstan is commonly deemed to have a particular interest in dividing his prose into binary units,<sup>48</sup> but very similar tripartite structures are a common feature of this sermon, as we shall see.

A more complicated rhetorical structure is highlighted by the punctuation of a passage early on in the sermon, dealing with the vices and the virtues (Bethurum Xc.60–71; MS I, fols 78<sup>v</sup>, line 10 – 79<sup>r</sup>, line 7):<sup>49</sup>

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| <b>D1</b>  | La hu mæg man eaðost ·                  |
| <b>D2</b>  | gehwyrfan / fram yfele 7 fram unrihte : |
| <b>D3</b>  | butan / þæt man deofol georne forbuge · |
| <b>D4</b>  | 7 his / undæda ealle oferhogie ·        |
| <b>D5</b>  | 7 wið / his unlara geornlice scylde :   |
| <b>D6</b>  | 7 wið / þa deoflican eahta leahtras ·   |
| <b>D7</b>  | dægcs · / 7 nihtes warnie symle ;       |
| <b>D8</b>  | Ðæt is gitsung · /                      |
| <b>D9</b>  | 77 gifernes ·                           |
| <b>D10</b> | Galnes ·                                |
| <b>D11</b> | 77 weamodnys : /                        |
| <b>D12</b> | Unrotnys ·                              |
| <b>D13</b> | 77 asolcennys ·                         |
| <b>D14</b> | Gylpgeorn/nys ·                         |
| <b>D15</b> | 77 ofermodignys ;                       |
| <b>D16</b> | Of þysan / eahta deofles cræftan        |
| <b>D17</b> | ealle / unþeawas up aspringað :         |
| <b>D18</b> | 7 syþþan / tobrædað ealles to wide ;    |

<sup>48</sup> So, for example, R. D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain, *A History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 2003), p. 83, refer (quite correctly) to Wulfstan's predilection for what they term 'pleonastic binomials'.

<sup>49</sup> Translation: 'Lo, how can one most easily turn from evil and from wrong, unless he eagerly shuns the devil, and despises all his wicked deeds, and eagerly protects himself against his wicked teachings and constantly keeps guard against the eight sins of the devil day and night, namely avarice and gluttony, lust and anger, sadness and sloth, vainglory and pride. From these eight snares of the devil all wicked customs arise and afterwards spread all too widely. Then there are eight chief virtues appointed for men through God's might, namely generosity and temperance, chastity and patience, gladness and resolution, charity and humility. With these virtues we ought to protect to us, and through God's help conquer the devil, and firmly withstand his wicked customs.'

<b>D19</b>	Donne / syndan eahta healice mægenu · /
<b>D20</b>	þurh godes mihte · mannum gescyfte ; / <sup>50</sup>
<b>D21</b>	79 <sup>f</sup> / Ðæt is rumheortnys ·
<b>D22</b>	ƷƷ syfernys : /
<b>D23</b>	Clænnas ·
<b>D24</b>	ƷƷ modþwærnes :
<b>D25</b>	Glædnas · /
<b>D26</b>	ƷƷ anrædnys :
<b>D27</b>	Sibgeornnys ·
<b>D28</b>	ƷƷ eadmodnys ;
<b>D29</b>	Mid þysan mægenan we us sculon / werian ·
<b>D30</b>	Ʒ þurh godes fultum deofol / oferwinnan ·
<b>D31</b>	Ʒ his unþeawan fæste / wiðstandan ;

The first sentence concludes with a further example of the *tricolon abundans* form (**D4**, **D5**, and **D6–7**), tacked on to a bipartite structure that is itself made up of three elements (**D1–3**), and the final sentence likewise comprises a *tricolon* highlighted by unstressed end-rhyme on *-an* (**D29–31**: *werian ... oferwinnan ... wiðstandan*).<sup>51</sup> The vices and the virtues listed in between these sets are carefully set off from the surrounding material by both punctuation and capitalization (**D8–15** and **D21–28**); the precise terms used for the vices and virtues have in several cases evidently been chosen to reflect their polarity through rhyme, assonance, or other kinds of sound-play.<sup>52</sup>

Once again, the parallel passage from Bethurum Xb is quite differently configured, and in fact omits the virtues altogether (Bethurum Xb.48–52; MS C, p. 54, lines 25–28).<sup>53</sup>

<b>d1</b>	Quid <i>est</i> deuertere a malo ·
<b>d2</b>	nisi diabolum cum omnibus / operibus suis ·
<b>d3</b>	despicere <i>et</i> derelinquere ⁊
<b>d4</b>	Opera igitur diabolica octo / principalia uitia sunt ·
<b>d5</b>	Cupiditas ·
<b>d6</b>	Gula ·
<b>d7</b>	Fornicatio ·

<sup>50</sup> Note the medial point here, again dividing the line into two, with an unstressed rhyme on *-e*.

<sup>51</sup> One might also note the medial unstressed end-rhyme on *mægenan* and *unþeawan*.

<sup>52</sup> Compare *gifernes* (**D9**) and *syfernys* (**D22**); *Galnes* (**D10**) and *Clænnas* (**D23**); *weamodnys* (**D11**) and *modþwærnes* (**D24**); *Gylpgeornnys* (**D14**) and *Sibgeornnys* (**D27**); *ofermodignys* (**D15**) and *eadmodnys* (**D28**).

<sup>53</sup> Translation: ‘What is it to turn from evil except to despise and abandon the devil and all his works? The devil’s works are the eight chief vices: covetousness, gluttony, fornication, anger, dejection, sloth, vainglory, and pride; and from these many other vices arise.’ The same passage appears in MS E, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>, lines 5–11.

<b>d8</b>	ira ·
<b>d9</b>	Tristitia · /
<b>d10</b>	Accidia ·
<b>d11</b>	Vana gloria ·
<b>d12</b>	Superbia ·
<b>d13</b>	ex quibus et peccata multa oriuntur ·

In this much simplified form, there are relatively few rhetorical embellishments: the introductory sentence includes both alliteration (*deuertere ... diabolum ... despiciere ... derelinquere*) and a concluding doublet (*despicere et derelinquere*), but is relatively sparsely adorned.

As is widely recognized, the eight vices and virtues derive ultimately from a list made by Cassian, but as Jonathan Wilcox has demonstrated, the passage in Bethurum Xc is closest to a text, evidently composed by Wulfstan himself, found in Corpus 201 (MS C) on the page immediately preceding that on which Bethurum Xb is found.<sup>54</sup> The full text reads as follows (MS C, p. 52, lines 23–40):<sup>55</sup>

<b>Δ1</b>	DE VITIIS PRINCIPALIBVS
<b>Δ2</b>	Micel is eac neodpearf · /
<b>Δ3</b>	manna gehwiltum þæt he wið deofolscin ·
<b>Δ4</b>	scilde him / georne ȝ wið þa deofollican eahta leahtras · /
<b>Δ5</b>	dæges ȝ nihtes · warnige symle ·
<b>Δ6</b>	þæt is .i. modignes · /
<b>Δ7</b>	.ii. gifernes ·
<b>Δ8</b>	.iii. galnes ·
<b>Δ9</b>	.iiii. Git[s]igendnes ·
<b>Δ10</b>	v. weamodnes · /
<b>Δ11</b>	vi. Asolcennes ·
<b>Δ12</b>	vii. hohfulnes ·
<b>Δ13</b>	viii. Gilpgeornes · /

<sup>54</sup> See further Wilcox, ‘Napier’s “Wulfstan” Homilies XL and XLII’, pp. 8–10.

<sup>55</sup> Translation: ‘Concerning the principal vices. There is also great necessity for every man that he guard himself eagerly against the apparitions of the devil and constantly keeps guard against the eight sins of the devil day and night, namely (1) pride (2) gluttony (3) lust (4) avarice (5) anger (6) sloth (7) anxiety (8) vainglory. From these eight snares of the devil all wicked customs arise and afterwards spread all to widely. Concerning the virtues. Then there are eight chief virtues appointed for men through God’s might, namely (1) humility (2) temperance (3) chastity (4) generosity (5) patience (6) resolution (7) gladness (8) charity. With these virtues we ought to protect to us, and through God’s help conquer the devil, and firmly withstand his wicked customs. Let us do as is necessary for us: warn ourselves against the devil and consider very eagerly often and again what when we received baptism we promised, or those who were our sponsors at the baptismal font.’ Cf. Wilcox, ‘Napier’s “Wulfstan” Homilies XL and XLII’, pp. 9–10.



- Δ14      Of þissan eahta deofles cræftan ·  
 Δ15      ealle unðeawas · / up aspringað ·  
 Δ16      7 siððan tobredað ealles to wide · /  
 Δ17      DE VIRTVTIBVS  
 Δ18      Ðonne syndon eahta · / healice mægnu ·  
 Δ19      þurh godes mihte · mannum / gescifte ·  
 Δ20      þæt is · i. Eadmodnes ·  
 Δ21      ii. Sifernes · /  
 Δ22      .iii. Clænnes ·  
 Δ23      .iiii. Rumheortnes ·  
 Δ24      v. modþwærnes ·  
 Δ25      vi. / anrædnes ·  
 Δ26      vii. Glædnes ·  
 Δ27      viii. Sibgeomnes ·  
 Δ28      mid þissan / mægenan ·  
 Δ29      we us sculon werian ·  
 Δ30      7 þurh godes fultum · /  
 Δ31      deofol oferwinnan ·  
 Δ32      7 his unðeawan fæste wiðstandan · /  
 Δ33      7 utan don swa us þearf is ·  
 Δ34      warnian us wið deofol 7 ge/ðencan swiðe georne ·  
 Δ35      oft 7 gelome · hwæt we behetan / þa we fulluht underfengon ·  
 Δ36      oððe þa þe æt font/baðe ure foresprecan wæron · /

It will be evident that the order of the vices and virtues given here differs considerably from that found in Bethurum Xc and (for the vices) Xb;<sup>56</sup> but the overall relationship of this text to Bethurum Xc seems obvious. The final lines of this text (Δ35–36) in fact echo some found earlier in Bethurum Xc.37–38 (MS I, fol. 77<sup>v</sup>, lines 20–23):<sup>57</sup>

þæt þæt we behetan ·  
 þa we fulluht underfengan ·  
 oððon þa þe æt fontbæpe ure forespecan wæran ;

Again, one notes the *tricolon abundans* form, underpinned as before by alliteration (*fulluht underfengan ... fontbæpe ... forespecan*), and unstressed end-rhyme on *-an* (*behetan ... underfengan ... wæran*).

Triple structures are a frequent feature throughout the sermon, often combined in complicated ways. A further list of injunctions, highlighted by both punctuation and

<sup>56</sup> A schematic representation of equivalencies might run as follows: Δ6 = D15 (d12); Δ7 = D9 (d6); Δ8 = D10 (d7); Δ9 = D8 (d5); Δ10 = D11 (d8); Δ11 = D13 (d10); Δ12 = D12 (d9); Δ13 = D14 (d11); Δ20 = D28; Δ21 = D22; Δ22 = D23; Δ23 = D21; Δ24 = D24; Δ25 = D26; Δ26 = D25; Δ27 = D27.

<sup>57</sup> Translation: ‘What when we received baptism we promised, or those who were our sponsors at the baptismal font.’ The passage is not in fact found in MSS CE, but does appear in MS B, pp. 208, line 17 – 209, line 2. See further *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 18–19.

capitalization, again illustrates Wulfstan's careful arrangement of clauses. The passage includes material supplied in the margin by Wulfstan himself (**E22–23**; **E44**), and reads as follows (Bethurum Xc.79–107; MS I, fols 79<sup>r</sup>, line 19 – 80<sup>r</sup>, line 19).<sup>58</sup>

<b>E1</b>	ƿƿ eac / ic lære georne manna gehwilcne · /
<b>E2</b>	þæt ænig ne afyle ·
<b>E3</b>	mid fulan forligere · /
<b>E4</b>	æfre hine sylf ne ;
<b>E5</b>	Ne ænig · ne healde /
<b>E6</b>	yrre on his heortan ·
<b>E7</b>	ealles to lange ; /
<b>E8</b>	Ne ænig þurh worldhoge ·
<b>E9</b>	forsorgie /79 <sup>v</sup> / to swyþe :
<b>E10</b>	ac hihte on his drihten ; /
<b>E11</b>	Ne æfre ænig man ·
<b>E12</b>	idelnesse lufie : /
<b>E13</b>	ealles to gelome ;
<b>E14</b>	Ne æfre ænig man /
<b>E15</b>	unnyt lof · ƿ idelgilp ·
<b>E16</b>	lufie to swyþe ; /
<b>E17</b>	Ne æfre ænig man
<b>E18</b>	ofermetta / lufie :
<b>E19</b>	ac æfre hy ascunie ;

---

<sup>58</sup> Translation: 'And also I teach eagerly every man, so that no one should defile with foul fornication his own self ever. Nor let anyone keep anger in his heart all too long; nor let anyone through worldly care be dejected too greatly, but let him trust in his lord; nor let any man ever love idleness all too frequently; nor let any man ever love useless praise and vainglory too much; nor let any man always love pride, but ever shun it; and one should also be protected against manslaughter always very eagerly, and one should be protected against lust and against adultery eagerly; and one should be shielded against every ill-gotten gain eagerly, but acquire them correctly. Incorrect measures and wrong weights should be cast away eagerly, and no man should deceive another all too much; nor let any man hold captive another too closely, nor wrongly enslave him; nor let any man through plundering rob another; nor let any man wrongly condemn another; nor let any man harass or trouble another all too greatly; nor let any man perjure himself in wickedness; nor in false witness let any man stand; nor let any man get into the habit of shamefully vilifying or enraging God through blasphemy; nor let any man be too inclined to laugh nor too quickly to be merry, nor again too despondent; nor let any man revile another behind his back, nor deride them too greatly; nor let any man keep malice in his heart all too securely; nor let any man hate another too greatly; nor let any man get into the habit of becoming too abusive with evil words; nor let any man be too quarrelsome, all too contentious; nor let any man love being drunk too much, nor foul gluttony; nor let any man ever eat carrion, nor taste blood; nor let any man ever practice witchcraft; nor let any man ever worship idols; nor let any man keep company with the excommunicated.'

- E20**     ȝȝ scylde / man eac wið mansliht ·  
**E21**     æfre swyþe / georne ;  
**E22**     <<[ȝȝ] scylde man wið [ga]lnesse  
**E23**     ȝ wið æw[b]ryce georne ; >> /  
**E24**     ȝȝ wið ælc wohgestreon · /  
**E25**     beorge man georne ·  
**E26**     ac stryne / mid rihte ;  
**E27**     Unrihte gemeta · /  
**E28**     ȝ woge gewihta ː  
**E29**     aweor`pe` man georne ; /  
**E30**     ȝȝ æfre ænig man ·  
**E31**     oðrum ne swicie ː /  
**E32**     ealles to swyþe ;  
**E33**     Ne ænig man oðerne · /  
**E34**     to nearwe ne hæfte ː  
**E35**     ne on unriht / ne geþeowige ;  
**E36**     Ne ænig man þurh / reaflac ː  
**E37**     oþerne ne rype ;  
**E38**     Ne ænig man / oðerne ·  
**E39**     on unriht ne fordeme ; /  
**E40**     Ne ænig man oþerne ·  
**E41**     ne tyrie · / ne ne tyne ·  
**E42**     ealles to swyðe ;  
**E43**     Ne / ænig man hine sylfne ·  
**E44**     mid mane / <<ne>> forswerie ;  
**E45**     Ne on leasre gewitnesse · /  
**E46**     ænig man ne stande ;  
**E47**     Ne ænig / man ne gewunie ·  
**E48**     þæt he huxlice / onhisce ː  
**E49**     ne þurh hyruwnesse · /  
**E50**     80<sup>f</sup>/ god ne gegremie ;  
**E51**     Ne ænig man / to hlagol sy ·  
**E52**     ne færinga to fægen ː /  
**E53**     ne eft ne beo to ormod ;  
**E54**     Ne ænig / man oðerne ·  
**E55**     bæftan ne tæle ː /  
**E56**     ne hyrwe to swyþe ;

<b>E57</b>	Ne ænig man / andan :
<b>E58</b>	ne healde on his heortan /
<b>E59</b>	ealles to fæste ;
<b>E60</b>	Ne ænig man oðerne · /
<b>E61</b>	ne hatige to swyþe ;
<b>E62</b>	Ne ænig man / ne gewunige ·
<b>E63</b>	þæt he mid yfelum wordum · /
<b>E64</b>	to wyrgende weorðe ;
<b>E65</b>	Ne ænig man / sy to sacfull ·
<b>E66</b>	ealles to geflit/georn ;
<b>E67</b>	Ne ænig man ne lufige /
<b>E68</b>	dru'n'cen to swyðe :
<b>E69</b>	ne fule ofer/fylle ;
<b>E70</b>	Ne ænig man myrtenes /
<b>E71</b>	æfre <del>ne</del> <sup>59</sup> abite :
<b>E72</b>	ne blodes ne abyrige ; /
<b>E73</b>	Ne ænig man wiccecræft :
<b>E74</b>	æfre / begange ;
<b>E75</b>	Ne ænig man idola · /
<b>E76</b>	weorðie æfre ;
<b>E77</b>	Ne ænig man / gemánan ·
<b>E78</b>	wið amansode hæbbe ; /

In this arrangement of the passage into seventy-eight separate elements, it will be noted that only seven of the clauses so identified are not delimited by some mark of punctuation, and in five of these cases the clause-end coincides with the end of a manuscript line (**E5**, **E14**, **E58**, **E67**, and **E70**); only in two cases is no mark of punctuation visible (**E17** and **E22**), and the second of these is part of a characteristic two-part phrase actually written by Wulfstan himself, who, as we have seen, rarely indicates a medial pause in this way. In only three cases does a point of punctuation fall in the middle of a clause so defined (**E5**, **E15**, and **E41**), and in no case does the mark apparently interrupt the flow of the passage; such pointing before the particle *ne* (as in **E5** and **E41**) and the tironian *nota* (as in **E15**) can be paralleled elsewhere in this very passage, which in fact seems punctuated with remarkable consistency.

Of the twenty-nine sentences that make up this passage, no fewer than sixteen are clearly tripartite structures. The sentences themselves are often evidently arranged in threes: the first three groups of three sentences (**E1–10**, **E11–19**, **E20–26**) are all

---

<sup>59</sup> The word *ne* has been erased, but is still clearly visible in the manuscript.

linked not only by similarities of phrasing,<sup>60</sup> but also by paronomasia, alliteration, and other kinds of sound- and word-play.<sup>61</sup> The other sentences of the passage are also for the most part connected by similarities of phrasing (*Ne ænig man ... ne*),<sup>62</sup> with occasional examples of both alliteration and paronomasia,<sup>63</sup> but the examples in this central section are generally less condensed and convincing than those found in the first three sentences. The final three sentences of this passage (E73–78) are set apart by their bipartite structure, and the last sentence of all concludes with an insistent example of paronomasia (*man gemánan ... amansode* (E77–78)).<sup>64</sup>

The parallel passage from the Latin source reads as follows (Bethurum Xb.55–74; MS C, pp. 54, line 31 – 55, line 6):<sup>65</sup>

e1	Et nemo fornicationem faciat ·
e2	Nullus iracundiam contra proximum / teneat ·
e3	Tristitiam quoque seculi · Despiciat ·
e4	Nemo otiositate uacet · /

<sup>60</sup> Consider the following: *ænig ne ... Ne ænig ne ... Ne æfre ænig* (E2, E5, and E14); *Ne æfre ænig man ... lufie* (E11–12, E14 and E16, and E17–18); *ʒʒ scylde man ... georne*; *ʒʒ scylde man ... georne*; *ʒʒ ... beorge man georne* (E20–21, E22–23, and E24–25).

<sup>61</sup> Consider the following: *afyle ... fulan forligere*; *healde ... heortan*; *forsorgie ... swyþe ... hihte ... drihten* (E2–3, E5–6, and E9–10); *lufie ... gelome*; *lof ... lufie*; *lufie* (E12–13, E15–16, and E18); *wohgestreon ... stryng*; *beorge ... georne* (E24–26 and E25).

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. E33–34, E36–37, E38–39, E40–41, E43–44, E45–46, E47, E51–52, E54–55, E57–58, E60–61, E62, E67, and E70–71.

<sup>63</sup> See e.g. *Unrihte ... gewihta* (E27–28); *woge gewihta aweorpe* (E28–29); *reaflac ... rype* (E36–37); *tyrie ... tyne* (E41); *huxlice onhisce ... hyrwunesse* (E48–49); *god ... gegremie* (E50); *færinga ... fægen* (E52); *gewunige ... wordum ... wyrgende weorðe* (E62–64); *fule oferfylle* (E69); *abite ... blodes ... abyrgie* (E71–72).

<sup>64</sup> It seems likely that the enhanced paronomasia here has been influenced by the paronomasia of the Latin source (*Cum excommunicatis nolite communicare* (e35 below)).

<sup>65</sup> Translation: ‘And let no one commit fornication. Let none maintain anger against their neighbour. Likewise, look down on the world’s dejection. No one is free from idleness. Despise vainglory. Flee from pride. Let none commit murder. Let no one commit adultery. Let none presume to separate from their legitimate spouse. Let no one defile himself with impure sex. Let none be a miser. Let none presume to receive usurious interest. Let no one possess false measures or unfair scales. Do not presume to hold anyone captive. Let none snatch anything from anyone by force or robbery. Do not commit theft. Let none judge unjustly. Do not unjustly cause injury to anyone. Let no one commit perjury. Let none presume to utter false testimony. Do not blaspheme. Speak no lie. Let no one be swift and ready to ridicule. Let no one speak ill of his neighbour. Let none have envy towards his neighbour. Let no one hate people, but vices. Do not stir up law-suits and scandals. Do not consume carrion. Abstain from what has been suffocated, and from blood. Let none become drunk. Let none practice witchcraft. Do not worship idols. Do not communicate with the excommunicated.’ The same passage appears in MS E, fols 35<sup>v</sup>, line 14 – 36<sup>f</sup>, line 16.

e5	<i>Vanam gloriam contemnite</i> ·
e6	<i>Superbiam fu'g'ite</i> ·
e7	<i>Nullus homicidium faciat</i> · /
e8	<i>Nemo adulterium committat</i> ·
e9	<i>Legitimum coniugium</i> · <i>nullus separare</i> · / <i>presumat</i> ·
e10	<i>Nemo incestis coniunctionibus se inquinet</i> ·
e11	<i>Nullus</i> / <i>auarus sit</i> ·
e12	<i>usuras</i> · <i>Nullus presumat accipere</i> ·
e13	<i>Nemo mensuras dupplices</i> / <i>nec stateras iniustas habeat</i> ·
e14	<i>Hominem captiuare non presumite</i> ·
e15	<i>Per uim</i> / <i>uel rapinam nullus aliquid alicui tollat</i> ·
e16	<i>Furtum non facite</i> ·
e17	<i>Nullus</i> / <i>iniuste iudicet</i> ·
e18	<i>Nolite iniuste iniuriam alicui facere</i> ·
e19	<i>Nemo per/iuret</i> ·
e20	<i>Falsum testimonium</i> · <i>Nullus presumat dicere</i> ·
e21	<i>Non blasphe/mate</i> ·
e22	<i>Omne mendacium non dicite</i> ·
e23	<i>Nemo sit facilis ac promptus</i> · /55/ <i>in risu</i> ·
e24	<i>Nullus detrahat proximum suum</i> ·
e25	<i>Nemo maledicat</i> ·
e26	<i>Nemo</i> / <i>decipiat proximum suum</i> ·
e27	<i>Inuidiam contra proximum suum</i> · <i>nullus</i> 'h'abeat · /
e28	<i>Nemo hominem odio</i> 'h'abeat · <i>set uitia</i> ·
e29	<i>Nolite lites et scandala concitare</i> ·
e30	<i>Nolite manducare morticinum</i> ·
e31	<i>Abstinetes a suffocato</i> / <i>et sanguine</i> ·
e32	<i>Nullus se inebriet</i> ·
e33	<i>Nullus ueneficia faciat</i> ·
e34	<i>Nolite</i> / <i>adorare idola</i> ·
e35	<i>Cum excommunicatis</i> · <i>nolite communicare</i> ·

The relationship of the relevant passages in Bethurum Xc and Xb is complex,<sup>66</sup> while the basic order of sentences remains the same, some of those in the Latin source have been displaced (e26, e27–28, and e32), fudged somewhat, or entirely omitted (such as e9–12 or e22). It is noteworthy that the first example of displacement should occur at the place where the first three closely linked sentences give way to a looser structure. Since E22–23, omitted by the original scribe (presumably through eye-skip of *georne*) but supplied by Wulfstan himself, clearly derives from

<sup>66</sup> A simple list of parallel passages would read as follows: E1–4 < e1; E5–7 < e2; E8–10 < e3; E11–13 < e4; E14–16 < e5; E17–19 < e6; E20–21 < e7; E22–23 < e8; E24–26 < e11–12 (?); E27–29 < e13; E30–32 < e26; E33–35 < e14; E36–37 < e15–16; E38–39 < e17; E40–42 < e18; E43–44 < e19; E45–46 < e20; E47–50 < e21; E51–53 < e23; E54–56 < e24; E57–59 < e27; E60–61 < e28; E62–64 < e25; E65–66 < e29; E67–69 < e32; E70–72 < e30–31; E73–74 < e33; E75–76 < e34; E77–78 < e35.

**e8**, one might expect some reflex of **e9–12**; instead, we find in **E27–29** and **E30–32** sentences evidently derived from **e13** and **e26** (!). The following clauses (**E33–56**) duly derive from **e14–24** in sequence (omitting **e22**), with **E57–72** drawing on a choppy selection from **e25–32** (omitting **e26**), out of sequence, before again returning in the final three sentences (**E73–78**) to a sequence derived from **e33–35**. What is still more striking is the extent to which Wulfstan has harmonized in Old English what in Latin is a fairly disparate list, employing various strategies to get across its prohibitions. So, for example, we find some sentences using *nemo* (**e1**, **e4**, **e8**, **e10**, **e13**, **e19**, **e23**, **e25–26**, and **e28**), some *nullus* (**e2**, **e7**, **e9**, **e11–12**, **e15**, **e17**, **e20**, **e24**, **e27**, and **e32–33**), some *nolite* (**e18**, **e29–30**, and **e34–35**), some *non* followed by an imperative (**e14**, **e16**, and **e21–22**), some a simple prohibitive imperative (**e3**, **e5–6**, and **e31**). Once again, it is clear that Wulfstan tended to express his rhetorical genius more fully in the vernacular, notwithstanding his own sense of what is appropriate in Latin.

Still more complex is a related sequence later on in the sermon, again including an intervention in Wulfstan's own hand, and which at first glance is entirely composed of binary elements depicting the hoped-for salvation of lost souls (Bethurum Xc.122–40; MS I, fols 80<sup>v</sup>, line 20 – 81<sup>v</sup>, line 2):<sup>67</sup>

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| <b>F1</b> | ȝȝ se þe / wære gitsiende oþera manna þinga / ȝ æhta :        |
| <b>F2</b> | weorðe of his agenum rihte / begytenan ·                      |
| <b>F3</b> | ælmesgyfa georne ; /  |
| <b>F4</b> | <<ȝ Se þe wære gifre  |
| <b>F5</b> | weorðe se syfre · >>  |
| <b>F6</b> | ȝȝ se þe wære galsere on fulan /81 <sup>r</sup> / forligere : |
| <b>F7</b> | weorðe he clænsere / his agenre saule ;                       |
| <b>F8</b> | Se þe wære weamod : /   |
| <b>F9</b> | wyrðe se gepyldmod ;  |

---

<sup>67</sup> Translation: 'And he who was covetous of other men's things and possessions, let him have to receive almsgiving eagerly in his own right; and he who was greedy, let him become temperate; and he who was a libertine in foul fornication, let him become the cleanser of his own soul; he who was angry, let him become patient; he who was sad, let him become glad; he who was lazy, let him become active; he who was praise-eager for empty endorsement, let him become careful how he most might please his lord; he who was proud, let him become humble; he who was stealing, let him become striving after the proper harvest; he who was sleepy, let him become fully wakeful; and he who was fully sluggish, let him become active, frequently to church for his own necessity; he who was lying, let him become truthful; he who was slandering, let him become prudent in speech; he who was a foolish speaker, let him become a wise speaker; and he who busied himself in wickedness, let him busy himself continually in holy prayers; and he who was disbelieving of the true belief, let him become a believer of true godliness. Thus one must atone for each wrong with a right, and weed out each wicked weed and exalt the good seed.'

- F10** Se þe wære hoh/mod :  
**F11** weorðe se glædmod ;  
**F12** Se þe wære / idelgeorn :  
**F13** weorðe se notgeorn ; /  
**F14** Se þe wære lofgeorn for idelan / weorðscipe :  
**F15** weorðe se carful hu he / swyðast mæge gecweman his drihtne ; /  
**F16** Se þe wære oformod :  
**F17** weorðe se / eadmod ;  
**F18** Se þe wære scaðiende : /  
**F19** weorðe se tiligende on rihtlicre / tilðe ;  
**F20** Se þe wære slapol :  
**F21** weorþe / se ful wacor ;  
**F22** ȝȝ se þe wære full slaw · /  
**F23** weorðe se unslaw ·  
**F24** to cyrcan gelome · /  
**F25** for agenre þearfe ;  
**F26** Se þe wære leas/sagol :  
**F27** weorðe se soðsagol ;  
**F28** Se þe / wære blæcslitol<sup>68</sup> :  
**F29** weorðe se wær/sagol ;  
**F30** Se þe wære stuntwyrde : /  
**F31** weorðe se wiswyrde ;  
**F32** ȝȝ se þe on unriht / abysgode hine sylfne :  
**F33** se on halgum / gebedum abysgie hine symle ;  
**F34** ȝȝ se þe / wære unge`le`afful rihtes geleafan : /  
**F35** weorðe se geleafull godcundes / rihtes ;  
**F36** Ðus man sceal ælc unriht /81<sup>v</sup>/ mid rihte gebetan :  
**F37** ȝ unweod aweodian / ȝ god sæd aræran ;

In this case, the consistent binary structure of the Old English (*se þe wære ... weorðe se*) is evidently derived from a parallel and equally consistent binary structure (*Qui fuit ... sit*) in the Latin source (Bethurum Xb.97–111; MS C, p. 55, lines 24–36).<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> The scribe originally wrote *blæcslitol*, presumably influenced by all the surrounding instances of the letter *l* (in *leassagol*, *soðsagol*, and *wærsagol*).

<sup>69</sup> Translation: ‘But whoever has been covetous, let him be generous in almsgiving; whoever has been drunk and a glutton, let him be sober and abstinent; whoever has been a fornicator, let him be pure and chaste; whoever has been irascible, let him be patient; whoever has been dejected for worldly reasons, let him be happy and glad; whoever has been lazy, which is wasting time in leisure, let him be working with his own hands or serving God; whoever used



- f1** Sed · Qui fuit cupidus sit in elemosinis largus ·  
**f2** Qui fuit ebriosus / *et* gulosus sit sobrius *et* abstinens ·  
**f3** Qui fuit fornicator sit purus / *et* castus ·  
**f4** Qui fuit iracundus sit patiens ·  
**f5** Qui fuit tristis *pro* secularibus / causis sit hilaris *et* gaudens ·  
**f6** Qui fuit tediosus *quod est* otio uacans sit / propriis manibus operans  
*uel* deo seruiens ·  
**f7** Qui *pro* uana gloria aliquid faci/ebat incipiat soli deo placere ·  
**f8** Qui fuit superbus sit humilis ·  
**f9** Qui / fuit latro sit idoneus ·  
**f10** Qui fuit somnolentus sit uigil ·  
**f11** Qui fuit / bilinguis sit boniloquus ·  
**f12** Qui fuit detractor · sit benignus · /  
**f13** Qui fuit in uerbis otiosus · sit eloquiis bonis intente perseuerans · /  
**f14** Qui in causis iniustis se implicabat orationibus *sancris* se occupet · /  
**f15** Qui fuit incredulus sit fidelis ·  
**f16** Sic *et* contra singula uitia *uel* / peccata pugnandum *est* quia prius ·  
*oportet* derelinquere malum / *et* deinde facere bonum ·

But, as before, the relationship of the relevant passages in Bethurum Xb and Xc is rather more complex than this simple equivalence might at first suggest. The first eight sentences of the Latin clearly hearken back to the list of the eight chief vices discussed earlier, and the first eight sentences of the Old English do likewise, albeit with more elaborate attention to the possibilities of parallelism and sound-play.<sup>70</sup>

Other 'improvements' to the Latin source are in evidence. Although all sixteen Latin sentences are represented in the Old English in precisely the same sequence,<sup>71</sup> it is notable that Bethurum Xc contains what seems to be an extra element, a sentence which in other ways seems out of place (**F22–25**). The call to be vigorous in attending church is well in keeping with Wulfstan's worldview and could conceivably be construed as an elaboration on the more general injunction against laziness expressed in the immediately preceding sentence (**F20–21**); yet it still stands out from the sur-

---

to do something out of vainglory, let him begin to please God alone; whoever has been proud, let him be humble; whoever has been a thief, let him be worthy; whoever has been sleepy, let him be vigilant; whoever has been hypocritical, let him speak well; whoever has been a back-biter, let him be kind; whoever has been dull in words, let him be intently aiming for fine eloquence; whoever used to embroil himself in unjust causes, let him occupy himself in holy prayers. Thus one should fight against every single vice and sin, since first one must abandon evil and then do good.' The same passage appears in MS E, fols 36<sup>v</sup>, line 15 – 37<sup>r</sup>, line 10.

<sup>70</sup> Some of the equivalencies are closer than others, but broadly speaking **D8–15** are matched by **F1, F4, F6, F8, F10, F12, F14**, and **F16**, while **D21–28** are matched by **F2–3, F5, F7, F9, F11, F13, F15**, and **F17**.

<sup>71</sup> A simple list of parallel passages would read as follows: **F1–3 < f1, F4–5 < f2, F6–7 < f3, F8–9 < f4, F10–11 < f5, F12–13 < f6, F14–15 < f7, F16–17 < f8, F18–19 < f9, F20–21 < f10, F26–27 < f11, F28–29 < f12, F30–31 < f13, F32–33 < f14, F34–35 < f15**, and **F36–37 < f16**.

rounding material by reason of its clearly different rhythm and rhetorical structure. An earlier sentence (F14–15) likewise exhibits an evidently different rhythm and rhetorical structure from the neighbouring text and could indeed be broken down (like F22–25) into a four- or even five-part structure.<sup>72</sup> These two longer sentences at all events seem clearly to divide the remaining fifteen sentences into five discrete tripartite units, marked off by rhythm, syntax, wordplay, and theme (F1–7, F8–13, F16–21, F26–31, and F32–37). So, for example, rhyme is in evidence in F4–5 and F6–7, while identity of ending is apparent in F8–13 and (to a lesser extent) F16–21 and F26–31, the latter three sentences of which are connected by the theme of speech. The final three sentences (F32–37) are (as we have seen before) marked off by more elaborate patterning, being connected to each other by verbal repetition (*unriht ... rihtes ... rihtes ... unriht ... rihte*), as well as by paronomasia within each of the three constituent sentences (*abyrgode ... abysgie* (F32–33); *ungeleafful ... geleafan ... geleafful* (F34–35); *unweod aweodian* (F37)). One notes that precisely the same kind of paronomasia (and precisely the same agrarian imagery) found in the final sentence is likewise witnessed in F18–19 (*tiligende ... tilde*), which as the ninth of seventeen sentences falls at exactly the mid-point of the passage as a whole. Neither paronomasia nor agrarian imagery are evident in the Latin source at the relevant points (f9 and f16), so suggesting that their use in the Old English represents deliberate rhetorical embellishment on Wulfstan's part.

A similar striving for enhanced rhetorical effects, as well as a clear tendency to form tripartite structures out of simple binaries, is further evident in a brief passage about three-quarters of the way through the sermon, dealing with charity and almsgiving (Bethurum Xc.159–69; MS I, fols 82<sup>r</sup>, line 10 – 82<sup>v</sup>, line 3):<sup>73</sup>

G1	Ælmesgedal dæle man gelome ; /
G2	Mete þam ofhingredum :
G3	drenc / ðam ofþyrstum :
G4	hushleow gefa/renan :
G5	wæfels þam nacedum : /
G6	frofer þam dreorigum :
G7	neosunge / þam seocum .
G8	ȝ byrgenne þam / deadum ;

<sup>72</sup> In that case, the breaks (and points) would come after *lofgeorn*, *carful*, and *mæge*, as indeed they do in the relevant passage in MS E.

<sup>73</sup> Translation: 'Let alms be distributed frequently: food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, shelter to those travelling, clothing to the naked, comfort to the miserable, visiting to the sick, and burial to the dead. Let widows and stepchildren be guarded and protected, and let each of the needy be eagerly helped. Let judgements and commands be eagerly established, so that the nation and the laws stand securely. Let every man be loyal and true to his lord, always and properly, and let every lord be merciful to his men, and never oppress them too much or improperly; let every man be merciful in his heart, and for fear of God show mercy when they have the power to harm.'

<b>G9</b>	Wydewan ȝ steopcild werie / man ȝ nerie ;
<b>G10</b>	ȝȝ þearfena gehwylcūm / helpe man georne ;
<b>G11</b>	Domas ȝ dihtas · /
<b>G12</b>	rihte man geornlice ·
<b>G13</b>	þæt leod ȝ lagu · /
<b>G14</b>	trumlice stande ;
<b>G15</b>	Beo manna gehwylc /
<b>G16</b>	hold ȝ getrywe ·
<b>G17</b>	his worldhlaforde · /
<b>G18</b>	æfre mid rihte :
<b>G19</b>	ȝ beo hlaforða / gehwylc
<b>G20</b>	milde his mannum :
<b>G21</b>	ȝ hy / næfre ne swence
<b>G22</b>	on unriht to swyþe ; /
<b>G23</b>	82 <sup>v</sup> / Beo manna gehwylc ·
<b>G24</b>	milde on mode : /
<b>G25</b>	ȝ miltsie for godes ege ·
<b>G26</b>	þær he derian / mæge ;

The Latin source exhibits a number of parallel structures, but overall seems less uniform than its vernacular equivalent (Bethurum Xb.123–31; MS C, p. 56, lines 6–12):<sup>74</sup>

<b>g1</b>	<i>Elemosinas indigentibus distribuite ·</i>
<b>g2</b>	<i>Esurientibus date manducare · /</i>
<b>g3</b>	<i>Sitientibus date bibere ·</i>
<b>g4</b>	<i>Hospites colligite ·</i>
<b>g5</b>	<i>Nudos uestite ·</i>
<b>g6</b>	<i>Dolentes / consolete ·</i>
<b>g7</b>	<i>Infirmos uisitate ·</i>
<b>g8</b>	<i>Mortuos sepelite ·</i>
<b>g9</b>	<i>Viduas et orphanos · / adiuuate ·</i>
<b>g10</b>	<i>Pauperibus et omnibus oppressis · adiutorium prestate ·</i>
<b>g11</b>	<i>Iudicium / rectum conseruate ·</i>
<b>g12</b>	<i>Seruuli fideliter dominis uestris subditi estote · /</i>
<b>g13</b>	<i>Domini quod iustum est seruis prestate ·</i>
<b>g14</b>	<i>Omnes in cristo unum sumus ·</i>
<b>g15</b>	<i>Misericordiam / in omnibus facite ·</i>

<sup>74</sup> Translation: ‘Distribute alms to the poor; give the hungry something to eat; give the thirsty something to drink; gather guests; clothe the naked; console the grieving; visit the sick; bury the dead; help widows and orphans; give assistance to the poor and all the oppressed; keep proper judgement. Servants, be faithfully obedient to your masters; masters, do what is just for your servants. We are all one in Christ: act mercifully in all things.’ The same passage appears in MS E, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>, lines 3–13.

The first ten sentences of the Latin (**g1–10**) are each rendered relatively faithfully by roughly equivalent Old English phrases (**G1–10**), although the vernacular exhibits stricter syntactical parallelism, especially in the central section (**G2–8**), as well as other aural embellishments, such as occasional paronomasia (*Elmesgedal dæle* (**G1**)) and rhyme (*werie ... nerie* (**G9**)). Overall, the Old English shows a far greater fondness for (occasionally alliterating) doublets than the Latin source,<sup>75</sup> and towards the end of the passage departs radically from it in style and sense. The single call to ‘keep proper judgement’ (**g11**) is expanded dramatically (**G11–14**), while the last four elements of the Latin (**g12–15**) are blended together and reconfigured into a complex tripartite structure based on repeated rhythms (**G15–18**; **G19–22**; **G23–26**), parallel phrasing (*Beo manna gehwylc* (**G15**); *beo hlaforda gehwylc* (**G19**); *Beo manna gehwylc* (**G23**)), and paronomasia (*milde* (**G20**); *milde* (**G24**); *mitsie* (**G25**)). A very similar propensity towards the highlighting of tripartite structures occurs very shortly after this passage, where Wulfstan exaggerates a tripartite theme only hinted at in the Latin source (Bethurum Xb.134–35; MS C, p. 56, lines 14–15):<sup>76</sup>

<b>h1</b>	<i>Veritatem ex corde et ore dicite . /</i>
<b>h2</b>	<i>Castiatem tenete .</i>
<b>h3</b>	<i>Sobrietatem et parciatam `h`abete .</i>

Although the Latin clearly consists of three elements, one might argue that it is the doublets *corde et ore* and *Sobrietatem et parciatam* that are being emphasized alongside the triple injunction *dicite ... tenete ... habete*. The structure of the equivalent Old English passage is much plainer (Bethurum Xc.171–74; MS I, fol. 82<sup>v</sup>, lines 7–10):<sup>77</sup>

<b>H1</b>	On manna gehwylces .
<b>H2</b>	mode ȝ muðe . /
<b>H3</b>	soðsagu stande ȝ
<b>H4</b>	On he`o`rtan .
<b>H5</b>	ȝ on weorcan ȝ /
<b>H6</b>	clænnes gelufie ;
<b>H7</b>	On geþance .
<b>H8</b>	ȝ on þeawum . /
<b>H9</b>	syfernes gelicige ;

<sup>75</sup> Old English: *Wydewan ȝ steopcild* (**G9**); *werie ... ȝ nerie* (**G9**); *Domas ȝ dihtas* (**G11**); *leod ȝ lagu* (**G13**); *hold ȝ getrywe* (**G16**). Latin: *Viduas et orphanos* (**g9**); *Pauperibus et omnibus oppressis* (**g10**).

<sup>76</sup> Translation: ‘Speak truth from your hearts and mouths; keep chastity; preserve sobriety and moderation.’ The same passage appears in MS E, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>, lines 16–18.

<sup>77</sup> Translation: ‘In the minds and mouths of every man let the truth stand. In their hearts and deeds let them love purity. In their thoughts and habits let them like moderation.’

The punctuation here clearly indicates a tripartite structure, consisting of three sentences of three elements each, emphasizing the so-called 'thought, word, and deed' theme that is so widely attested in Anglo-Saxon literature,<sup>78</sup> and which may ultimately derive from Celtic (likely Hiberno-Latin) sources. The syntactical structure of each of these sentences is effectively the same: a doublet in which both elements are linked by alliteration or assonance (*On ... mode 7 muðe* (H1–2); *On heortan 7 on weorcan* (H4–5); *On gepance 7 on þeawum* (H7–8)) is followed by a two-element main clause (*soðsagu stande* (H3); *clænnes gelufie* (H6); *syfernes gelicige* (H9)).

In introducing the tripartite theme of 'thought, word, and deed' into the Old English version, Wulfstan is able to connect this passage with the conclusion of the sermon proper, which repeats the theme and likewise exhibits a number of rhetorical effects. The ending is marked in the Latin source by a sonorous final sentence made up of many parts that is in some ways the purplest passage of the Latin (Bethurum Xb.149–54; MS C, p. 56, lines 27–31).<sup>79</sup>

- i1      Ideo fratres festinemus · / iam emendare · uitam nostram ·
- i2      Vt sobrie et iuste et pie uiuamus et conseruemus
- i3      nos in bona uoluntate et cogitatione recta ·
- i4      cum / uerbis et operibus sanctis
- i5      auxiliante et gubernante `nos<sup>80</sup> domino nostro Iesu Cristo /
- i6      qui uiuit et regnat cum coeterno patre et spiritu sancto ·
- i7      per · [omnia secula seculorum amen]<sup>81</sup>

What is striking about this passage is the extensive use of doublets (*uiuamus et conseruemus*; *bona uoluntate et cogitatione recta*; *uerbis et operibus*; *auxiliante et gubernante*; *uiuit et regnat*; *coeterno patre et spiritu sancto* (i2–6)), which feature in almost every clause.<sup>82</sup> The conclusion of the Old English sermon is similarly sonorous, though it departs from the Latin in a number of ways (Bethurum Xc.196–203; MS I, fols 83<sup>r</sup>, line 22 – 83<sup>v</sup>, line 10).<sup>83</sup>

<sup>78</sup> See in particular Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Thought, Word, and Deed: An Irish Triad', *Ériu*, 29 (1978), 78–111; on the use of the theme in Anglo-Saxon sources (notably *Beowulf*), see my *Critical Companion to 'Beowulf'*, pp. 53, 73, 123, 146, 215, and 218.

<sup>79</sup> Translation: 'And so, brothers, let us hasten now to change our lives, so that we may live soberly and justly and piously, and let us keep ourselves in good will and proper thought with holy words and deeds, and with the help of our lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns with his coeternal father and the holy spirit for ever and ever, amen.' The same passage appears in MS E, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>, lines 13–20.

<sup>80</sup> The word *nos* has been added; it is not found in the corresponding part of MS E.

<sup>81</sup> Corpus 201 omits *omnia secula seculorum amen*, which are attested in the corresponding part of MS E.

<sup>82</sup> Note too the triplet *sobrie et iuste et pie*.

<sup>83</sup> Translation: 'Alas, dear people, let us now hasten and eagerly correct all our life-paths, and not hesitate too long, nor all too greatly, lest we perish when we least expect it, and let us

- 11** Eala leofan / men · utan nú eſtan ·  
**12** ȝ ealle ure lif/wegas geornlice rihtan :  
**13** ȝ ne latian ná to lange · /83<sup>v</sup>/ ne ealles to swyðe :  
**14** þy læs we forweorðan / þonne we læst wenan :  
**15** ac utan us / sylfe mid godan geþance ·  
**16** on worde · / ȝ on weorce wenian to rihte :  
**17** ȝ gear/nian þa myrhþe mid godes fylste · /  
**18** þe þam is gegearwod þe gode wel gehyrað · /  
**19** ȝ his lage healdað · þa hwile þe hy / libbað ;  
**110** A sy ecum gode · lof ȝ wyrð/mynt :  
**111** in ealra worlda world æfre / butan ende ; AMEN :~ /

To be sure, there are still several doublets evident in the passage (*eſtan ȝ ... rihtan; on worde ȝ on weorce; gehyrað ȝ ... healdað* (**11–2**, **16**, and **18–9**)), but rather fewer than in the Latin, and the overall effect seems less insistent. Instead, the Old English passage is thick with alliterative effects, especially on the letters *l* and *w*, as well as the same kind of division into ‘half-lines’ linked by the same kind of unstressed rhyme on a limited set of endings (here *-an*, *-e*, and *-að*) that was witnessed in the passage from Copenhagen 1595 cited above (*lange : swyðe; forweorðan : wenan; sylfe : geþance; weorce : rihte; myrhþe : fylste; healdað : libbað* (**13–7** and **19**)).

Throughout this analysis, it has been clear that Wulfstan consistently goes beyond his Latin source (Bethurum Xb) in the rhetorical embellishment of an Old English sermon (Bethurum Xc) dealing with some of the most basic aspects of Christian life and ethics. In so doing, he exhibits a distinct fondness for the predominantly two-stress phrases and binary structures so commonly associated not only with Wulfstan’s other works, but also with the rhythmical prose of his more prolific (and more celebrated) contemporary, Ælfric.<sup>84</sup> But the punctuation has revealed in Wulfstan’s works a clear tendency towards a perhaps surprising range of tripartite structures too, all carefully woven together into a seamless whole. The extent to which the intricacies of these sometimes complex rhetorical structures are thrown into relief by the original manuscript punctuation only highlights the extent to which they have perhaps too long been masked by the modern editorial punctuation routinely applied to them today. Indeed, the consistency exhibited in the punctuation of contemporary and near-contemporary Wulfstan manuscripts is of itself a striking feature and strongly endorses the divisions suggested above.<sup>85</sup> To some, punctuation may seem a

---

train ourselves to what is right with good thought, in word and in deed, and earn with God’s help those joys that are prepared for those who obey God properly and keep his laws as long as they live.’

<sup>84</sup> Perhaps the most elegant exposition of these principles remains that of Peter Clemoes, *Rhythm and Cosmic Order in Old English Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 1970).

<sup>85</sup> There is not space here to offer a complete collation of the punctuation of all the manuscripts containing Bethurum Xc; the passages discussed above will be found at the following places to which interested readers are directed, using the facsimiles noted in note 30 above.

small matter, but it is worth bearing in mind Wulfstan's own words, inscribed (and punctuated) in his own hand:<sup>86</sup>

Se þe þyses lytlan nele andgyt niman ·  
 ne truwie ic æt maran þæt he wille gyman ·  
 swa swa he scolde his agenre þearfe ·

---

**B1–11:** MS B, pp. 204, line 11 – 205, line 10; MS C, p. 56, lines 33–39; MS E, fols 38<sup>r</sup>, line 21 – 38<sup>v</sup>, line 9. **C1–6:** MS B, pp. 209, line 19 – 210, line 6; MS C, p. 57, lines 20–23; MS E, fol. 39<sup>r</sup>, lines 18–21. **D1–31:** MS B, pp. 211, line 16 – 213, line 8; MS C, pp. 57, line 34 – 58, line 5; MS E, fols 39<sup>v</sup>, line 13 – 40<sup>r</sup>, line 7. **E1–79:** MS B, pp. 214, line 8 – 217, line 16; MS C, p. 58, lines 11–34; MS E, fols 40<sup>r</sup>, line 18 – 41<sup>r</sup>, line 11. **F1–37:** MS B, pp. 219, line 14 – 221, line 19; MS C, p. 59, lines 10–25; MS E, fols 41<sup>v</sup>, line 10 – 42<sup>r</sup>, line 11. **G1–26:** MS B, pp. 224, line 6 – 225, line 11; MS C, p. 60, lines 5–14; MS E, fols 42<sup>v</sup>, line 19 – 43<sup>r</sup>, line 9. **H1–9:** MS B, pp. 225, line 17 – 226, line 3; MS C, p. 60, lines 16–18; MS E, fol. 43<sup>r</sup>, lines 12–15. **I1–11:** MS B, pp. 228, line 18 – 229, line 14; MS C, pp. 60, line 37 – 61, line 3; MS E, fols 43<sup>v</sup>, line 23 – 44<sup>r</sup>, line 9.

<sup>86</sup> Translation: 'He who will not comprehend the interpretation of this little thing, I don't believe that he will take notice of something bigger, just as he should of his own necessity.' I should like to thank Tom Hall, Rick Russom, and Samantha Zacher for helpful discussion of a number of points.





## Wulfstan's Latin Sermons

THOMAS N. HALL

Archbishop Wulfstan is well known today as a legislator and statesman, an accomplished ecclesiast and a skilled homilist in Old English, but his authorship of sermons in Latin is a topic that has only recently begun to be examined in any detail. In part this may be due to the fact that Wulfstan was less conscientious than Ælfric was in collecting and disseminating copies of his own works, and he has left us no curriculum vitae such as Bede and Chaucer did to help us determine the extent of his writings. Whatever the reasons for this oversight, the result is that we are left with an unbalanced view of Wulfstan's career and an incomplete understanding of his talents as an author and preacher. Especially with the ever-increasing attention given to the Latin literature written in Anglo-Saxon England, however, the time seems right to raise the question of how much we know about Wulfstan the Latin homilist. To this end I have attempted to construct a hand-list of Latin sermons and sermon-like texts thought to be by him, and in presenting it here I would like to describe the features common to many of these texts, comment on the relationship between his sermons in Latin and those in Old English, and make a case for a new Latin Wulfstan sermon that has not been considered as such before. If a single message emerges from this brief survey, it will be that a great deal of work remains to be done in this area but that studies of the unpublished Latin sermons in manuscripts associated with Wulfstan are already beginning to change the way we think about preaching and sermon writing in the early eleventh century.

To begin with the texts we know the most about since they are already in print, I start by listing the five texts edited by Napier and Bethurum as Latin 'homilies' by Wulfstan, together with their opening and closing lines and references to the manuscripts in which they are preserved:<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The editions cited are *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, *Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*, 4 (Berlin, 1883; repr. with a supplement by Klaus Ostheerin, Dublin,

1. De Anticristo et eius signis. Omnis qui secundum cristiane professionis rectitudinem aut non uiuit aut aliter docet quam oportet [. . .] / [. . .] paratam inueniat plebem cristianam qualiter contra Anticristum et eius sectatores resistere per fidem Cristi ualeat. Amen.

*Sermo* Ia, ed. by Napier, pp. 76–78; ed. by Bethurum, pp. 113–15.

MSS (6): Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (s. xi<sup>1</sup> or xi med., ?Winchester, New Minster), pp. 66–67; Cambridge, St John's College 42 (s. xii),<sup>2</sup> fol. 94<sup>r-v</sup>; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.ii (s. xi/xii, ?Normandy),<sup>3</sup> fols 28<sup>v</sup>–29<sup>r</sup>; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (s. xi<sup>2</sup> (1064x83), Worcester), fols 31<sup>v</sup>–33<sup>r</sup>; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°) (s. xi<sup>1/4</sup>, Worcester (and York?)), fols 51<sup>r</sup>–52<sup>r</sup>; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, T. I. 12 (s. xiv),<sup>4</sup> fol. 176<sup>r-v</sup>.

2. Incipit de baptismo. Primo necesse est ut paganus caticuminus sit [. . .] / [. . .] Hec enim sunt uestimenta quibus ornari oportet filium regis ut possit stare in aula celesti.

*Sermo* VIIla, ed. by Napier, pp. 29–32; ed. by Bethurum, pp. 169–71.

MSS (5): Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, pp. 159–62; Corpus 201, pp. 103–04; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265, pp. 180–82; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (s. xii<sup>ex</sup> or xiii<sup>in</sup>, ?Worcester),<sup>5</sup> fols 36<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>r</sup>; Copenhagen 1595, fols 78<sup>r</sup>–79<sup>r</sup>.

3. De cristianitate. A Cristo enim cristiani sunt nominati [. . .] / [. . .] in bona uoluntate et cogitatione recta cum uerbis et operibus sanctis auxiliante et gubernante

---

1967), and *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957). Dates and places of origin for pre-twelfth-century manuscripts are taken from Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 241 (Tempe, AZ, 2001). Those for later manuscripts are taken from authorities cited in the notes below.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge, St John's 42 is dated s. xii by M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 57. A date of post-1123 is proposed by J. E. Cross, 'Wulfstan's *De Anticristo* in a Twelfth-Century Worcester Manuscript', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 203–20 (p. 216), who provides a detailed inventory of the manuscript's contents and discusses the several sermons in it that are either by or associated with Wulfstan.

<sup>3</sup> Vespasian D.ii is dated s. xi/xii by Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford, 1999), p. 104 (no. 416).

<sup>4</sup> El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, T. I. 12 is dated s. xiv by Guillermo Antolín, *Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols (Madrid, 1910–23), iv (1916), 103–11.

<sup>5</sup> For the date and contents of Barlow 37, see Hans Sauer, 'Zur Überlieferung und Anlage von Erzbischof Wulfstans "Handbuch"', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 36 (1980), 341–84 (pp. 345, 348–56).

nos Domino nostro Iesu Cristo, qui uiuit et regnat cum coeterno Patre et Spiritu sancto per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

*Sermo* Xb, ed. by Napier, pp. 60–65; ed. by Bethurum, pp. 194–99.

MSS (2): Corpus 201, pp. 53–56; Hatton 113, fols 34–38.

4. Incipit de uisione Isaie prophete quam uidit super Iudam et Hierusalem. In diebus illis dixit Isaia propheta [. . .] / [. . .] a seculo et usque in seculum, ait Dominus omnipotens.

*Sermo* XI, ed. by Napier, pp. 41–44; ed. by Bethurum, pp. 211–14.

MSS (3): Corpus 201, pp. 61–64 (Latin + OE); Hatton 113, pp. 21–27 (Latin + OE); Copenhagen 1595, fols 65<sup>v</sup>–66<sup>v</sup> (Latin only).

5. Verba Ezechielis prophete de pastoribus non recte agentibus. Dominus igitur per Ezechielem prophetam terribiliter loquitur [. . .] / [. . .] non solum frangi predicatio non debet sed etiam augeri.

*Sermo* XVIa, ed. by Bethurum, p. 239.

MS (1): London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i, fol. 125<sup>f</sup>.

The first four items listed here were first edited by Arthur Napier in 1883 and together with the fifth item were edited by Dorothy Bethurum in 1957. The first is described by Bethurum as ‘a skeletal outline’ of Adso of Montier-en-Der’s *Libellus de Anticristo* ‘with appropriate biblical texts inserted where necessary, designed as a guide to the clergy, ending with an admonition to the clergy to faithfully exhort their flock’.<sup>6</sup> This text is a selective summary of Adso introduced by a quote from Isidore with probable borrowings from Gregory and Augustine, and it served as the basis for an Old English sermon on the Antichrist and his signs which Bethurum edited as *Sermo* Ib. The Old English *Sermo* Ib is not quite a faithful translation of the Latin *Sermo* Ia since it omits some of the passages quoted from Adso and from Scripture and adds a new ending, and as we shall see presently, this appears to be typical of Wulfstan’s habit of writing polished sermons in Old English based upon a set of materials first assembled in Latin. Bethurum speculated that the Latin *Sermo* Ia may have served as a set of pulpit notes from which Wulfstan preached to an assembly of clerics and that its Old English counterpart, *Sermo* Ib, was intended for the benefit of ‘ignorant priests who could not read Latin’.<sup>7</sup>

The second item listed above, Bethurum’s *Sermo* VIIIa, is a catena of passages from Carolingian tracts on baptism and once again appears to be a text drafted by Wulfstan in Latin in preparation for a fuller address in English. In this case, however, the Latin original served as the basis for two later sermons in Old English, Bethurum’s *Sermones* VIIIb and VIIIc, which together make up a continuum of texts on the baptismal rite. The Old English *Sermo* VIIIc is addressed to *eallum cristenum mannum* (‘to all Christians’), an audience that presumably should have

<sup>6</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 282.

<sup>7</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 282–83.

included priests and monks as well as layfolk, but its Latin precursor, *Sermo* VIIIa, refers only to priests, which suggests that Wulfstan had a more select audience in mind when he first wrote the Latin.

The third item, *Sermo* Xb, is rubricated *De cristianitate* and is a discussion of elementary Christian doctrine such as the Ten Commandments, the eight principal sins, and punishments for certain crimes taken largely from Pirmin of Reichenau and Atto of Vercelli. It provided Wulfstan with a rough model for his Old English *Sermo* Xc, though the Old English is freely reworked and considerably expanded.<sup>8</sup>

Item 4 above, *Sermo* XI, is a series of passages on various sins excerpted from Isaiah and Jeremiah and then translated into Old English. As such, it is properly neither a sermon nor a homily, but both Napier and Bethurum included it in their editions because the Old English translations are rhythmical and alliterative and are important for the study of Wulfstan's Old English prose.

The fifth Latin text edited by Bethurum, *Sermo* XVIa, is a selection of passages from Ezechiel and Isaiah on what Bethurum refers to as 'Wulfstan's favorite subject, the duty of priests to preach to and admonish the people'.<sup>9</sup> It is translated very closely into Old English in *Sermo* XVIIb and thus rounds out a consistent pattern of five texts in Latin which Wulfstan wrote as a preliminary step toward the composition of texts in Old English. In each case Wulfstan's authorship of the Latin sermons has been established through comparison with the Old English, and the Latin texts were apparently included in Napier's and Bethurum's editions only because they can be paired with the Old English texts.

Since Bethurum's edition, the canon of Latin sermons attributable to Wulfstan has been expanded through a series of publications by J. E. Cross, who tentatively suggested that at least ten additional texts in various manuscripts of the so-called 'Commonplace Book' should be acknowledged as original works of the Archbishop or at the very least as sermons written under his immediate supervision. All ten of these sermons are found in Copenhagen 1595, a manuscript at least parts of which were produced at Worcester between 1002 and 1016 when Wulfstan was Bishop of Worcester. Glosses, titles, and corrections in Wulfstan's hand appear in every quire of the manuscript, including a correction to one of these sermons,<sup>10</sup> and the entire

---

<sup>8</sup> One subtle and intriguing difference between the Latin *De cristianitate* (*Sermo* Xb) and its vernacular counterpart, *Her ongynd be cristendome* (*Sermo* Xc), concerns their varying methods for distinguishing and enumerating the Ten Commandments. See the brief discussion by Aaron J. Kleist, 'The Division of the Ten Commandments in Anglo-Saxon England', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 103 (2002), 227–40 (p. 228).

<sup>9</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 348.

<sup>10</sup> The additions to the manuscript in Wulfstan's hand are noted by N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 140 (no. 99); and Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31 (pp. 316–21).

manuscript must therefore have been completed before Wulfstan's death in 1023.<sup>11</sup> These additional ten sermons are listed here in the order in which they appear in Copenhagen 1595:

6. De ieiunio quattuor temporum. Quattuor esse tempora totius anni manifestum est, fratres mei [. . .] / [. . .] tunc uos cum ipsis percipere poteritis beatitudinem sempiternam, prestante Domino nostro Iesu Cristo, qui in Trinitate perfecta uiuit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Ed. by J. E. Cross, 'A Newly-Identified Manuscript of Wulfstan's "Common-place Book"', Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1382 (U. 109), fols. 173<sup>r</sup>–198<sup>v</sup>, *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 2 (1992), 63–83 (pp. 72–76).

MSS (8): Cambridge, St John's 42, fol. 91<sup>r-v</sup>; Vespasian D.ii, fols 19<sup>v</sup>–20<sup>v</sup>; Barlow 37, fols 39<sup>r</sup>–40<sup>r</sup>; Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque Municipale 31 (33) (s. xi<sup>2</sup>, Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts),<sup>12</sup> fols 6<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>; Copenhagen 1595, fols 23<sup>v</sup>–25<sup>r</sup>; Rouen 1382, fols 176<sup>v</sup>–178<sup>r</sup>; opening section only in Corpus 190, pp. 225–27; opening section only in Nero A.i, fols 173<sup>v</sup>–174<sup>r</sup>.

7. De decimis dandis. Propitio Christo, fratres karissimi, iam prope sunt dies [. . .] / [. . .] pro uestra bona uoluntate et obedientia deuota, prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, Dei Filio, regnante in Trinitate perfecta per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

MSS (2): Cambridge, St John's 42, fols 91<sup>v</sup>–92<sup>v</sup>; Copenhagen 1595, fols 43<sup>r</sup>–45<sup>v</sup>.

8. Contra iniquos iudices et falsos testes. Auscultate iudices terrę sermones meos, inclinate aures *qui iudicatis terram* [. . .] / [. . .] cum iustis gaudia eterna participare mereantur, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Cristum, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

MSS (4): Cambridge, St John's 42, fol. 95<sup>r-v</sup>; Vespasian D.ii, fol. 23<sup>r-v</sup>; Châlons-sur-Marne 31, fols 11<sup>r</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>; Copenhagen 1595, fols 45<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>.

9. Sermo ad coniugatos et filios. Oportet nos scire, fratres karissimi mei, quia Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui fecit cęlum et terram [. . .] / [. . .] *si non est timor Dei in eis. Melior est unus timens Deum quam mille filii impij.*

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

---

<sup>11</sup> See Johan Gerritsen, 'The Copenhagen Wulfstan Manuscript: A Codicological Study', *English Studies*, 79 (1998), 501–11.

<sup>12</sup> For the date and (partial) contents of Châlons-sur-Marne 31, see Guy Philippart, 'Manuscrits hagiographiques de Châlons-sur-Marne', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 89 (1971), 67–102 (pp. 71–73).

MS (1): Copenhagen 1595, fols 47<sup>v</sup>–48<sup>v</sup>, with a correction at fol. 48<sup>r</sup> in Wulfstan's hand.

10. De dominis et seruis. Scire et intellegere debemus, fratres mei, quia siue seruus siue liber, omnes in Christo unum sumus [. . .] / [. . .] ut aeterna prēmia consequi mereatur a Domino. Amen.

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

MSS (2): Châlons-sur-Marne 31, fols 13<sup>v</sup>–14<sup>v</sup>; Copenhagen 1595, fols 48<sup>v</sup>–49<sup>v</sup>.

11. Sermo ad uiduas. Sermonem sancti apostoli, dilectissime, nobis dicturi sumus ut uos que desolate [. . .] / [. . .] tu cum lumine claritatis ornata inueniri in numero prudentium merearis et cum Domino exultare in gaudio sempiterno.

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

MS (1): Copenhagen 1595, fols 49<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>v</sup>.

12. De conuersione et penitentia et communione. Intendat caritas uestra, dilectissimi fratres, quod in lectione euangelia [. . .] / [. . .] et bona deuotione penitentibus omnibus fidelibus tribuatur.

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

MS (1): Copenhagen 1595, fols 54<sup>r</sup>–56<sup>r</sup>.

13. De resurrectione mortuorum. Verba Domini nostri Iesu Christi, fratres karissimi, que in lectione sancti euangelii de resurrectione [. . .] / [. . .] sicut scriptum est: *Ibunt hi in supplicium aeternum; iusti autem in uitam eternam* [Matthew 25. 46].

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

MS (1): Copenhagen 1595, fols 56<sup>r</sup>–57<sup>r</sup>.

14. De adiutorio Dei et libero arbitrio. Audiuius in euangelio, fratres karissimi, Dominum nos uocantem ut ad eum per liberum arbitrium ueniamus [. . .] / [. . .] sic orantes dicimus ut fiat illius uoluntas in nobis. Amen.

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

MS (1): Copenhagen 1595, fols 59<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>.

15. Sermo sancti Augustini de baptismo non iterando. Duç namque sunt natiuitates, una de mortalitate, alia ęternitate [. . .] / [. . .] potest tradere separatur, si illud baptismum fit in nomine Trinitatis sub trina mersione. Amen.

Unedited; printed from Copenhagen 1595 in Appendix 2 below.

MS (1): Copenhagen 1595, fols 60<sup>v</sup>–62<sup>r</sup>.

The first of these additional sermons, item 6 above, was edited by Cross in 1992 as part of a study of another manuscript of the 'Commonplace Book'.<sup>13</sup> It falls into

---

<sup>13</sup> J. E. Cross, 'A Newly-Identified Manuscript of Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book", Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 1382 (U. 109), fols. 173r–198v', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 2 (1992), 63–83 (pp. 72–76).

two parts, the first concerning the historical reasons for the four fasts of the Christian calendar, a passage that is copied with a different, much shorter continuation in two other Wulfstan manuscripts, Corpus 190 and Nero A.i. This uneven transmission of the two parts of the sermon led Cross to surmise that the full version in Copenhagen 1595 must represent an expansion of the original shorter version in Corpus 190 and Nero A.i, and the structure and style of the sermon as a whole convinced him that Wulfstan was responsible for the entire composition.<sup>14</sup> In quintessentially Wulfstanian fashion, this sermon exhorts its audience to obey their priests and observe the rules for fasting, and to drive this message home it employs a biblical exemplum taken from I Kings 14 about how Jonathan broke Saul's command to fast by tasting a small amount of honey and as a result was punished by being prevented from winning a battle. This same exemplum is also used in an Old English Rogationtide homily printed by Napier as Wulfstan Homily XXXVI, which Dorothy Whitelock once described as being 'in Wulfstan's style', and which Jonathan Wilcox has since accepted as a possibly genuine Wulfstan sermon.<sup>15</sup>

Item 7 is a sermon on the paying of tithes based largely on Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 33. Its opening is in fact identical to the first three paragraphs of Caesarius's sermon, but whereas Caesarius's sermon concludes with a fourth paragraph on a completely different topic (on pagan practices associated with the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist), this one abandons Caesarius's ending and substitutes a new one concerned with the division of tithes for four purposes: for the physical repair of the church, for priests and clerics, for various other needs of the church, and for strangers and the poor. This fourfold division is reminiscent of a conventional scheme employed in other medieval regulations concerning the appropriate distribution of tithes, but other works on the subject typically state that either a third or a quarter of the tithes a church receives should go to the bishop. According to this sermon, the bishop gets nothing, and as Cross pointed out, 'Only a writer of the rank

---

<sup>14</sup> See the discussions by J. E. Cross, 'Contents of the Manuscript', in *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595*, ed. by James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 25 (Copenhagen, 1993), pp. 14–23; Cross, 'A Newly-Identified Manuscript', pp. 65–66; and Cross, 'Wulfstan's *De Anticristo*', pp. 208–09 and 217–19.

<sup>15</sup> *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London, 1963), p. 21; Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, *Harlaxton Medieval Studies*, 2 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 199–217 (p. 200). Napier Homily XXXVI is edited in *Wulfstan*, ed. by Napier, pp. 172–75. Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, *Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten*, 23 (Bern, 1950), pp. 213–16, pronounces a mixed verdict on the authenticity of this homily, which he declares 'sprachlich teilweise echt bis 174,5, literarisch unecht' ('linguistically partly authentic up through page 174 line 5 [of Napier's edition], [but] inauthentic as a work of literature'), thus a text derivative of Wulfstan.

of bishop (or higher) is likely to have deleted such a recipient and to have substituted the repetitive “*alia in uarios usus ecclesie*” (fol. 45r–v)’ in this sermon, which is found only in two manuscripts associated with Wulfstan.<sup>16</sup>

Immediately following the sermon on tithes in Copenhagen 1595 appear four more Latin sermons — against wicked judges and false witnesses, on married couples and children, on masters and servants, and on widows. Two are unique to this manuscript, and one (item 9) has a marginal correction in Wulfstan’s hand. The sermon to married people and children contains a passage on lawful marriage that parallels a short text in two other manuscripts of the ‘Commonplace Book’ (Barlow 37 and Corpus 265) which borrows material from either Pirmin’s *Scarapsus* or its extracts in the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti*, both of which were among Wulfstan’s customary sources. All four sermons present firm rules of conduct in the manner of Wulfstan’s Old English sermons on the Christian faith, and Cross wrote of them that they ‘look like the kind of compositions Wulfstan made in his *De baptismo* as preparation for later elaboration in the vernacular’.<sup>17</sup>

The final four sermons listed above are all short texts that likewise appeared to Cross to be very much like the kind of preparatory compositions which Wulfstan habitually wrote in Latin before he undertook fuller sermons in Old English. Item 15 is rubricated as a sermon by St Augustine because it is composed largely of excerpts from two of Augustine’s works on baptism, his *De baptismo contra Donatistas libri septem* VI.i.1–ii.4 and his *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV* XI.6–11. This sermon fits securely into the Wulfstan canon because it includes a passage that is almost certainly an immediate source for Wulfstan’s Old English *Sermo de Baptismate* (Bethurum VIIIc). In her discussion of the Old English text, Bethurum observed that a passage on the importance of the act of baptism rather than the priest who administers it has no parallel in Wulfstan’s Latin *Sermo* VIIla, which otherwise looks like a Latin draft from which the Old English was made. But the pertinent passage appears right here in this sermon against repeated baptism ascribed to St Augustine in Copenhagen 1595, which should now be grouped with the rest of Wulfstan’s writings on baptism.

Studies of the manuscripts associated with Wulfstan have thus brought to light a number of unpublished sermons that merit attention because they represent at the very least a substantial body of work with which Wulfstan was familiar and upon which his own writings depend. The contents of these manuscripts need to be edited in full and considered in relation to the published works of Wulfstan as well as to the large number of unpublished Latin sermons in eleventh- and twelfth-century English manuscripts. Precisely what this research will reveal remains to be seen, but

---

<sup>16</sup> Cross, ‘Contents of the Manuscript’, p. 19. See also Cross’s discussion of this sermon in ‘Wulfstan’s *De Anticristo*’, pp. 209 and 218–19.

<sup>17</sup> James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg, ‘Introduction’, in *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. by Cross and Morrish Tunberg, p. 13.



as a demonstration of the kinds of connections that are likely to be made, I would like to offer some comments on the sermon edited and translated below in Appendix 1. This is a previously unpublished sermon entitled *Admonitio episcoporum utilis* (an admonition for the use or benefit of bishops) which appears whole or in part in three manuscripts of the 'Commonplace Book', in each case in close proximity to texts known to have been written by Wulfstan. The *Admonitio* is an address to a single bishop urging him to reflect upon his responsibilities within the church and defining his role in biblical terms. The fact that the audience addressed at the beginning is grammatically singular suggests that this text could have been suitably adapted for a letter sent around to individual bishops, but it lacks a conventional epistolary opening and mimics the form of a sermon, and the third sentence from the end of the first paragraph, beginning 'Penset ergo unusquisque episcopus qualiter uenienti iudici debeat respondere' ('Let each bishop think, therefore, how he will have to respond to the coming Judge'), has the ring of an address to multiple parties rhetorically couched in the singular. Regardless of who the actual audience was, which is always a difficult question, this sermon is directed to one or more bishops on the topic of bishops, and as with Bethurum's *Sermo* XVII for the consecration of a bishop, it would have been most appropriate for this sermon to be delivered by someone ranked higher than a bishop with the authority to preach to bishops. Apart from its manuscript context and its author's presumable status as a figure ranked higher than a bishop, there are two reasons for associating this text with Archbishop Wulfstan. The first has to do with the biblical verses used by the author in the opening paragraph. The *Admonitio episcoporum utilis* opens by recalling God's warning to Ezechiel about the prophet's duty to rescue the soul of a wicked man by turning him from his evil ways. This injunction appears almost verbatim in two different chapters of Ezechiel (3. 17–19 and 33. 7–9), and the version given in the *Admonitio* is a paraphrase that draws equally on both chapters. The Vulgate version of these two passages reads as follows:

Ezechiel 3. 17–19:

- 17: fili hominis speculatorem dedi te domui Israhel  
 et audies de ore meo verbum et adnuntiabis eis ex me  
 18: si dicente me ad impium morte morieris  
 non adnuntiaveris ei neque locutus fueris ut avertatur a via sua impia et vivat  
 ipse impius in iniquitate sua morietur  
 sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram  
 19: si autem tu adnuntiaveris impio  
 et ille non fuerit conversus ab impietate sua et via sua impia  
 ipse quidem in iniquitate sua morietur  
 tu autem animam tuam liberasti<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad codicem fidem*, vol. xv, *Liber Hiezechielis* (Rome, 1978), pp. 55–56. The Douay Rheims translation renders this: 'Son of man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel: and thou shalt hear the word out of

Ezechiel 33. 7–9:

- 7: et tu fili hominis speculatorem dedi te domui Israhel  
audiens ergo ex ore meo sermonem adnuntiabis eis ex me  
8: si me dicente ad impium impie morte morieris  
non fueris locutus ut se custodiat impius a via sua  
ipse impius in iniquitate sua morietur  
sanguinem autem eius de manu tua requiram  
9: si autem adnuntiante te ad impium ut a viis suis convertatur  
non fuerit conversus a via sua  
ipse in iniquitate sua morietur  
porro tu animam tuam liberasti<sup>19</sup>

The paraphrase in the *Admonitio* folds these two passages into one, retaining elements of the diction and syntax of both:

Scriptum est enim in propheta: *Speculatorem posui te domui Israel. Et si dicente me ad impium: 'O impie, morte morieris', tu non adnuntiaueris impio impietatem suam, et ille in peccato suo mortuus fuerit, sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram. Si autem tu adnuntiasti iniquo iniquitatem suam, et ille conuersus non fuerit, ille quidem in iniquitate sua morietur, tu autem animam tuam liberasti.*<sup>20</sup>

The biblical verses on which this paraphrase is based were evidently among Wulfstan's favourite passages of Scripture. He quotes or paraphrases one or more of these verses in five different places in order to enforce the theme of the responsibility of priests and bishops to care for the souls in their charge. Two of these verses are summarized in Old English near the beginning of Wulfstan's *Sermo* VI, an outline of Christian history addressed to priests which here warns that on Judgement Day they will be held personally responsible for the souls of wicked men whom they do not attempt to convert:

---

my mouth, and shalt tell it them from me. If, when I say to the wicked, Thou shalt surely die: thou declare it not to him, nor speak to him, that he may be converted from his wicked way, and live: the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand' (*The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate* (Baltimore, MD, 1899; repr. Rockford, IL, 1989), p. 894).

<sup>19</sup> *Biblia Sacra*, p. 188. The Douay translation reads: 'So thou, O son of man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel: therefore thou shalt hear the word from my mouth, and shalt tell it them from me. When I say to the wicked: O wicked man, thou shalt surely die: if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked man from his way: that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand' (*Holy Bible*, p. 928).

<sup>20</sup> 'For it is written by the prophet: *I have set you as a watchman over the house of Israel. And when I say to the wicked one, "O wicked man, you shall surely die", and you have not warned the wicked one of his wickedness, and he dies in his sins, I will require his blood at your hand. However, if you have warned the wicked one of his iniquity, and he has not been converted, he shall die in his iniquity, but you have delivered your soul.*'

Gyf ðu þonne þæt ne dest ac forsuwast hit 7 nelt folce his þearfe gecyðan, þonne scealt þu ealra þæra sawla on domesdæg gescead agyldan þe þurh þæt losiað, þe hy nabbað þa lare 7 ða mynegunge þe hy beðorfton. Ðes cwyde mæg beon swyðe gemyndiglic eallum þam þe to þam gesette syn, þæt hi Godes folce riht bodian sculon, 7 folc ah eac myccele þearfe þæt hi wære beon þæs cwydes þe þæræfter gecweden is. He cwæð, se witega, æfter þam: Gyf ðu Godes folc riht bodast 7 ðu hit gebigean ne miht to rihte, þonne gebyrht ðu þinre agenre sawle; 7 se ðe woh drifð 7 geswican nele, he sceal habban ðæs ece wite.<sup>21</sup>

A nearly identical translation of these same verses from Ezechiel is incorporated into a discussion of the priesthood in Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, which enabled Karl Jost to show that the *Institutes* were written by the same individual who wrote Wulfstan's *Sermo VI*:

Ðes cwyde mæg beon swyðe gemyndelic eallum þam þe to ðam gesette syn, þæt hi Godes folce riht bodian sculon, 7 folc ah eac mycele þearfe þæt hi wære beon þæs cwydes þe þæræfter gecweden is. He cwæð, se witega, æfter þam: Gif ðu folce riht bodast 7 ðu hit gebigean ne miht to rihte, þonne gebyrht ðu þeh þinre agenre sawle, 7 se þe woh drifð 7 geswican nele, he sceal habban ðæs ece wite, þæt is þæt hi þonne sceolan to helle faran mid sawle 7 mid lichoman 7 mid deofle wunian on helle witum.<sup>22</sup>

These same verses are used to open Wulfstan's Latin *Sermo XVIa*, on 'The Words of the Prophet Ezechiel about Negligent Priests', which begins: 'Dominus igitur per Ezechielem prophetam terribiliter loquitur dicens: *Fili hominis, speculatorem posui te domui Israel et si non adnuntiaueris iniquo iniquitatem suam, sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram*.'<sup>23</sup> And because *Sermo XVIa* served as the basis for Wulfstan's

<sup>21</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo VI*, lines 10–20, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 142–43. 'If you do not do this but pass over it in silence and fail to alert the people to this necessity, then you will be forced to render an account to God on Doomsday for all those souls who are lost because they have not received the instruction and warning they require. This saying should be borne firmly in mind by all those to whom it applies: they must preach what is right to God's people. And the people also need to pay careful attention to the statement that is made next: the prophet says after that, "If you preach what is right to God's people and are unable to convert them to the truth, then you have saved your own soul, but anyone who does evil and will not stop will have eternal torment."'

<sup>22</sup> Wulfstan, *Institutes of Polity XIX*, 'Be sacerdotum', in *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, *Schwiezer anglistische Arbeiten*, 47 (Bern, 1959), p. 123. 'This saying should be borne firmly in mind by all those to whom it applies: they must preach what is right to God's people. And the people also need to pay careful attention to the statement that comes next: the prophet says after that, "If you preach what is right to God's people and are unable to convert them to the truth, then you have saved your own soul, but anyone who does evil and will not stop will have eternal torment." That is, they will then have to go to hell in soul and body and will dwell with the devil in the torments of hell.'

<sup>23</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo XVIa*, lines 4–7, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 239. 'The Lord thus speaks menacingly through the prophet Ezechiel, saying: *Son of man, I have set you as a*

*Sermo* XVIb in Old English, the Old English version makes use of this theme as well, although the verses from Ezechiel are reduced to a single line and effectively drop into the subtext of Wulfstan's argument:

Ezechiel se witega lærð Godes bydelas þæt hi beorgan heom silfum wið Godes yrrre. He cwæð Godes wordum þus to heom eallum: Hec dicit Dominus: *Audiens ex ore meo sermonem adnuntiabitis eis ex me*, et reliqua [Ezechiel 33. 7]. Cyð swiðe georne, he cwæð, Godes word wide þe of Gode silfum æror asprungon, 7 gif þu sinfullan nelt synna gestiran 7 þam manfullan mandæda cyþan, þu scealt þa sawle bitere forgildan.<sup>24</sup>

These very same verses, moreover, are also invoked in Wulfstan's *Sermo* XVII, a sermon preached at the consecration of a bishop, within a discussion of a bishop's duties which carries the same fundamental message that lies at the heart of the *Admonitio*, namely that if a bishop neglects to teach God's law and fails to help sinners mend their ways, then he will be held personally accountable for those lost souls on Judgement Day.<sup>25</sup> Wulfstan writes: '*Si non adnuntiaueris iniquo iniquitatem suam, sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram* [cf. Ezechiel 3. 18, 33. 8]. Gif þu þam synfullan nelt, cwæð ure Drihten, synna gestyran 7 unriht forbeodan 7 þam manfullan his mandæda cyðan, þu scealt þa sawle bitere forgyldan.'<sup>26</sup> Given the biblical origins of this pronouncement, this is hardly a theme on which Wulfstan would have been able to claim a monopoly, and we should probably expect to find echoes of it in

---

*watchman over the house of Israel, and if you do not warn the wicked man of his iniquity, I will require his blood from your hand.'*

<sup>24</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo* XVIb, lines 5–11, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 240. 'The prophet Ezechiel advises God's messengers to shield themselves from God's wrath. He speaks the word of God to them all as follows. Thus says the Lord: *When you hear the word from my mouth, tell it to them from me*, etc. Know full well, he says, the word of God far and wide that originated earlier from God himself, and if you will not reprove the sinful for their sins and reveal to the wicked their wicked deeds, you shall bitterly repay with your soul.'

<sup>25</sup> The expression of this idea in the *Admonitio* recalls not just the verses from Ezechiel but a passage from the *Regula S. Benedicti* II.37–38 which admonishes abbots that they must hold themselves accountable for all the souls in their charge: '*Sciatque, quia qui suscipit animas regendas, paret se ad rationem reddendam. Et quantum sub cura sua fratrum se habere scierit numerum, agnoscat pro certo, quia in die iudicii ipsarum omnium animarum est redditurus domino rationem sine dubio addita et suae animae*' (*Benedicti Regula*, ed. by Rudolf Hanslik, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 75 (Vienna, 1960), p. 26); 'And he [the abbot] must know that whoever undertakes the charge of souls must be prepared to account for them. However many brothers he has in his care, let him know for certain that on Judgement Day he will have to submit a reckoning to the Lord for all their souls, and doubtless for his own soul as well.' On Wulfstan's use of the *Regula S. Benedicti* in composing the Latin law-code known as VI Æthelred, see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>26</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo* XVII, lines 45–48, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 244. '*If you do not give warning to the wicked concerning his iniquity, I will require his blood from your hand. If you will not reproach the sinful for their sins, says our Lord, and forbid wrongful behaviour and reveal to the wicked their wicked deeds, you shall bitterly repay with your soul.'*

other medieval writings, but the point that must be emphasized here is that the use of these verses is a recurrent feature of Wulfstan's homiletic repertoire, and his own distinctive paraphrases of them in *Sermones* XVIa and XVII are closely paralleled in the *Admonitio*.<sup>27</sup> Where the Vulgate has 'Fili hominis, speculatorem *dedi* te domui Israel' ('O Son of man, I have given (or made) you a watchman unto the house of Israel'), both Wulfstan's *Sermo* XVIa and the *Admonitio* have 'speculatorem *posui* te domui Israel' ('I have set (or placed) you as a watchman over the house of Israel'). In both Wulfstan's *Sermones* XVIa and XVII, moreover, the paraphrase continues with 'si non adnuntiaueris iniquo iniquitatem suam' ('if you will not have delivered a warning to the wicked one concerning his wickedness'), a line that deviates freely from the Vulgate text, although it is very close to the paraphrase given in the *Admonitio*: 'si autem tu adnuntiasti iniquo iniquitatem suam'. The verb tenses are different, but the non-Vulgate phrase 'iniquo iniquitatem suam' is the same. In these cases the *Admonitio* is consistently closer to Wulfstan than it is to the Vulgate or to the Old Latin version of these verses as printed by Sabatier.<sup>28</sup>

A second reason for associating the *Admonitio episcoporum utilis* with Wulfstan is that the sixth sentence of the first paragraph involves a type of comparative definition of which Wulfstan was especially fond. Throughout his sermons Wulfstan

---

<sup>27</sup> Note that two of the texts proposed by Cross as additions to the corpus of Wulfstan's Latin sermons likewise paraphrase verses from this chapter of Ezechiel. The first is the sermon entitled *Contra iniquos iudices et falsos testes* listed above as no. 8, which contains the line 'Deus non uult mortem peccatoris, set ut conuertatur et uiuat' ('God desires not the death of the wicked but that he be converted and live'; cf. Ezechiel 33. 11, 'dicit Dominus Deus nolo mortem impii sed ut reuertatur impius a via sua et uiuat', 'The Lord God says, "I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live"'). The second is the sermon *De conuersione et penitentia et communione* listed above as no. 12, which contains the line 'Et tamen ipse per prophetam dicit: "In quacumque die iustus peccauerit, omnes iustitiae eius in obliuione erunt coram me"' ('And he himself says through the prophet: "In whatsoever day the just will have sinned, his righteousness will be forgotten before me"; cf. Ezechiel 33. 2–13, 'iustitia iusti non liberabit eum in quacumque die peccauerit [. . .] si dixero iusto quod vita uiuat et confisus in iustitia sua fecerit iniquitatem omnes iustitiae eius oblivioni tradentur', 'The justice of the just shall not deliver him, in what day soever he shall sin [. . .] if I shall say to the just that he shall surely live, and he, trusting in his justice, commit iniquity: all his justices shall be forgotten'). Both sermons are printed in full in Appendix 2 below.

<sup>28</sup> *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae uersiones antiquae, seu Vetus Italica*, ed. by Pierre Sabatier, 3 vols (Reims, 1743; repr. Turnhout, 1981), II, 761, 816. An unusual version of Ezechiel 3. 18 preserved in one of the letters of Boniface is noted by Richard Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 15 (Cambridge, 1995), p. 69: 'si me dicente ad impium: Impie, morte morieris, non fueris locutus, ut se custodiat impius a uia sua, ipse impius in iniquitate sua morietur, sanguinem uero eius de manu tua requiram' ('If, when I say to the wicked, "O wicked one, you will surely die", you will not speak to him so that the wicked one can guard himself from his way, the same wicked one will die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood from your hand').

demonstrates not only an enthusiasm for etymology in a fashion typical of many medieval writers, but a particular fondness for defining technical terms by comparing Greek and Latin synonyms or Latin and English synonyms. In his Latin *Sermo* VIIIa on baptism, for instance, he explains that ‘Catecuminus Grece, instructus dicitur Latine’ (‘*catechumen* is a Greek word whose Latin equivalent is *instructus*, one who is taught’).<sup>29</sup> Later in the same sermon he explains what the word *baptism* means: ‘Baptismum Grece, unctio Latine interpretatur’ (‘*baptism* is a Greek word which in Latin is rendered *unctio*, anointing’).<sup>30</sup> There is no comparable definition in Latin *Sermo* Ia, but in its Old English counterpart, *Sermo* Ib, Wulfstan inserts the statement ‘*Anticristus* is on Læden *contrarius Christo*, þæt is on Englisc, Godes wiðersaca’ (‘The Latin for “Antichrist” is *contrarius Christo*, which in English is “God’s adversary”’).<sup>31</sup> His Old English *Sermo* IX on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit contains the most elaborate examples of this device, with two separate lists of seven terms each which Wulfstan first gives in Latin followed by their equivalents in Old English. The first of these, which sets out to name the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, reads: ‘Þa seofonfealdan gyfa synd þus genamode: *sapientia* on Leden, þæt is wisdom on Englisc; *intellectus* on Leden, andgyt on Englisc; *consilium* on Leden, þæt is rædgedeht on Englisc; *fortitudo* on Leden, modes strengð on Englisc; *scientia* on Leden, god ingehyd on Englisc; *pietas* on Leden, arfæstnyss on Englisc; *timor Domini* on Leden, Godes ege on Englisc.’<sup>32</sup> Later in the same sermon these gifts of the Spirit are then contrasted with the seven ‘un-gifts’ of the devil, which Wulfstan names and translates as follows: ‘And þa yfelan ungifa þæs arleasan deofles syndan þus genamode on Ledengereorde: *insipientia*, þæt is un wisdom; *stultitia*, þæt is stunnys; *improvidentia*, þæt is receleasnyss; *ignavia*, þæt is wacmodnys; *ignorantia*, þæt is nytenynyss; *impietas*, þæt is arleasnyss; *temeritas*, þæt is dyrstignys.’<sup>33</sup> As with

<sup>29</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo* VIIIa, lines 5–6, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 169. This is a quote from Jesse of Amiens, *Epistola de baptismo* (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1844–55), CV, col. 782).

<sup>30</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo* VIIIa, lines 30–31, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 170, again borrowed from Jesse of Amiens (*Patrologia Latina*, CV, col. 789).

<sup>31</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo* Ib, line 8, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 116, based probably on a passage from Augustine, *In Ioannis epistolam ad Parthos tractatus x* (*Patrologia Latina*, xxxv, col. 1999), where a nearly identical definition appears, as noted by Bethurum, p. 283.

<sup>32</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo* IX, lines 21–27, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 185. ‘The sevenfold gifts are designated as follows: *sapientia* in Latin, that is wisdom in English; *intellectus* in Latin, understanding in English; *consilium* in Latin, that is deliberation in English; *fortitudo* in Latin, strength of mind in English; *scientia* in Latin, sound inner thought in English; *pietas* in Latin, kindness in English; *timor Domini* in Latin, fear of God in English.’

<sup>33</sup> Wulfstan, *Sermo* IX, lines 62–67, in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 187. ‘And the evil un-gifts of the wicked devil are identified in the Latin tongue as follows: *insipientia*, that is un-wisdom; *stultitia*, that is foolishness; *improvidentia*, that is recklessness; *ignavia*, that is faint-heartedness; *ignorantia*, that is lack of understanding; *impietas*, that is wickedness; *temeritas*, that is presumption.’

his use of the verses from Ezechiel, this sort of comparative definition involving terms in more than one language is not by any means a mannerism peculiar to Wulfstan — in fact, several of the examples just cited are taken by Wulfstan directly from other writers<sup>34</sup> — yet Wulfstan's penchant for defining basic theological or doctrinal terms by comparing synonyms in two languages is unmistakably characteristic of his own method of instruction in both his Latin and English sermons, and the sentence in the *Admonitio* that reads '*Episcopus* enim grecę, latinę eloquio *superintendens* interpretatur' ('*Episcopus* is a Greek word which in the Latin tongue is rendered "one who superintends"') is exactly the kind of comparative definition Wulfstan would have employed.<sup>35</sup> If Wulfstan did not write this sentence, he would have recognized it as a perfect example of a rhetorical habit that appears repeatedly in his own writing.

---

<sup>34</sup> This same type of definition comparing Greek and Latin synonyms (or in some rare instances Greek and Persian or Greek and Hebrew synonyms) is employed by numerous patristic and medieval authors including Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville: see the examples gathered and discussed by Roswitha Klinck, *Die lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters*, Medium Ævum, 17 (Munich, 1970), p. 177 n. 43; G. J. M. Bartelink, 'Etymologisierung bei Gregor dem Grossen', *Glotta*, 62 (1984), 91–105 (pp. 100–02); and G. J. M. Bartelink, 'Pope Gregory the Great's Knowledge of Greek', trans. by Paul Meyvaert, in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame, 1995), pp. 117–45 (pp. 133–34, 141, 143). The author of the Pseudo-Alcuinian *De divinis officiis* (*Patrologia Latina*, CI, cols 1234–35) adopts precisely this method in defining the terms *cleros*, *acolytus*, *exorcismus*, *canon*, *diaconus*, *presbyter*, *sacerdos*, and *episcopus*, in each case pairing one of these Greek-derived words with its Latin or Hebrew equivalent. Several examples also occur in *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 15 (Oxford, 1995), e.g. 'Concurrentes on Grecisc synt gecwedene epacte and on Lyden adiectiones, þæt synt togeihtnyssa' ('Concurrents are called gecwedene epacte and on Lyden adiectiones (additions) in Latin', p. 30, lines 109–10).

<sup>35</sup> This definition of *episcopus* as a Greek word meaning *superintendens* (or less frequently *superinspector*) is well attested among patristic and medieval authors, including Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XIX.19, ed. by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 48 (Turnhout, 1955), pp. 686–87; Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II.v.8, ed. by Ch. M. Lawson, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 113 (Turnhout, 1989), p. 59; Bede, *Commentarius in epistolas septem catholicas* II.25, ed. by D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 121 (Turnhout, 1983), p. 242; Eucherius of Lyon, *Instructiones* 2, ed. by K. Wotke, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 31 (Vienna, 1894), p. 160; Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* 36 (*Patrologia Latina*, CI, col. 1235); Smaragdus, *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia* (*Patrologia Latina*, CII, col. 285); Hrabanus Maurus, *Homilia* 22 (*Patrologia Latina*, CX, col. 187); Walafrid Strabo, *In epistola I beati Petri* II.25 (*Patrologia Latina*, CXIV, col. 684); and Rather of Verona, *De contemptu canonum* 24 (*Patrologia Latina*, CXXXVI, col. 514). Additional examples are noted by C. Du Fresne, Sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, new edn by G. A. L. Henschel, 10 vols (Niort, 1883–87), III (1883), 276, s.v. *episcopus*. Eucherius and Rather are the only authors I find other than Wulfstan who link this etymology directly with Ezechiel 3. 7.

With these last details in mind, we can characterize the *Admonitio episcoporum utilis* as a short admonitory sermon on the functions and duties of the episcopate written by someone most likely of the rank of archbishop and addressed to a group of bishops. It survives in three manuscripts of Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book' and apparently nowhere else, and its composition can thus be localized with some confidence to Worcester or York in the early eleventh century. It makes use of two passages of Scripture that Wulfstan used at least four times in his sermons and once in the *Institutes of Polity*, and it merges and paraphrases those passages in a way very similar to Wulfstan's own distinctive method of paraphrasing them.<sup>36</sup> It defines the originally Greek word *episcopus* by comparing it with its Latin synonym, a practice we find paralleled in several of Wulfstan's sermons in both Latin and Old English. Its two central themes—that bishops have even a greater responsibility than other prelates to ensure the salvation of their flock, and that bishops must prepare themselves now for the account they must render of their performance in office on Judgement Day—are congruent with Wulfstan's habitual admonitions to other audiences to abjure wickedness, to fulfill the obligations demanded by their station in life, and to set their sights on Doomsday. The copies of the *Admonitio* in Corpus 190, Corpus 265, and Barlow 37 have their share of copying errors, but the sermon is nevertheless a more polished composition than many of the Latin texts published under Wulfstan's name by Bethurum or those proposed by Cross for admission to the Wulfstan canon. This should not surprise us, however, if I am correct in thinking that this sermon was intended not as an aid to translation but as an address to a congregation of bishops who were schooled in Latin. Whoever wrote the *Admonitio* evidently envisioned this text as a finished product to be delivered in Latin to an audience composed of senior clergy, most likely on a formal occasion such as an ecclesiastical synod or a service for the ordination of bishops. We know that Wulfstan preached before bishops and other senior clergy at meetings of the *witan* under Æthelred and Cnut and that on more than one occasion he presided over the consecration of a bishop or archbishop.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> On Wulfstan's persistent habit of liberally paraphrasing and revising his sources rather than quoting them verbatim, see A. P. McD. Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 239–64, who observes that 'Wulfstan constantly revises and reworks his sources, both Latin and vernacular' (p. 244) and that 'we have seen Wulfstan make minor but characteristic alterations to the Latin text of the Bible and to the vernacular texts by both Ælfric and himself; there always remains a distance and a difference between Wulfstan and his source' (p. 257).

<sup>37</sup> On Wulfstan's consecration of Ælfwig as Bishop of London in 1014, of Æthelnoth as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1020, and of Edmund as Bishop of Durham at about the same time, see *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 63–64, and *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 13. Wulfstan's preaching before the *witan* at Enham in 1008 is preserved in the law-codes known as V and VI Æthelred, written partly in Latin and partly in Old English, edited in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16; repr. Aalen, 1960), I, 236–59, and *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. I, AD 871–1204, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford,



The language and contents of the *Admonitio* would have perfectly suited such an occasion.

If the *Admonitio* can be accepted as a genuine composition by Archbishop Wulfstan, then one implication this has for our understanding of the sermon corpus as a whole is that not all of Wulfstan's Latin sermons should be viewed as rough drafts for more important texts to be written in Old English. Students of Wulfstan have commented before that one of Wulfstan's talents as a writer was his ability to adapt material for different audiences and manipulate stylistic levels for various ends.<sup>38</sup> The *Admonitio* shows that he was just as adept at shifting linguistic registers and that his proficiency as a sermon writer extends over a greater range than one might gather from reading Napier and Bethurum.

---

1981), 1, 338–73 (no. 49). See the discussion by M. K. Lawson, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', *English Historical Review*, 107 (1992), 565–86 (pp. 573–77), reprinted in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 141–64 (pp. 150–55). On the likelihood that the homily known as Napier L was preached by Wulfstan before the *witan*, see Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 249–61; Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), p. 335 and n. 336; and Joyce Tally Lionarons, this volume. Wulfstan's writings about and for bishops are usefully discussed by Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds: Wulfstan, Bishops, and the Context of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 395–418.

<sup>38</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 89; *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 19; Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1986), p. 92.

## APPENDIX 1

*Admonitio episcoporum utilis*

The *Admonitio episcoporum utilis* occurs whole or in part in three manuscripts associated with Wulfstan. The manuscript sigla adopted here are based on those established for Wulfstan manuscripts in *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 1–8:

- B Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (s. xii<sup>2</sup>), fols 33<sup>v</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>. The text of the *Admonitio* ends at ‘iuxta opera sua’ (fol. 34<sup>r</sup>, line 14), omitting the final two sentences of the full text as preserved in W.
- Q Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 (this part s. xi<sup>1</sup>, ?Worcester), pp. 100–01, part only, entitled *De electione sacerdotalium ordinum*.
- W Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 (this part s. xi<sup>1</sup>, ?Worcester), pp. 171–73.
- X Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 (s. xi<sup>med</sup>–xi<sup>3/4</sup>, Worcester), pp. 4–7.

The base manuscript for the following edition is W. Superscript glosses and scribal additions in BQX are indicated by angled insertion marks ( ` `).

<W, p. 171>

<sup>a</sup>Admonitio episcoporum utilis<sup>a</sup>

O<sup>b</sup> karissime frater, corde tenus perspice propheticum sermonem. Scriptum est enim in propheta: ‘*Speculatorem posui te domui Israel.*’<sup>c</sup> Et si dicente me ad impium: O<sup>d</sup> impie, morte morieris<sup>e</sup>, et<sup>f</sup> tu non adnuntiaueris<sup>g</sup> impio impietatem suam, et ille in peccato suo mortuus fuerit, sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram. Si autem tu adnuntiasti<sup>h</sup> iniquo iniquitatem suam, et ille <sup>i</sup>conuersus non<sup>i</sup> fuerit, ille quidem<sup>j</sup> in iniquitate sua morietur, tu autem animam tuam liberasti.’<sup>1</sup> Quę sententia formidolossissima<sup>k</sup> cum ad omnes prelatos respiciat<sup>l</sup>, tamen precipue<sup>m</sup> ad episcopos<sup>n</sup> respicere uidetur. Episcopus<sup>o</sup> enim grecę, latinę<sup>p</sup> eloquio *superintendens* interpretatur. Quis autem superintendens<sup>q</sup> est nisi speculator? Cum hęc<sup>r</sup> sententia speculatori dicatur liquido colligitur quia specialiter omnibus episcopis<sup>s</sup> intimatur. Ipse enim in summo ecclesię<sup>t</sup> apice<sup>u</sup> positus quo altius sedet, longius uidere debet.<sup>2</sup> Quid est autem alt<e><sup>v</sup> sedere nisi sicut gloria dignitatis cunctos precedit, morum quoque probitate et omnium uirtutum industria cunctos preire festinet? Si autem in gloria sedis eleuatur et de moribus rectis, sanctitate, iustitia<sup>w</sup>, et subditorum salute non cogitat, quan<t><sup>x</sup> exterius ascendit, tanto interius cadit<sup>y</sup>. De talibus quoque scriptum est: ‘*Deiecisti eos dum alleuarentur*’.<sup>3</sup> Cum enim apud homines in gloria exteriori eleuantur, tanto apud Deum in imo sunt quanto apud homines in alto. Diximus quoque in /172/ alto sedentem longius uidere debere. Quid est longe uidere nisi uenturum iudicem quasi presentem iam cernere? Quid est longe uidere<sup>aa</sup> nisi presentia despicere et futura semper cogitare? Sed ordine<sup>bb</sup> prepostero episcopi<sup>cc</sup> dum inportunis

cogitationibus presentia semper cogitant ad futura uidenda mentis oculo grauato caligantur. Si enim quę secuntur sollicitē<sup>dd</sup> considerarent numquam inconsulte in presentibus exultarent. Venturus est enim ille paterfamilias qui pecuniam<sup>ee</sup> ad erogandum dedit bene operantes pro adportato<sup>ff</sup> lucro remunerabit, seruū uero a bono opere torpentem dampnabit.<sup>4</sup> Penset ergo unusquisque episcopus<sup>gg</sup> qualiter uenienti iudici debeat respondere, qui oues sibi commendatas ab eo requireret nominatim et pro omnibus redditurus est rationem addita etiam ratione animę suę<sup>hh</sup>.<sup>5</sup> Cogita ergo<sup>ii</sup>, reuerentissime pater, in quanto periculo constitutus sis qui tot animas regendas suscepisti. Ferme enim in tua diocesi centum milia aut eo amplius animarum sunt, pro quibus<sup>jj</sup> omnibus rationem redditurus es, et pro uita uel morte, singulorum<sup>kk</sup> pēnam uel premium suscepturus<sup>kk</sup>.

In lege autem ueteri scriptum est: 'Eligatur sacerdos sine macula; non gybbus<sup>ll</sup>, non lippus<sup>mm</sup>, non albuginem habens in oculo, non iugem scabiem, non impetiginem<sup>nn</sup>, non grandi aut paruo aut<sup>oo</sup> torto naso, non fracta manu uel pede, non ponderosus.'<sup>6</sup> Quę omnia uitia corporum interiores languores designa<sup>n</sup>>t<sup>pp</sup> animarum. Gybbus<sup>qq</sup> enim est quem auaritia<sup>rr</sup> deprimit; lippus qui ab intuitu ueri luminis mentis oculo caligat. Albuginem habet in oculo qui rectam intentionem boni operis peruersitate maculat simulationis. Iugem habet scabiem uel impetiginem<sup>ss</sup> qui zelotipus<sup>tt</sup>, iracundus, inuidus, /173/ inmitis<sup>uu</sup>, interior<um><sup>vv</sup> amaritudinum p<r>uri<gi>nes<sup>ww</sup> ad subditorum euaporat<sup>xx</sup> lesiones. Grandi uel paruo aut torto naso est qui uim discretionis<sup>yy</sup> penitus ignorans, nunc nimis asper, nunc nimis remissus<sup>zz</sup>: ubi misericors<sup>aaa</sup> esse debuerat crudelis est, ubi seuer<us><sup>bbb</sup> ibi laborat uideri pius. Fracta manu uel pede est qui a<sup>ccc</sup> bono opere torpens<sup>ddd</sup> paratiorem<sup>eee</sup> habet manum ad munus recipiendum quam ad elemosinam largiendam. Ponderosus uero<sup>fff</sup> est qui carnalibus desideriis pressus<sup>ggg</sup> munditiam corporis quam subditis predicare debuerat ipse non seruat.

Ab his<sup>hhh</sup> ergo uitiiis<sup>iii</sup> te alienum fieri cupio et admoneo<sup>jjj</sup> ut paratus sis ad occursum Iesu Christi Domini nostri pastoris<sup>kkk</sup> uidelicet magni, qui *uenturus est reddere unicuique iuxta opera sua*.<sup>7</sup> Cogita ergo de tua et tuorum salute ut merearis ab illo audire: 'Euge, serue bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam, intra in gaudium Domini tui.'<sup>8</sup> Satagentem te Christe placere gratia diuina custodiat. Amen.<sup>lll</sup> Vale in Christo<sup>lll</sup>.

#### Apparatus criticus

<sup>a-a</sup> Admonitio episcoporum utilis] Ammonitio episcopis utilis B, Admonitio episcoporum utilis W, De electione sacerdotalium ordinum Q, Admonitio episcopalis uitae X. <sup>b</sup> O] om. B. <sup>c</sup> Israel] Israhel X. <sup>d</sup> O] om. B. <sup>e</sup> morieris] om. B. <sup>f</sup> et] om. BX. <sup>g</sup> adnuntiaueris] annunciaueris B. <sup>h</sup> adnuntiasti] annunciaueris B. <sup>i-i</sup> conuersus non] non conuersus B. <sup>j</sup> quidem] om. B. <sup>k</sup> formidolosissima] 'id est ualde timenda' B. <sup>l</sup> respiciat] respiciat BW. <sup>m</sup> precipue] precipue X. <sup>n</sup> episcopos] episcopos W. <sup>o</sup> Episcopus] Episcopus W. <sup>p</sup> latine] latino BX. <sup>q</sup> superintendens] 'super'intendens B. <sup>r</sup> hęc] haec X. <sup>s</sup> episcopis] episcopis W. <sup>t</sup> ecclesie] 'ecclesie' B, ecclesie W, ecclesiae X. <sup>u</sup> apice] apice apice B. <sup>v</sup> alt<e>]

alte B, alta W, altę X. <sup>w</sup> iustitia] iusticia B. <sup>x</sup> quan<t>o] quanto BX, quando W. <sup>y</sup> cadit] cecidit BX. <sup>z</sup> alleuarentur] alleuatur B. <sup>aa</sup> uidere] ui B. <sup>bb</sup> ordine] ordinem W. <sup>cc</sup> episcopi] ępiscopi W. <sup>dd</sup> sollicite] sollicitę X. <sup>ee</sup> pecuniam] pęcuniam W. <sup>ff</sup> adportato] apportato BX. <sup>gg</sup> episcopus] ępiscopus W. <sup>hh</sup> suç] sue B. <sup>ii</sup> ergo] om. B. <sup>jj</sup> quibus] `quibus' X. <sup>kk-kk</sup> pęnam uel premium suscepturus] premium uel penam suscepturus es B. <sup>ll</sup> gypbus] gibbosus B, gibbus `id est caruus' Q, gibbus X. <sup>mm</sup> lippus] `clausis oculis' Q. <sup>nn</sup> inpetiginem] impetiginem B. <sup>oo</sup> aut] uel X. <sup>pp</sup> designa<n>t] designant BQX, designauit W. <sup>qq</sup> Gybbus] gibbosus B, gibbus QX. <sup>rr</sup> auaritia] auaricia B. <sup>ss</sup> impetiginem] impetigenem B, inpetiginem Q, inpetigenem X. <sup>tt</sup> zelotipus] `id est suspitosus' B. <sup>uu</sup> inmitis] `id est superbis' B. <sup>vv</sup> interior<um>] interiores (*subpuncted*) B, interiorum BQX, interioris W. <sup>ww</sup> p<r>uri<gi>nes] prurigines BQX, puriones W, `id est inquietudines' B. <sup>xx</sup> euaporat] `id est reuelat uel distopit' B. <sup>yy</sup> discretionis] `id est uirtutem' B. <sup>zz</sup> remissus] `id est parcens' B. <sup>aaa</sup> misericors] *preceded in W by the two letters re, erased.* <sup>bbb</sup> seuer<us>] seuerus BQW, seuer X. <sup>ccc</sup> a] om. Q. <sup>ddd</sup> torpens] `id est piger ertans' (?) B. <sup>eee</sup> paratiorem] parationem BQX. <sup>fff</sup> uero] om. B. <sup>ggg</sup> pressus] `duat' (?) B. <sup>hhh</sup> his] hiis B. <sup>iii</sup> uitis] *After this word Q continues:* episcopus alienus esse debet et per omnia inreprehensibilis apparere, quia lux est ęcclesię a Deo ordinatus ut in euangelio legitur: *'Vos estis lux mundi huius'* (Matthew 5. 14). Et item: *'Sic luceant bona uestra opera ut glorificent Patrem uestrum, qui in celis est'* (cf. Matthew 5. 16). Episcopus itaque bonis operibus lucida exempla prebens, et sane doctrine sermonibus instruens populum Domini perducere debet ad pascua uite. Quod si neglexerit, indubitanter non premia sed pęnas percipiet. Quapropter penset unusquisque in quanto periculo sit constitutus qui animas regendas suscepit. Forte in diocesi unius ępiscopi centum, milia, aut eo amplius animarum sunt pro quibus omnibus rationem redditurus est et pro uita uel mortis singulorum pęna uel premium suscepturus. Ideoque instanter fidem catholicam doceat et omnes homines, non solum uerbis uerum etiam exemplis, omnimodo instruat ut mereamur audire a iudice Christo: *Euge, serue bone et fidelis*, et reliqua (Matthew 25. 23) ('A bishop must stand apart and appear immune to censure of any kind, for he is the light of the church ordained by God, as it says in the Gospel: *'You are the light of this world.'* And again: *'So let your good deeds shine that they may glorify your Father, who is in heaven.'* A bishop must accordingly provide clear examples through his good deeds and, teaching sound doctrine in his sermons, he should lead the people of the Lord to the pasture of life. For if he neglects these duties, he will undoubtedly not be rewarded but punished. Wherefore let every bishop consider what danger he has placed himself in now that he has assumed responsibility for so many souls. There may be a hundred, thousands, or even more souls in a single diocese, for each of whom he will have to render an account, and he will receive either punishment or reward for the life or death of every single one. And for this reason let him teach the catholic faith earnestly, and let him instruct all men thoroughly, not only by means of his words but also by example, so that we may deserve to hear Christ the judge say: *Well done, good and faithful servant*, and so forth').

iii] admoneo] ammoneo BX.      kkk] pastoris] pastores BX.      III-III] Vale in Christo] Vale X.

## Notes

1. *Speculatorem posui te* [. . .] *animam tuam liberasti*: cf. Ezechiel 3. 17–19; 33. 7–9.
2. The statement that a bishop is placed at the highest pinnacle of the church is not just a metaphorical reference to the bishop's elevated rank but an acknowledgement of the fact that when a bishop is present in church he is given the highest seat. This practice is registered in one of the manuscripts of Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book' (Nero A.i, fol. 130<sup>v</sup>), which states: 'Vt episcopus in ecclesia consessu presbiterorum sublimior sedeat' ('That the bishop is to sit elevated above the assembly of priests in church'): *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, Anglo-Saxon Texts, 1 (Cambridge, 1999), p. 123.
3. *Deiecisti eos dum alleuarentur*: Psalm 72. 18.
4. The allusion is to the parable of the talents in Matthew 25. 14–30.
5. Cf. *Regula S. Benedicti* II.37–38: See footnote 25 above.
6. *Eligatur sacerdos* [. . .] *non ponderosus*: cf. Leviticus 21. 17–20.
7. *uenturus est reddere unicuique iuxta opera sua*: cf. Psalm 61. 13; Matthew 16. 27; Romans 2. 6.
8. *Euge, serue bone* [. . .] *gaudium Domini tui*: Matthew 25. 23.

## Translation

O most beloved brother, examine the prophet's message to the full extent of your heart. For it is written by the prophet: '*I have set you as a watchman over the house of Israel. And when I say to the wicked one, "O wicked man, you shall surely die", and you have not warned the wicked one of his wickedness, and he dies in his sins, I will require his blood at your hand. However, if you have warned the wicked one of his iniquity, and he has not been converted, he shall die in his iniquity, but you have delivered your soul.*' This most fearsome pronouncement, even though it pertains to all prelates, nevertheless seems to apply with particular force to bishops. *Episcopus* is a Greek word which in the Latin tongue is rendered 'one who superintends'. And who is a superintendent if not a watchman? Because this passage refers to a watchman, it clearly follows that it is directed specifically to all bishops. For a bishop is placed at the highest pinnacle of the church, where whoever sits highest should see farthest. What does it mean to sit on high if not that just as he is placed above others by the glory of his office, so he hastens to advance before others by his honest conduct and his diligence in pursuing all virtues? For if he is exalted through the glory of his seat, yet he does not reflect upon lawful behaviour, holiness, justice, and the salvation of those beneath him, then he inwardly falls by the same measure that he outwardly ascends. Of such it is written: '*You have cast them down when they were lifted up.*' For when they are exalted in external glory among men, they are just as low before God as they are on high among men. We have also said that one seated on high should see farthest. What does it mean to see far off if not to perceive

the future Judge as if he is now present? What does it mean to see far off if not to despise the present and think always of the future? Bishops have it all turned around if they are constantly thinking of the present with inappropriate thoughts and are blinded to future sight by an encumbered eye of the mind. But if they consider carefully what follows, they would never rashly dwell in the present. For the master of the house is come who has distributed money for investing; he rewarded the good workers for bringing in a profit, but he condemned the servant who was slow to do a good deed. Let every bishop think, therefore, how he will have to respond to the coming Judge, who will inquire of him by name after the sheep entrusted to him; he will have to render an account for each of them as well as for his own soul. Consider, therefore, most reverend father, what danger you have placed yourself in now that you have assumed responsibility for so many souls. For there may be a hundred, thousands, or even more souls in your diocese, for each of whom you must render an account, and for the life or death of every single one you will receive either punishment or reward.

In the old law it is written: 'Let a priest be chosen without *blemish*: neither *crooked-backed* nor *bleary-eyed*, nor *having a pearl in his eye*, nor a *continual scab*, nor a *dry scurf*, nor a *big* nor a *little* nor a *crooked nose*, nor a *broken hand or foot*, nor overweight.' All these bodily infirmities signal inward diseases of the soul. For one who is crooked-backed is weighed down by avarice, and one is bleary-eyed whose true inward eye is blinded to the light of the mind. One has a pearl in his eye who corrupts the noble intention of a good deed with the error of insincerity. He has a continual scab or dry scurf who is jealous, angry, envious, and rude; he airs the rash of his own inward bitterness to offend those under his care. He has a big or little or crooked nose who patently disregards his ability to discriminate: sometimes he is too strict, sometimes too lenient. He is cruel when he should be merciful, and he labours to appear kind when he ought to be harsh. One has a broken hand or foot if he has a sluggish hand that is readier at taking a reward for a good deed than at dispensing alms. He is truly overweight who is weighed down by bodily desires; he fails to exemplify the purity of the body which he is obligated to preach about to those beneath him.

I desire and admonish you, therefore, to distance yourself from these vices, so that you will be prepared to meet Jesus Christ our Lord the great shepherd, who *will come to render to everyone according to his works*. Give thought, therefore, to your salvation and to the salvation of those in your charge, that you shall deserve to hear him say: '*Well done, good and faithful servant. Since you have been faithful over a few things, I will place you over many things. Enter into the joy of your Lord.*' May divine grace sustain you in your effort to please Christ. Amen. Farewell in Christ.

## APPENDIX 2

*Nine Wulfstan Sermons from Copenhagen 1595*

The nine previously unpublished sermons from Copenhagen 1595 listed above as nos 7–15 are printed here with minimal editorial intervention, accompanied by English translations. Paragraphing, punctuation, and capitalization have been added and regularized, but the manuscript spellings have been retained. Scribal corrections and respellings are not noted here, except in the case of marginal or superscript additions, which are enclosed within angled insertion marks ( ` ` ). Quotations and paraphrases from Scripture are identified parenthetically.

7. (fols 43<sup>r</sup>–45<sup>v</sup>) De decimis dandis.

Propitio Christo, fratres karissimi, iam prope sunt dies in quibus messes collegere debeamus, et ideo gratias agentes Deo, qui dedit, de offerendis ymmo reddendis decimis cogitemus. Deus autem noster, qui dignatus est totum dare, decimum a nobis dignatur recipere, non sibi set nobis sine dubio profuturum. Sicut enim ipse prophetam promisit dicens: *'Inferte, inquit, decimam in horreis meis, ut sit cibus in domo mea; et probate me in his, dicit Dominus, si non aperuero uobis catharacta celi et dederam uobis fructos usque ad habundantiam'* (Malachi 3. 10). Ecce probauimus quomodo nobis decime magis quam Deo proficiant. Homines stulti, quid male imperat Deus, ut non merearis audire? Sic enim dicit: *'Primitias are tue et torcularis tui non tardat offerre mihi'* (Exodus 22. 29). Si tardius dare peccatum est, quantum peius est non dedisse? Et iterum dicit: *'Honora Dominum Deum tuum de tuis laboribus, deliba ei de fructibus iustitie tue ut repleantur horrea tua; frumentum et uinum quoque torcularia tua redundabunt'* (Proverbs 3. 9–10). Non prestas hoc gratis, quod cito recipias magno cum fenore. Queris forte cui proficiat quod Deus accepit redditurus. Queris iterum cui proficiat quod pauperibus datur. Si credis, tibi proficit; si dubitas, perdidisti. Decime, fratres karissimi, tributa sunt egentium animarum. Reddite ergo tributa pauperibus, offerte libamina sacerdotibus. Quod si decimas non habes terrenorum quod habet agricola, quodcumque te pascit ingenium Dei est, inde decimas expetit unde uiuis. /43<sup>v</sup>/ De militia, de negotio, et de artificio inde redde decimas. Aliud enim pro terrena dependimus, aliud pro usura uite pensamus. Redde ergo, homo, quia possides. Redde quia nasci meruisti. Sic enim dicit Dominus: *'Dabunt singuli redemptionem animarum suarum Deo, et non erant in eis morbi neque casus'* (Exodus 30. 12). Et habes in scripturis sanctis cautionem Domini tui per quem tibi promisit, quod si decimas dederis, non solum habundantiam fructum recipies, set etiam sanitatem corporum consequaris. *'Replebuntur'*, inquit, *'are tue frumento uino quoque torcularia redundabunt, et non erunt in eis morbi neque casus'* (Joel 2. 24; Proverbs 3. 10; Exodus 30. 12). Cum enim decimas dando et terrena et celestia possis munera promerere, quare per auaritiam duplici te benedictione defraudes?

Audi ergo, indeuota mortalitas. Nosti quod Domini sunt cuncta que precipis et sua non adcomodas rerum omnium creatori? Dominus Deus non premium postulat

set honorem. Non de tuo aliquid exire quod refundis. Primitias rerum et decimas petit et negas. Auare, quid faceris si nouem partibus sibi sumpti, tibi decimam reliquisset? Quod certe tam factum est, cum messis tuis pluuiarum benedictione subtracta ieiuna defecit, et uindemiam tuam aut grando percussit aut ruina decoxit. Quid est, auide subportatur? Nouem tibi partes subtracte sunt quia decimam dare noluisti. Constat quidem quod ipse non dederis, set /44<sup>r</sup>/ tamen Deus exegit. Haec enim est Domini iustissima consuetudo ut si tu illi decimam non dederis, tu ad decimam reuoceris. Scriptum est enim: *Haec dicit Dominus, quia decimam agri tui 'et' primitiae terrę uobiscum sunt; uideo uos et fallere me exaestimatis; intus in thesauris uestris et in domibus uestris erit direptio*. Dabis impio militi quod non uis dare sacerdoti. 'Conuertimini quoque ad hoc', dicit Dominus omnipotens, 'ut *aperiam uobis cataractas caeli, et effundam uobis benedictionem meam desuper, et non uobis corrumpantur fructus terrae neque languebit uitis in agro uestro. Et beatos uos dicent omnes gentes*' (Malachi 3. 10–12). Benefacere Deus semper paratus est, set hominum malitia prohibetur, quia Domino Deo dare si uult omnia, et non uult ei de his que possidere uidetur offerre. Quod si diceret Deus: 'Nemphe meus es, homo, quem feci. Mea est terra quam colis. Mea sunt semina que spargis. Mea animalia que fatigas. Meae sunt imbres et pluuię. Ventorum flamina mea sunt. Mea 'est' solis calor, et cum omnia mea sunt elimenta uiuendi. Tu qui manus adcomodas, solam decimam merearis, et decimam dare non uis.' Set quia pie nos pascit omnipotens Deus amplissima tribuit minus laboranti, mercedem sibi tantam decimam uindicans nobis omnia condonauit.

Ingrate fraudator hac perfide, diuina te uoce commoneo. Redime, O homo, dum uiuis. Redime teipse dum potes. Redime te, inquam, dum pretium in manibus habes. /44<sup>v</sup>/ Redime te ne dum te mors amara preuenit, et uitam simul et pretium perdas. Sine causa hoc dimittis uxori, que forsitan alterum habet maritum. Sine causa hoc marito dimittis, mulier, qui aliam cupit habere uxorem. Frustra parentibus ac propinquis iniungis. Nemo te post mortem tuam fideliter redimet, quia te redimere noluisti. Depone iam auaritię sarcinam de ceruicibus tuis. Contemne crudelissimam animam que dum te iugo durissime premit iugum Christi suscipere non permittit. Sicut enim iugum auaritię in infernum premere, ita iugum Christi in celum leuare consueuit. Decime ergo ex debito requiruntur. Qui eas dare noluerit res alienas inuasit. Et quanta pauperes in locis ubi ipse habitat, illo decima non dante fame mortui fuerint tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal aeterni iudicis apparebit, quia rem a Domino pauperibus delegatam suis usibus reseruauit. Qui ergo sibi hoc premium comparare aut peccatorum desiderat indulgentiam promereri, redditus decimis etiam de nouem partibus studiat elemosinam dare. Ita tamen ut quicquid excepto uictu mediocri et uestitu rationabile superfuerit, non luxorię reseruetur set in thesauro celesta per elemosinas pauperum reponatur. Quicquid enim nobis Deus et plusquam opus est dederit, non nobis specialiter dedit, set per nos aliis erogando transmisit. Si non dederimus res alienas inuasimus.

Si autem damus, /45<sup>r</sup>/ retributionem perpetuam sperare possumus ipso largiente qui repromisit bona largire pro bonis et mala econtrario pro malis, quia ipse *reddet*



*unicuique secundum opera sua* (Matthew 16. 27; Romans 2. 6). Sed perfida mens uestra solet dicere quando nos decimas aut primitias dare admonemus aut elemosinas facere precipimus quia ideo hoc iubemus ut de eorum substantia nobis diuitias preparemus. Sed nos non ex nostro arbitrio sed ex Dei lege respondere possumus, dicentes preceptum est Dei ad Moysen ut duodecim tribus filiorum Israel accipiant hereditatem in terra repromissionis; tribui autem Leui non det hereditas uel possessio, set tantum decime ab omnibus filiis Israel, et haec erit possessio eorum usque in sempiternum. Et non solum haec per Moysen set etiam antiquiori tempore: Melchisedech, sacerdos Dei, rex Sale, accepit decimas reuertenti Abrahe acede quinque regum, sicut scripturę commemorant, et ex eo tempore sicut per legem et per prophetas p̄dicatum est dantur decime sacerdotibus legitimum sempiternum in generationibus seculorum. Et ne existimet aliquis pro ambitione, cupiditas, uel questu sacerdotum hęc exigenda esse a plebibus, quia ordo ecclesiasticus et statutio sacrorum canonum est ut de his quę ecclesię dantur, quattuor debent fieri portiones: alia ad reparationem ecclesię, alia ad usum sacerdotum uel clericorum, alia in /45<sup>v</sup>/ uarios usus ecclesię, alia ad susceptionem pauperum et peregrinorum, et haec omnia cum consilio episcopi agenda sunt, sicut de omnibus que ecclesiis dantur. Sacer canon instituit sic et de decimis ut si quis eas suo arbitrio despensare uoluerit et non magis cum consilio episcopi de his agendum putauerit, anathema sit. Haec ergo, fratres karissimi, quę caritati uestre suggessimus, si fideliter et cum bono animo impleuere uultis et sanitate mentis et corporis, adquirere poteritis, et habundantia frugum uobis adrescet, et requies perpetua uobis a Domino preparabitur pro uestra bona uoluntate et obedientia deuota, prestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, Dei Filio, regnante in Trinitate perfecta per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

#### 7. On tithing.

Through Christ's goodness, most beloved brothers, the days are near when we must gather the harvest, and so giving thanks to God, who has given, let us consider our offering or rather our repayment of tithes. For our God, who has deigned to give us everything, thinks it right that he should receive tithes from us that will no doubt benefit us rather than himself. For he promised this through the prophet saying: *'Bring the tithes into my storehouses, that there may be meat in my house; and try me in this, says the Lord, if I do not open unto you the floodgates of heaven and deliver unto you fruits even to abundance.'* See, we have shown you how tithes profit us more than they do God. Foolish men, what evil does God command that you do not deserve to hear him? He says: *'You shall not delay to offer me the first-fruits from your threshing-floor and winepress.'* If it is a sin to put off giving, how much worse is it not to give at all? And again he says: *'Honour the Lord your God from your labours, and give to him from the fruits of your righteousness, that your barns will be replenished and your presses will run over with grain and wine.'* You do not freely give up what you will get back right away with high interest. You may ask who will profit from what God accepts when he is going to return it. You ask again who will benefit from what is given to the poor. If you have faith, you will benefit.

If you doubt, you have lost it. Most beloved brothers, tithes are gifts for needy souls. So give contributions to the needy, present offerings to your priests. For if you don't possess tithes from earthly produce as a farmer does, then whatever your talents procure for you belongs to God, which is why he asks for tithes from the source of your livelihood. So pay tithes from your military service, your business, or your trade. We pay one thing for material goods, another for the enjoyment of life. Therefore, O man, give back what you possess, give back because you merited to be born. The Lord says: *'Each one will give to God tithes and the first-fruits for the redemption of their souls, and they will not suffer disease or disaster.'* See, you have in sacred Scripture your Lord's pledge, according to which he promises that if you give tithes you will not only receive an abundance of rewards but you will also obtain bodily health. He says: *'Thy threshing-floors shall be filled with grain, and thy presses also shall run over with wine. And they will not suffer disease or disaster.'* Since you can merit earthly and heavenly gifts by paying tithes, why do you cheat yourself of a double blessing by being avaricious?

Listen then, impious mortal. You know that everything you receive belongs to the Lord, and yet you will not accommodate the creator of all things by returning to him what belongs to him? The Lord God demands not recompense but debotion. He does not pry out of you what you return to him. He asks for first-fruits and tithes, and yet you refuse. Avaricious man, what would you do if he were to take nine-tenths for himself and leave you the tenth? Surely this is what happened when your crops brought meager yields because his blessing of rain was withdrawn, or when hail battered your vintage or when it failed as a result of disaster. Why does this happen, you greedy undertaker? The nine-tenths were taken from you because you refused to pay tithes. The fact is, of course, that you did not give it; God exacted it. For this is the Lord's exceedingly just practice: if you will not pay a tenth to him, you will be reduced to a tenth yourself. As it is written: *Thus says the Lord: 'Tithes of your field and the first-fruits of your land are with you. I see you, and you think you are deceiving me. Within, in your treasure and in your house, there will be plunder.'* You will give to a wicked soldier what you are unwilling to give to the priest. 'Be converted even now', says the Lord almighty, 'that *I may open unto you the flood-gates of heaven and pour out for you my blessing; and the fruits of your land shall not be spoiled, nor shall the vine in your field grow weak, and all nations shall call you blessed.*' God is always ready to do good, but man's wickedness prevents it, because he wants to be given everything by the Lord God, but he is unwilling to offer anything to God out of what he seems to possess. Suppose God were to say: 'Of course you are mine, man, for I made you. Mine is the earth you cultivate, mine the seeds you sow. The animals you work are mine. Mine are the rain and showers, the gusts of wind are mine, mine is the heat of the sun, and all the elements of life are mine. You who merely put your hands to them deserve only the tithes, and yet you don't even want to give the tithes.' But even though almighty God generously feeds us, he gives the greatest abundance to one who works but little; while claiming only a tenth as reward for himself, he gives everything to us.

Ungrateful cheat and scoundrel, with the divine voice I summon you! Redeem yourself, O man, while you are alive. Redeem yourself while you still can. Redeem yourself, I say, while you have the cash in hand. Redeem yourself, lest bitter death should overtake you and you should lose your life and wealth all at once. It makes no sense for you to leave it to your wife since she will probably take another husband. It makes no sense for you to leave it to your husband, O woman, for he wants to have another wife. In vain do you cling to your relatives and friends. No one can be counted on to redeem you after your death since you refused to ransom yourself. Remove the weight of avarice from your necks. Despise that most cruel spirit as long as it burdens you with an exceedingly heavy yoke and does not permit you to take up the yoke of Christ. For just as the yoke of avarice pulls a man down into hell, so Christ's yoke ever raises him up into heaven. Tithes are thus demanded out of obligation, and anyone who does not want to give them robs others of their possessions. Before the tribunal of the eternal Judge a man will be found guilty of as many murders as the number of poor people where he lived who died of hunger because he refused to pay tithes, for he kept for his own use the possessions that our Lord assigned to the poor. Therefore, anyone who wants to prepare a reward for himself or to deserve to have his sins forgiven should be eager to pay tithes and give alms from even the remaining nine-tenths. With the exception of moderate food and reasonable clothing, the rest of the nine-tenths should not be set aside for extravagant living but should be stored in the heavenly treasury through alms given to the poor. For whatever God gives us beyond what we need, he does not give it to us as individuals, but he transmits it through us to be distributed to others. If we do not give, we rob others of their possessions.

If we give, on the other hand, then we have cause to hope for a perpetual reimbursement from the very benefactor who has promised to give good things abundantly for good deeds and bad things by contrast for wicked deeds, for *he rewards each according to his works*. But your dishonest turn of mind has accustomed you to claim that whenever we admonish you to give us tithes or first-fruits, or when we enjoin you to give alms, we are making such demands so we can build up our own wealth from the substance of your gifts. But we can refute that charge not on the basis of our own opinion but through the law of God, explaining that it was God's decree to Moses that the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel would take possession of their inheritance in the Promised Land; however, to the tribe of Levi he gave no inheritance or possession, only the tithes from all the sons of Israel, and this will be their possession for all eternity. And this testimony comes not only from Moses but also from an earlier era: Melchisedech, the priest of God and king of Salem, received tithes from Abraham when he returned from his encounter with the five kings, as Scripture commemorates, and from that time as declared through the law and the prophets, tithes are given to priests in lawful perpetuity throughout the generations of the earth. And let no one suppose that these demands are made of the people in order to further the ambition, greed, or desire for gain of the priests, for the ecclesiastical ordinance and regulation of the sacred canons holds that all gifts to the

church must be divided into four portions: one for the repair of the church, one for the use of priests and clerics, one for the various needs of the church, and one for ministering to pilgrims and the poor, and all of these are to be carried out with the bishop's approval, as is the case with anything given to the churches. Holy canon law established this practice, and on the subject of tithes it stipulates that if anyone intends to distribute these funds on his own authority, and if he means to do so without consulting the bishop, then he shall be anathematized. Therefore, most beloved brothers, these things that we have brought to your charity's attention, if you wish to execute them faithfully and in a good spirit and with a sound mind and body, then you will be able to profit from them, and an abundance of rewards will accumulate for you, and perpetual rest will be prepared for you by the Lord as a result of your good will and devoted obedience, through our glorious Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who reigns in the perfect Trinity for ever and ever. Amen.

8. (fols 45<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>) *Contra iniquos iudices et falsos testes.*

Auscultate iudices terrę sermones meos, inclinate aures *qui iudicatis terram* (Psalm 2. 10). Scitote quoniam potestatem accepistis a Domino aut ad gloriam aut ad damnationem. Scitote quia ideo iudices nominati sunt ut recte iudicent et non declinent iudicium, nec *munera super innocentem accipiant* (Psalm 14. 5), *nec considerent personam pauperis, nec honorent uultum potentis* (Leviticus 19. 15). Sciat quemque 'uel omnem' hominem fratrem sibi esse et proximum et sicut fratrem sic omnes homines diligit, sic consentiat, sic iudicet. Scitote *quoniam durissimum iudicium in his qui potentes sunt fiet* (Wisdom 6. 6). *Potentes enim potenter tormenta patientur* (Wisdom 6. 7), et qui male iudicant, peius ueniet super eos, quoniam Dominus Deus, qui in /46<sup>r</sup>/ cęlis est, ipse est iudex uerus, et unumquemque hominem iuste iudicat, et *reddet unicuique secundum opera sua* (Matthew 16. 27; Romans 2. 6).

Vos enim qui estis iudices super populum Dei, auscultate quod ipse Dominus dixit: '*In quo enim iudicio iudicaueritis iudicabitur de uobis, et in qua mensura mensuraueritis eadem remittetur uobis*' (Matthew 7. 2). Vos enim qui *non custoditis iustitiam rectam* (cf. Wisdom 6. 5), neque quod iustum est iudicatis, et opprimitis pauperes per potentiam, et *secundum legem Dei nolulistis ambulare* (Wisdom 6. 5), et munera accepistis pro subuertendo iudicio, grauissimus uobis erit cruciatus. *Potentes enim potenter tormenta patiuntur* (Wisdom 6. 7), quoniam *pusillum et magnum Dominus fecit et equaliter illi cum est de omnibus* (Wisdom 6. 8). Et uos quantum plus obprimitis pauperes, tanto amplius inferni pęna uos cruciabit. Qui iustificatis impium pro muneribus et iustitiam iusti tollitis ab eo, qui lętamini quando male facitis et exultatis in rebus pessimis, qui tollitis domos alienas et de substantia pauperum uos diuites facitis, illi plorant pro paupertate et uos gaudetis de eorum oppressione. Scitote quoniam qui misericors non fuerit, ipse misericordiam non consequetur, quoniam uita nostra quasi umbra uelociter transit, et qui bene fecerit in hoc seculo bene recipiet in uitam aeternam. Qui uero mala similiter malam damnationem recipiet in gehennam.

Dicite, queso, quanti potentes qui ut nubes tonabant et per secula /46<sup>v</sup>/ stabilis esse credebantur? Ubi sunt? Nullatenus iam apparent, set in infernum sine fine cruciantur. Quid illos nunc adiuuant purpura aut temporales diuitiæ uel iocunditates? Numquid baltheis cingent? Aut res pauperum quas tulerunt dominanti? Quid illos adiuuat superbia aut epule? Aut crassitudo? Aut aurum? Aut argentum? Aut possessiones quas tulerunt? Numquid cum illis discenderunt diuitiæ illorum? Non, set substantias et res dimiserunt filiis et hæ're'dibus et ipsi sine ullo remedio cruciantur in flamma ignis. O quid egerunt miseri? Dum mandata Dei contemserunt et pauperes oppresserunt et mundum plusquam Deum amauerunt, ante ætate perfecta ceciderunt, et sine fine cruciantur per cupiditatem excecantur et preterita illorum in tenebris subsequuntur. Vel quid illi miseri faciunt qui munera accipiunt et per cupiditatem falsum testimonium dicunt? Periuriam faciunt, et innocentes affligunt, et fraudem in Deo faciunt. Deus enim omnipotens fecit hominem rectum et dedit sensum et os et linguam unde possit Deum laudare et ueracitatem dicere, et quod peius est, commutauerunt ueracitatem in mendacium, reliquerunt Deum factorem suum, et secuti sunt mendacium et periurium. O quid egerunt miseri? Dum magis diligunt paruus quod per mendacium accipiunt /47<sup>r</sup>/ quam multitudinem bonorum insuper et regna cælorum, quod per iustitiam habere potuerunt, primam enim damnationem habent dum mentiuntur, quia propheta dixit: *Perdes omnes qui locuntur mendacium* (Psalm 5. 7). Secundam dum periurant. Tertiam dum munera super innocentem accipiunt. Et non recogitant quia Deus iudex est iustus et in omni loco oculi Domini uident bonos et malos.

O homo, quicumque talis es, festina dum potes ut reuertaris ad Dominum, quia *Deus non uult mortem peccatoris, set 'ut' conuertatur et uiuat* (Ezechiel 33. 11). Quod male fecisti, penite; quod impie tuliste, redde; quod iniuste iudicasti penite, et ultra noli repetere. Sic enim ait Dominus per prophetam: *Quiescite agere peruerse, discite bene facere. Inquirite iudicium, subuenite obpresso, iudicate pupillo, defendite uiduam* (Isaias 1. 16–17). Facite elemosinam de iustis laboribus, quia de illa pecunia que inique congregasti redimere te non poteris. Set si cupis euadere supplicia, non solum tibi abstinere oportet a malo, set etiam sine cessatione facere bonum, quia Deus mala uetauit et iusta facere mandauit. Ergo secundum eius precepta, esurientem ciba, sitientem pota, nudum uesti, hospitem et peregrinum suscipe, infirmum uel in carcerem uisita, familiam cum pietate rege, deprimentes releua, tristes consolare, /47<sup>v</sup>/ contractos uel senes liberos dimitte. Deum ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex tota uirtute *dilige et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum* (Matthew 19. 19, 22. 39; Mark 12. 13; Luke 10. 27; Romans 13. 9; James 2. 8). Fidem ueram tene, ueritatem ama, mendacium fuge. Beati sunt qui se taliter preparant ut, cum finis illis euenerit uitæ, non cum impiis damnationem percipiant, set cum iustis gaudia eterna participare mereantur, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

# 8. Against corrupt judges and false witnesses.

Judges of the earth, hear my words. *You that judge the earth*, prick up your ears. Know that you have received power from the Lord either for glory or for damnation. Know therefore that judges are called judges because they should judge rightly and should not turn aside from judgement, nor *take bribes against the innocent, nor scrutinize the character of a poor man, nor honour the countenance of a powerful one*. Let him know that each and every man is his own brother and neighbour, and just as he loves all men as a brother, so let him accord with them and judge them. Know *that a most severe judgement awaits those who are in power. For the mighty shall be mightily tormented*, and those who judge corruptly, worse judgement will come upon them, for the Lord God who is in heaven, he is the true Judge, and he will justly judge every man, and *he will render to each according to his works*.

You therefore who are judges over God's people, hear what the Lord himself said: *'For with what judgement you judge, you shall be judged, and with what measure you measure out, it shall be measured to you again.'* For you who *do not exercise proper justice* and do not judge what is just and oppress the poor with your power and *have not desired to walk according to the law of God* and take bribes to subvert justice, the gravest torment awaits you. *The mighty shall be mightily tormented*, for *God made the little and the great, and he has equally care of all*. And you, the more you have oppressed the poor, the more you will be tormented by the pains of hell. You who pardon the wicked for bribes and take justice away from the just, who rejoice when you are bad and exult in the worst things, who take away others' houses and make yourself rich from the property of poor men, they weep for their poverty while you take pleasure in oppressing them. Know that he who shows no mercy will receive no mercy, for our life passes quickly as a shadow, and he who will do well in this world will be well rewarded in eternal life. Likewise, those who are wicked will receive wicked damnation in hell.

Tell me, I ask, how many powerful men have there been who thundered like storm-clouds and believed themselves eternally immutable? Where are they? They are nowhere to be seen now but suffer torment in hell without end. Of what use to them now are their purple finery and their worldly riches and pleasantries? Will they continue to gird themselves with belts? And what of the possessions of the poor which the lordly took away from them? Of what use to them are their haughtiness or their gourmandizing or their swollen bellies or their gold or silver or the possessions they amassed? Did they take their wealth with them when they died? No. Instead they distributed their worldly goods and belongings to their sons and heirs, and they will be tormented without relief in the flames of fire. O what do the wretched take away with them? While they were contemptuous of God's commandments, they oppressed the poor and loved the world more than they did God, they perished before they attained a ripe age, and they will be tortured without end. They are blinded by their cupidity, and they follow their past into darkness. Why do those who take bribes and bear false witness out of greed make themselves miserable? They commit perjury and afflict the innocent and perpetrate fraud against God. For

God omnipotent made man righteous and gave him understanding and a mouth and a tongue to praise God and tell the truth, and what is worse, they have distorted the truth into falsehood, they have abandoned God their creator, and they pursue lying and perjury. O what do the wretched take away with them? Because they love what little they get through lying more than they do the multitude of goods and even the kingdom of heaven which they could have had by being honest, they are damned first of all when they lie, for the prophet said: '*Destroy all those who tell lies.*' They are damned a second time when they commit perjury, and a third time when they take bribes against the innocent. And they do not realize that God is a just Judge and that the eyes of the Lord in every place see the good and the bad.

O man, if you are guilty of such crimes, hurry while you can so you can return to the Lord, for *God desires not the death of the wicked but that he be converted and live*. Repent for the wickedness you have done, give back what you have obtained wrongfully, be sorry for the judgements you have made unjustly, and never do any of this ever again! For the Lord says through his prophet: '*Cease to do perversely, learn to do well. Seek judgement, relieve the oppressed, judge for the fatherless, defend the widow.*' Give alms from your just labours, for you will not be able to redeem yourself with the riches you have amassed unjustly. But if you wish to escape punishment, you will need not only to abstain from wickedness but also to do good without cease, for God has forbidden wickedness and has commanded us to do right. Therefore, following his precepts, feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, take in the stranger and the traveler, visit the sick and imprisoned, govern your family with piety, lift up the downtrodden, console the sorrowful, set free the broken and the old. Love God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength, and *love your neighbour as yourself*. Hold fast to the true faith, love truth, flee from dishonesty. Blessed are those who ready themselves by these means so that when the end of their life approaches, they will not know damnation with the impious but will deserve to share in eternal joy with the righteous through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.

9. (fols 47<sup>v</sup>–48<sup>v</sup>) Sermo ad coniugatos et filios.

Oportet nos scire, fratres karissimi mei, quia Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui fecit cælum et terram et hominem in ea, creauit ut nasceretur generatio et multiplicaretur populus qui legem Dei custodiret. Et sic ipse Dominus dixit: '*Relinquit homo patrem et matrem et adheret uxori suæ et erunt duo in carne una*' (Genesis 2. 24; Matthew 19. 5; Mark 10. 7–8; Ephesians 5. 31). Itaque, fratres mei karissimi, oportet uos quicumque in coniugio positi estis ut fidem ueram ad inuicem teneatis, et dilectionem habeatis, et castitatem certo et legitimo tempore custodiatis. Si enim pecora certo et legitimo tempore se coniungunt, multo magis uos qui Christiani estis debetis uos continere in festiuitatibus preclaris et diebus dominicis et aliis temporibus que lex constituit. Et *nolite fraudare inuicem, nisi forte ex consensu, ut uacetis orationem, et iterum reuertimini in id ipsum, ne temptet uos Satanas propter inconti-*

*nentiam uestram* (I Corinthians 7. 5). *Uxori uir debitum reddat, similiter et uxor uiro* (I Corinthians 7. 3). Legitimum coniugium nemo disiungere /48<sup>v</sup>/ presumat. Quia cum Iudæi Dominum interrogarent si licet homini dimittere uxorem suam, ille respondit: *Non licet homini uxorem suam dimittere. Et qui dimiserit uxorem suam nisi propter fornicationem et aliam duxerit mēchatur, et qui dimissam duxerit adulterium facit* (cf. Matthew 5. 31–32). Videte ergo quam graue peccatum sit adulterium, quia scriptum est: *Neque adulteri regnum Dei possidebunt* (I Corinthians 6. 9–10). Illa ergo cessauit esse uxor qui fidem castitatis tenere noluit. Et iterum scriptum est: *Qui tenet adulteram stultus est et impius.* Aliter enim nullo modo dimittenda est. Et apostolus dicit: *Precipio ne ego set Dominus, uxorem a uiro non discedere, quod si discesserit, maneat in nupta aut sibimet reconciliari* (cf. I Corinthians 7. 10–11). Et iterum: *Alligatus es uxori? Noli querere solutionem. Solutus es ab uxore? Noli querere uxorem* (I Corinthians 7. 27).

Ubi cumque igitur coniugium sociatum fuerit preter causam fornicationis nullo modo separetur. Quia si sterelis est, si deformis, si cōtate uetula, si fetida, si temulenta uel ebriosa, si iracunda, si malis moribus, si fatua, si gulasa, si uirgatrix, si maledica, uelis nolis qualiscumque fuerit, tenenda est et nullo modo dimittenda nisi sicut diximus propter fornicationem aut certe si uoluntas amborum fuerit propter regnum cēlorum, sicut Dominus in euangelio dicit: *Qui reliquerit uxorem et filios*, et reliqua, *propter regnum cēlorum centuplum accipiet et uitam aeternam possidebit* (cf. Matthew 19. 29). Sed sicut superius diximus, fratres, cum bona uoluntate /48<sup>v</sup>/ et cum timore Dei unusquisque uir suam uxorem diligat et unaquaque mulier suum uirum diligat sicut Dominum.

Filios uestros castigate et cum disciplina nutrite illos, et timorem Domini et legem Dei docete illos, et nolite ad iracundiam prouocare eos ne pusillanimo fiant. Sic enim dicit Sapientia: *Qui odit filium parcat baculam, et qui diligit eum semper erudit* (cf. Proverbs 13. 24). Qui docet filium suum gloriabitur in illo, relinquet enim defensorem domus suę. Non des illi potestatem in iuuentute, set curua ceruicem eius et tunde latera eius dum infans est. Doce filium tuum legem Dei, ne in stultitiam suam confundaris. *Filię tibi sunt, dilige eas et ne hilarem ostendas faciem tuam ad illas* (Ecclesiasticus 7. 26). Dilige eas et nutri cum timore ne confundaris in turpitudine illarum. Erudi filium tuum disciplina sapientię, et leteris in sensu doctrine illius. *Non leteris in filiis impiis si multiplicentur et si non est timor Dei in eis* (cf. Ecclesiasticus 16. 1). *Melior est unus timens Deum quam mille filii impii* (Ecclesiasticus 16. 3).

#### 9. Sermon to married couples and children.

We must know, my most beloved brothers, that the Lord God omnipotent, who made heaven and earth and man within it, created us so that a generation would be born and a people would multiply who would carry out God's law. Hence the Lord himself said: *A man leaves his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be in one flesh.* Wherefore, my most beloved brothers, it is essential for those of you who have entered into a marriage that you be truly faithful to each



other, that you love one another, and that you observe chastity at the fixed and lawful time. For if cattle exercise continence at a fixed and lawful time, so much the more should you who are Christians exercise continence on the most important feasts and dominical days and at other times that the law has determined. And *do not defraud one another, unless perhaps by consent, so that you may give yourselves to prayer and return together again lest Satan tempt you for your incontinence. Let the husband render the debt to his wife, and the wife also in like manner to the husband.* Let no one presume to break up a lawful marriage. For when the Jews inquired of the Lord whether it be permissible for a man to divorce his wife, he responded: *'It is not permissible for a man to divorce his wife. And he who divorces his wife for any reason other than fornication and marries another commits adultery, and he who marries a divorced woman commits adultery.'* See therefore what a grave sin adultery is, for it is written: *No adulterers will possess the kingdom of God.* She will therefore cease to be a wife who does not wish to uphold the faith of chastity. And again it is written: *'Whoever commits adultery is stupid and wicked.'* But for no other reason should she be divorced. And the apostle said: *'Not I but the Lord commands that the wife depart not from the husband, for if she departs let her stay unmarried or be reconciled to him.'* And again: *'Are you bound to a wife? Seek not to be loosed. Are you loosed from a wife? Seek not a wife.'*

So whenever a couple is joined together in marriage, let their union not be broken for any reason other than fornication. For even if the wife is barren, if ugly, if old, if foul, if drunken or alcoholic, if irascible, if ill-mannered, if foolish, if gluttonous, if physically abusive, if slanderous, or whatever, she is still to be kept and is not to be divorced for any reason other than fornication, as we have said, or unless both partners truly desire to separate for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, as the Lord says in the Gospel: *'He who will forsake his wife and children'* and so forth *'for the sake of the kingdom of heaven will receive a hundredfold and will possess eternal life.'* But as we have said earlier, brothers, let every husband love his wife with good will and with the fear of God, and let every woman love her husband as the Lord.

Chastise your children and raise them with discipline, and teach them the fear of the Lord and God's law, and do not provoke them to anger nor let them be cowardly. For as Wisdom says: *'He who spares the rod hates his son, and he who loves him chastises him constantly.'* He who teaches his son will glory in him, for he will leave behind the guardian of his home. Do not give him license in his youth, but bend his neck and beat his side while he is a little child. Teach your son the law of God lest you be confounded by his stupidity. *As for your daughters,* love them *and you will not present a cheerful face to them.* Love them and raise them with fear, and you will not be confounded by their shamefulness. Educate your son in the discipline of wisdom, and you will rejoice in the intelligence of his learning. *You will not rejoice over wicked children if they multiply and if there is no fear of God in them. A single God-fearing child is better than a thousand wicked ones.*

10. (fols 48<sup>v</sup>–49<sup>v</sup>) De dominis et seruis.

Scire et intellegere debemus, fratres mei, quia siue seruus siue liber, omnes in Christo unum sumus, et sub uno Domino equalem seruitutem militię baiolamus. Scitote quia unus Deus fecit nos, et de una materia terrę omnes formati sumus, et equalem spiritum accipimus. Unus Deus et Christus redemit nos, et sanguinem suum pro omnibus equaliter fudit. Uno fonte /49<sup>f</sup>/ baptizati sumus, et una conditione in mundo uenimus, et equali exitu migraturi sumus. Unam habebimus resurrectionem carnis set unusquisque propriam retributionem a Domino accipiet, siue pro bonis operibus, siue pro malis. Ubi non gloriabitur dominus supra seruos, nec seruus sub timore alicuius, set Dominus *reddet unicuique secundum opera sua* (Matthew 16. 27; Romans 2. 6), quia ipse est *rex regum et Dominus dominantium* (I Timothy 6. 15). Propterea uos qui domini temporales estis, *quod iustum et equum est seruis uestris impendite, scientes quod uos Dominum habetis in celo* (cf. Colossians 4. 1). *Serui, obedite per omnia dominis carnalibus, non ad oculum seruientes quasi hominibus placentes, set in simplicitate cordis timentes Dominum. Quodcumque facitis, ex animo operamini sicut Domino et non hominibus, scientes quoniam a Domino accipietis retributionem* (Colossians 3. 22–24). *Serui, subditi estote in omni timore dominis* (I Peter 2. 18), non tantum fortioribus set etiam minoribus. *Quicumque dominus iniuriam facit 'uel seruo' recipiet hoc quod inique gessit, quia non est personarum acceptio apud Deum* (cf. Colossians 3. 25). Sapientia dixit: '*Non ledas seruum operantem in ueritate*' (Ecclesiasticus 7. 22). Et mercenario non defraudes mercedem suam, quia Dominus in lege ait: '*Non morabitur opus mercenarii apud te usque mane*' (Leuiticus 19. 13). *Seruus sensatus sit tibi dilectus quasi anima tua, et non defraudes illi libertatem neque inopem uel mendicantem derelinquas illum*' (Ecclesiasticus 7. 23). Et mercennarius quicumque /49<sup>v</sup>/ seruierit tibi statim mercedem restituę ei. *Domini, quod iustum est omnibus seruis impendite* (cf. Colossians 4. 1), ne cum dies iudicii uenerit illi recipiant pro fidei seruitio pręmium, et uos pro crudeli dominatu damnationem. Set unusquisque sic secundum iustitiam agat, ut aeterna pręmia consequi mereatur a Domino. Amen.

## 10. On masters and servants.

We must know and understand, my brothers, that whether servant or free, we are all one in Christ, and we shoulder a common burden in the service of one Lord. Know that one God made us, we were all fashioned from a single element of the earth, and we have all been endowed with the same spirit. One God and Christ redeemed us and poured out his blood for all of us equally. We have been baptized in one font, we came into the world in a like condition, and we shall depart by the same death. We will have one resurrection of the flesh, but each will receive his own individual reward from the Lord, whether for good deeds or ill. No master will then lord over servants, nor servant live in fear of anyone, but the Lord *will reward each according to his deeds*, for he is *King of kings and Lord of lords*. Therefore you who are temporal masters, *pay your servants what is just and equitable, knowing that you have a Master in heaven*. *Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the*

*flesh, not serving to the eye as pleasing men, but in simplicity of heart, fearing the Lord. Whatever you do, do it from the heart, for the Lord and not for men, knowing that you will receive your reward from the Lord. Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the stronger but also to the weaker. Any master who injures a servant will receive the same injury himself, for with God there is no discrimination between persons. Wisdom says: 'Hurt not the servant who works faithfully.' And do not cheat the hired worker of his pay, for the Lord says in the law: 'The work of the hired labourer will not abide with you until morning. Let a wise servant be as dear to you as your own soul, and defraud him not of liberty nor leave him needy or wanting.' And compensate each hired worker who serves under you by paying him promptly. Masters, pay all your servants what is fair, lest when the day of Judgement arrives, they will be rewarded for their faithful service and you will suffer damnation for your merciless tyranny. But let each one conduct himself with justice so that he will deserve to obtain eternal rewards from the Lord. Amen.*

11. (fols 49<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>v</sup>) Sermo ad uiduas.

Sermonem sancti apostoli, dilectissime, nobis dicturi sumus ut uos que desolate estis et a uirorum societate disiun`c'te solum uerum Deum amate et ipsum uos fide et castitate coniu'n'gatis ut qui perdidistis societatem uirorum temporalium aeterno Christo habere mereamini sponsum. Nam sicut dicit apostolus: '*Quę uere uiduę sunt sperent in Domino et incessanter orationibus et obsecrationibus seruiant nocte ac die*' (I Timothy 5. 5). Viduę enim oportet *testimonium habere bonum* (cf. I Timothy 5. 10), ut sit *inreprehensibilis si qua autem suorum non habet curam domesticorum fidem negauit et est infideli deterior* (cf. I Timothy 5. 7–8). Oportet enim ut sit sobria filios doceat, hospitio pauperes recipiat, pedes lauet, *tribulationem patientibus subministret omne opus bonum subsequatur* (cf. I Timothy 5. 10). Nullam occasionem *donet aduersario ne retro conuertatur post Satanam* (cf. I Timothy 5. 14–15). Ante omnia castitatem seruet, et sciat quia si coniugio postea fornicata fuerit damnationem mortis est rea, quanto magis damnationem habebit in morte perpetua si non /50<sup>f</sup>/ seruauerit castitatem quam Deo uouit. Oportet ergo ut sit casta, sobria, orationibus et psalmis intenta, operatrix operis boni, non iracunda, non bilinguis, non murmuriosa, non detractrix, non pigrix ad opus Dei, non elata, non risum uel multiloquium sectans, sed benigna, mansueta, humilis, patiens, et `in' omnibus diligens Deum et mandata eius obseruans, ut talem mereatur accipere gratiam qualem beata Anna euangelii lectio conlaudauit, qui uixit *usque ad annos octoginta quattuor* in uiduitate perseuerans, et castitate, *ieiuniis et orationibus seruiens nocte ac die* (cf. Luke 2. 36–37). Vel sicut Iudith, qui in uiduitate super omnia castitatem dilexit, cui Dominus tantam dedit uirtutem ut impiissimum Holofernum, quem omnes gentes et omni potentia uirorum timebat, ipsa confisa in uirtute Domini propria manu eius caput amputaret. Quia ergo amauit castitatem, propterea Dominus tantam contulit uirtutem.

Tu ergo quecumque es uidua, esto fidelis uiro tuo Christo Domino, et sustine pro nomine eius omnes temptationes carnales ut possis prosternere inimicum animę tuę diabolum, qui cotidie contra te pugnat, et conteras fortitudinem eius. Ama paupertatem

tem ut Christi diuitias merearis participari. Ama castitatem ut cum sponsus cęlestis uenerit, eius cubiculum ingredi merearis. Orna lampades tuas /50'/ omnium bonorum operum ornamentis ut cum fatuae uirgines excludentur a regno Dei, tu cum lumine claritatis ornata inueniri in numero prudentium merearis et cum Domino exultare in gaudio sempiterno.

#### 11. Sermon for widows.

The word of the holy apostle, most beloved, we shall relate to you so that you who are alone and separated from the fellowship of men will love the one true God and will bind him to you in faith and chastity so that you who have lost the companionship of earthly men will merit to have the eternal Christ as your spouse. For as the apostle says: *'Those who are widows indeed trust in the Lord and continue in prayers and supplications night and day.'* For a widow should *have good testimony* in order that she be *blameless*. *If, however, she does not provide for those of her own house, she has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel.* It is fitting that she be sober, that she teach her children, that she take the poor into her home and wash their feet, that she *patiently submit to tribulation, that she follow every good work, that she give no opportunity to the adversary nor be turned back after Satan.* She should observe chastity above all else, and let her know that if after her marriage she should commit fornication, she will be sentenced to the damnation of death, and she will suffer even greater damnation in perpetual death if she does not preserve the chastity that she has vowed to God. She should therefore be chaste, sober, devoted to prayers and psalms, a doer of good deeds, not angry, not deceitful, not grumbling, not critical, not reluctant to do God's work, not arrogant, not inclined towards excessive talking and laughter, but kind, gentle, humble, patient, and loving God in all things and observing his commandments, so that she will deserve to receive the same degree of grace as the blessed Anna who is celebrated in the Gospel reading, who lived *to the age of eighty-four* persevering in widowhood and chastity, *serving God in prayer and fasting by night and day.* Or like Judith, who in her widowhood loved chastity above all else. The Lord granted her such strength that, relying on the Lord's might, with her own hand she cut off the head of the most wicked Holofernes, whom all people and every male authority feared. It was because she loved chastity that the Lord endowed her with such strength.

You, therefore, who are widows, remain faithful to your husband Christ the Lord and withstand all carnal temptations for his name so that you can overcome the devil, your soul's enemy, who daily fights against you, and you can destroy his power. Love poverty so that you will merit to share in Christ's wealth. Love chastity so that when your heavenly bridegroom comes you will merit to enter his bedchamber. Adorn your lamps with ornaments of every good deed so that while the foolish virgins will be excluded from the kingdom of God, you, when adorned with the light of distinction, will merit to be included among the number of the wise and to rejoice with the Lord in never-ending bliss.

12. (fols 54<sup>r</sup>–56<sup>r</sup>) De conuersione et penitentia et communione. /54<sup>v</sup>/

Intendat caritas uestra, dilectissimi fratres, quod in lectione euangelia audistis Dominum dicentem: *'Gaudeo super uno peccatore penitentiam agentem quam supra .xcviii. iustos qui non indigent penitentia'* (Luke 15. 7). Et tamen ipse per prophetam dicit: *'In quacumque die iustus peccauerit, omnes iustitiae eius in obliuione erunt coram me'* (Ezechiel 33. 12–13). Pensemus, si possimus, dispensationem pietatis Dei. Stantibus si ceciderint minatur penam. Lapsis uero ut surgant promittit misericordiam. Illos terret ne presuma'n't in bonis, istos uero ne disperent sed surgant per penitentiam. Si iustus es, time ne in peccato cadas, si peccator es conuertere et presume de Dei misericordia ut surgas. De conuersatione sua nullus moram faciat quia mors non tardat. Sic enim Dominus monet per prophetam dicens: *'Conuertere Israel ad Dominum Dominum tuum quoniam corruisti in iniquitate tua'* (Osee 14. 2). Et iterum: *'Conuertimini ad me in toto corde uestro, in ieiunio et fletu et in planctu, et reuertimini ad Dominum Deum uestrum quia benignus et misericors est'* (Joel 2. 12–13). Et iterum dicit: *'Conuertimini ad me et ego reuertar ad uos'* (Zacharias 1. 3). Ecce iam lapsi sumus. Stare nullo modo possumus. In peccatis grauati iacemus, sed qui nos rectos condidit adhuc expectat ut surgamus, sin uero /55<sup>r</sup>/ suae pietatis aperit et nos ad se recipere per penitentiam querit. Sed penitentiam digne agere non possumus si modum eius paenitentiae non cognoscimus. Penitentiam quippe agere est et perpetrata mala plangere et que penitendo plangimus nullatenus repetamus. Nam qui sic alia deplorat ut tamen alia committat penitentiam agere nescit. Quid enim prodest si peccata quis luxoriae defleat et adhuc auaritiae estibus inardescit aut ire aut inuidiae igne accenditur aut dolum malitiae in corde contra proximum tenet? Sic enim dixit Dominus: *'Si dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum dimittet uobis Pater caelestis peccata uestra; si autem non dimiseritis nec Pater uester dimittet uobis peccata uestra'* (Matthew 6. 15). Et nos in oratione dicimus: *'Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris'* (Matthew 6. 12). Debitum in hoc loco peccatum sonat quod alter peccat in altero. Si enim fratri suo non dimittet quod in se peccauit magis se accusat cum sua postulat peccata dimitti sicut ipse proximo suo dimittit. Cogitandum nobis est, fratres mei, et cum grandi intentione agenda est penitentia ne nos mors subitanea eueniat, sed dum tempus habemus con/55<sup>v</sup>/uertamur de malo ad bonum, ut de ista uita misera et decepta transeamus ad patriam regni caelestis perpetuam et ad uitam sine fine mansuram, et cum omnibus sanctis accipere mereamur immortalitatis gloriam.

De communione uero sacri corporis et sanguinis Christi apostolus Paulus nobis preceptum dedit dicens: *'Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat, et qui manducat et bibit indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit'* (I Corinthians 11. 28–29). Si ergo lex Moysi indignos et immundos precepit abstinere a sacrificiis carnalibus, quanto magis nunc debet se abstinere peccator a communione corporis Christi donec purificet et corpus et conscientiam?

Legitur enim de serpentis prudentia in euangelio, et aiunt quidam quod priusquam ueniat ad fontem bibere uomat omne uenenum. Sic et tu quicumque es Christianus: cum accesseris ad altare ut accipias communionem, uome uenenum malitię pecca-

torum tuorum, et dimitte siquid habes aduersus alterum, et da confessionem puram Deo et sacerdoti illius, et conuertere toto corde ad Deum, et age penitentiam ab omnibus peccatis tuis, et tunc sacram communionem cum pura mente et libera conscientia non ad iudicium sed ad remedium /56<sup>r</sup>/ accipere fiducialiter poteris. Aliter uero multi qui accipiunt magis ad damnationem quam ad remedium anime sumunt. De manifestis uero peccatis, sicut canonica institutio edocet, nulla ratione ad communionem recipitur donec penitentiae satisfactione purgetur, nisi extrema dies urgente mortis periculo euenerit. Viaticum, id est sacra communio, morientibus sine ulla mora a sacerdotibus conuersis confessisque et bona deuotione penitentibus omnibus fidelibus tribuatur.

## 12. On conversion and repentance and communion.

May your charity give attention, most beloved brothers, to what you have heard the Lord in the Gospel reading say: *'I rejoice over one sinner who repents more than ninety-nine just persons who need no repentance.'* And he himself says through the prophet: *'In whatsoever day the just will have sinned, his righteousness will be forgotten before me.'* Let us consider, if we can, how God shares out his affection. He threatens to punish those standing if they fall. He offers his mercy to the fallen so that they may rise up. He instills fear in the former lest they should presume to do good deeds. He assures the latter they will not perish but can rise again through repentance. If you are righteous, be fearful lest you will fall into sin. If you are a sinner, convert and trust that you may rise through God's mercy. Let no one delay his conversion, for death does not tarry. The Lord makes this point through the prophet when he says: *'Israel, return unto the Lord thy God, for you have fallen in your iniquity.'* And again: *'Turn to me with all your heart, in fasting and weeping and mourning, and return unto the Lord your God, for he is gracious and merciful.'* And again he says: *'Turn to me and I will turn unto you.'* You see, we are now fallen and are completely incapable of standing. We lie prostrate, weighed down by sins. But the one who created us upright still longs for us to rise up. In fact he opens up his compassion to us and seeks to receive us through repentance. But we cannot repent properly if we don't understand how to repent. Repentance involves both lamenting the wicked things we have done and never again doing those things that we claim to be sorry for when we repent. If you deplore your actions but continue to perform them, then you don't know how to repent. What good does it do for someone to profess sorrow for the sin of extravagant living and still burn with the flames of avarice or anger or be ignited by the fire of envy or harbour the crime of malice against one's neighbour in one's heart? For the Lord said: *'If you have forgiven others for their sins, then your Father in heaven will forgive you for your sins, but if you will not forgive, neither will your Father forgive you your sins.'* And we say in our prayer: *'Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.'* 'Debt' here means the sin one commits against another. If you will not forgive your brother for a sin committed against yourself, then you damn yourself all the more when you ask that your sins be forgiven just as you have forgiven your neighbour. We must reflect

on this, my brothers, and with great zeal undergo repentance lest death should suddenly come upon us. But while we have time, let us convert from wickedness to goodness so that we can pass from this miserable and deceitful life into the perpetual homeland of the heavenly kingdom and into the enduring life without end, and we shall deserve to receive the glory of immortality with all the saints.

Concerning the true communion of the sacred body and blood of Christ, the apostle Paul instructed us saying: '*But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of the chalice, and he who eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks judgement to himself.*' If therefore the law of Moses taught the unworthy and impure to abstain from sacrifices of the flesh, how much more should a sinner now abstain from communion with the body of Christ until he has purified his body and his conscience?

We read in the Gospel about the wisdom of the serpent, and there are those who say that when a serpent comes to drink at a fountain it first spits out all its venom. The same is true of you as a Christian: when you approach the altar to receive communion, you spit out the venom of the malice of your sins and relinquish whatever ill will you have against another and give a pure confession to God and his priest and turn to God with all your heart and repent of all your sins, and then you will be able to receive holy communion confidently with a pure mind and a free conscience, leading not to judgement but a remedy. Many who take communion in a different spirit do so truly to their damnation rather than to the redemption of their soul. Concerning manifest sins, however, as canonical practice dictates, no one should be received at communion for any reason until he is cleansed by the satisfaction of penance, unless it is his final day and he is in urgent danger of death. In that case, the viaticum or holy communion is to be given without delay and with proper observance by priests to the dying faithful penitents who have undergone conversion and confession.

### 13. (fols 56<sup>r</sup>–57<sup>v</sup>) De resurrectione mortuorum.

Verba Domini nostri Iesu Christi, fratres karissimi, que in lectione sancti euangelii de resurrectione mortuorum ipse predixit, caritati uestre ad memoriam reducimus ut qui fidem rectam in eum habetis ueram resurrectionem carnis fideliter firmiter que credatis. Sic enim ipse dixit: '*Amen, dico uobis, quoniam ecce uenient dies quando hi qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem filii hominis* (John 5. 25), et euigilabunt de terra pulueris, alii in uitam aeternam, alii in obprobrium sempiternum ut uideant semper.' Multi enim sunt inter uos qui de hac dubitant resurrectione cum ossa hominum confracta uel ipsam carnem in puluerem redactam uident et dicunt intra se: 'Quomodo hoc fieri potest /56<sup>v</sup>/ ut iterum hic status hominum in ea forma restauretur in qua prius fuit? Nequaquam hoc fieri potest.' Alii dicunt: 'Non ista restaurabitur caro sed noua reformabitur.' Nobis uero ita, secundum antiquorum patrum traditionem, et secundum auctoritatem sanctarum scripturarum, confitendum ueraciter est ut in hac carne in qua nunc sumus et in his ossibus et in eodem statu conditor et redemptor noster nos resurgere faciet ut et bonorum gloria cum corpore et anima sit

perpetua et malorum pena simul perpetualiter sit. Paucis namque de plurimis exempla uobis dicturi sumus ad confirmandam fidem uestram, quoniam nulli proficit Christiano baptisma uel aliquod opus bonum aut elymosina aut penitentia, si non ueram credat resurrectionem carnis. Sic enim beatus Iob ait: *'Scio quia redemptor meus uiuit et in nouissima die de terra surrexturus sim et rursum circumdabo pelle mea, et in carne mea uidebo Deum saluatorem meum'* (Job 19. 25–26). Paulus quoque non recte credentibus inproperat dicens: *'Quid est quod quidam dicunt in uobis quoniam resurrectio mortuorum non est? Quod si resurrectio mortuorum non est, neque Christus resurrexit, quod si Christus non resurrexit, [57<sup>r</sup>] inanis est predicatio nostra, uacuae sunt et fides uestra. Nunc autem Christus resurrexit primitiae dormientium, et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita in Christo omnes uiuificabuntur, quoniam per hominem mors et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum'* (I Corinthians 15. 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 22, 21).

Hanc ergo quam prefati sumus resurrectionem carnis, quam tota catholica ecclesia in symbolo confitetur, fratres mei, adtento corde et fideli mente corde et ore confiteri et credere debemus, quia nulli nec fides nec opus bonum adiuuari poterit nisi resurrectionem crederit carnis. *'Omnes enim resurgemus,'* ait apostolus, *'sed non omnes immutabimur'* (I Corinthians 15. 51). Quia quamuis ad resurrectionem carnis in nouissima die ueniamus, non tamen omnes ad immortalitatem uite aeternae par forte beatitudinem eternam accepturi sunt, quia iusti cum carne in qua bene egerunt ad premia peruenient uite, impii uero similiter cum sua carne in penam dampnabuntur perpetua, sicut scriptum est: *Ibunt hi in supplicium aeternum, iusti autem in uitam eternam* (Matthew 25. 46).

### 13. On the resurrection of the dead.

The words of our Lord Jesus Christ, most beloved brothers, which he himself uttered in the reading from the holy Gospel concerning the resurrection of the dead, we recall to memory for your charity so that those of you who possess true faith in him will believe firmly and faithfully in the true resurrection of the flesh. For he himself declared: *'Verily I say unto you, for behold the days are coming when those who are in their tombs will hear the voice of the son of man, and they will awaken from the dust of the earth, some into eternal life, others into everlasting reproach, in order that they will see forever.'* There are many among you who have doubts about that resurrection, when they behold the disintegrated bones of men or the flesh itself reduced to dust, and they say among themselves: *'How can it be that this state of men is restored to the form in which it once existed? That cannot possibly happen.'* Others say: *'This flesh will not be restored, but a new one will be created.'* In truth we must acknowledge that according to the tradition of the ancient fathers and according to the authority of the holy Scriptures, our creator and redeemer will cause us to rise again in the flesh that we now inhabit and in these bones and in this very condition, so that both the glory of the righteous will be perpetual in body and soul and the punishment of the wicked will likewise be eternal. Indeed we propose to relate to you a few among many testimonials to strengthen your faith, because there



is no baptism or any good deed or almsgiving or penance that will profit any Christian if he does not believe in the true resurrection of the flesh. For as blessed Job says: *'For I know that my redeemer lives, and that on the latter day I will stand on the earth and I will wrap skin about myself once again, and in my flesh I will see God my saviour.'* Paul similarly upbraided those who do not rightly believe, saying: *'How is it that there are some among you who say there is no resurrection of the dead? Because if there is no resurrection of the dead, and if Christ is not resurrected, then our preaching is in vain, and your faith is in vain. But now Christ has raised the first-fruits of those who sleep, and as in Adam all die, even so in Christ will all be brought to life, for since death came by man, by man also came the resurrection of the dead.'*

This resurrection of the flesh that we have predicted, which the whole catholic church confesses in the Creed, my brothers, we must therefore profess and believe with an attentive heart and a faithful mind in word and in spirit, for neither faith nor good works will be able to help anyone unless you believe in the resurrection of the flesh. *'For we will all rise again,'* says the apostle, *'but not all of us will be unchanged.'* For although we may all come to the resurrection of the flesh on that final day, yet not all will be accepted into the immortality of eternal life deserving of eternal beatitude, for the just will arrive at their life's rewards in the flesh in which they have conducted themselves well, whereas the wicked will similarly be damned to perpetual punishment in their flesh, as it is written: *These shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.*

14. (fols 59<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>) De adiutorio Dei et lib'e'ro arbitrio.

Audiuimus in euangelio, fratres karissimi, Dominum nos uocantem ut ad eum per liberum arbitrium ueniamus: *'Venite,'* inquit, *'ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego reficiam uos'* (Matthew 11. 28). Set infirmitatem nostram idem Dominus protestatur dicens: *'Nemo uenit 'ad me', nisi Pater, qui misit me, traxerit eum'* (John 6. 44). Et apostolus liberum arbitrium nostrum incitat dicens: *'Sic currite ut comprehendatis'* (I Corinthians 9. 24). Set infirmitatem nostrum Iohannis testatur cum ait: *'Non potest homo accipere quicquam, nisi datum fuerit de celo'* (John 3. 27). Per ergo hoc nobis intelligendum quia sine adiutorio Dei nihil recte ualemus efficere, et rursum nobis liberi arbitrii uoluntas conceditur ut queramus Dominum et eius mandata faciamus. Exemplum igitur agricolae bene operantis ponimus cum omnes labores suos in agri cultura exercet ad proscindendam terram uel exarandam seminis etiam iacentis et pecorum labores, ac sui sudoris, frigorisue famis ac sitis iniuria sustinenti, omnique ingenio agrum custodiendum ut aues sementem non comedant uel ferarum incursio deuastet, et cum hæc omnia suo labore euiderit omnis eius labor in uanum consumitur nisi Dominus desuper pluuiam miserit ad cresscendam messem uel calorem solis ut ad maturitatem perue'ni'at. Set nec ista quidem /59<sup>v</sup>/ proficiunt si aut grandine aut tempestate aut nimietate pluuiarum ad nihilum redigantur. Proinde nobis magno opere laborandum est ut corda nostra preparentur ad suscipiendum semen uerbi Dei, et cum susceptum fuerit, depræcandum est toto corde ut

germinet et ad fructum usque perueniat. Etsi Domini adiuuante gratia in nobis fructus bonorum operum excreuerit magis ac magis, depræcandus est ut qui dedit ut germinet et crescat det etiam perseuerentiam unam cum uoluntate bona, dicente apostolo: *‘Deus autem qui operatur et uelle et perficere pro bona uoluntate’* (Philippians 2. 13).

Ut ergo de multis aliqua exempla dicamus sanctarum scripturarum qualiter concors est adiutorium Dei nostri bonæ uoluntatis arbitrio, intendat caritas uestra ex diuinis scripturis testi<sup>o</sup>nia. Preuenit ergo hominis uoluntatem gratia Dei qua dicitur: *‘Deus meus misericordia eius preueniet me’* (Psalm 58. 11). Et nostra uoluntas præuenit cum dicit: *‘Et mane oratio mea preueniet te’* (Psalm 87. 14). Et iterum: *‘Preuenerunt oculi mei ad te diluculo’* (Psalm 118. 148). Admonet nos cum dicit: *‘Tota die expandi manus meas’* (Psalm 87. 10) ad populum non credentem. Et inuitatur a nobis cum diximus ei: *‘Expandi manus ad te’* (Psalm 142. 6). Expectat nos cum dicit propheta: *‘Propterea expectat Dominus ut misereatur uestri’* (Isaias 30. 18). Et expectamus eum dum dicimus: *‘Expectans expectaui Dominum /60/ et intendit mihi’* (Psalm 39. 2). Confortat nos cum dicit: *‘Et ego erudiui et confortauī brachia eorum’* (Osee 7. 15). Et ut nosmetipsos confortemur, hortatur cum dicit: *‘Confortate manus dissolutas et genua debilia roborate’* (Isaias 35. 3). Clamat Iesus cum dicit: *‘Si quis sitit, ueniat et bibat’* (John 7. 37). Clamemus etiam et nos cum propheta: *‘Clamaui ad te, Domine, dixi tu es spes mea’* (Psalm 141. 6). Querit nos Dominus cum dicit: *‘Quesiui et non erat uir et non fuit qui responderet’* (cf. Isaias 66. 4; Cantic of Canticles 5. 6). Et rogat ut queramus cum dicit: *‘Querite faciem eius semper’* (I Chronicles 16. 11), et *‘querite Dominum dum inueniri potest’* (Isaias 55. 6).

Ita et huiusmodi gratia Dei nostro in bonam partem adiuuat arbitrio ut etiam quod bonum uolumus adiuuet ut fiet, et suae gratiæ consolationis inmittit ut fiat. Cadere namque in peccato male uolutatis est arbitrium, ad ueniam uero reuerti per penitentiam post commissum et Dei misericordia et nostri est laboris intentio. Sicut Dauid, qui libero corruit arbitrio et duo tam graua commisit scelera, homi<sup>ci</sup>dium scilicet adulterium, per Dei clementiam peccatum illius dimissum legitur. Quod igitur crimen commis<sup>sum</sup> libero fuit arbitrio, quod autem arguitur per prophetam diuine dignationis est gratia, rursum quod peccatum suum humiliatus agnoscit suum est quod breui temporis spatio indulgentiam meruit Domini misericordia est. /60/ Sic enim omnia in omnibus credendus est operari ut incitet, protegat, atque confirmet, non ‘ut’ auferat quam semel concessit arbitrii libertatem, set cum ipsa nostra bone uoluntatis operatione perficiatur in nobis uoluntas ipsius, quoniam sic orantes dicimus ut fiat illius uoluntas in nobis. Amen.

#### 14. On God’s help and free will.

We have heard the Lord in the Gospel, most beloved brothers, calling us to come to him through our free will: *‘Come to me,’* he says, *‘all you who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.’* But the Lord himself declares our weakness when he says: *‘No one comes to me unless the Father, who has sent me, has drawn him.’* And the apostle encourages our free will, saying: *‘So run that you may obtain.’*

But John attests to our weakness when he says: *'A man can receive nothing unless it is given to him from heaven.'* By this we must understand that without God's help we are able to accomplish nothing properly, and on the contrary, the desire to exercise free will is given to us so that we will seek out the Lord and fulfill his commandments. Let us consider the example of the farmer who works diligently as he busies himself with all his chores in the field, ploughing the earth, cultivating the seed and the fallow land, working the livestock, enduring the discomfort of his sweat and cold and hunger and thirst, and using all his abilities to care for the field so that wild animals will not attack and destroy it and birds will not eat the seedlings. And yet even with all of his effort it will be obvious that all his labour will be in vain unless the Lord sends rain from above to the growing crops or warmth from the sun so they will reach maturity. But these measures too will be of no consequence if the crops are reduced to nothing by hail or a storm or a torrential downpour. In the same manner, we must labour with great industry so that our hearts will be prepared to receive the seed of the word of God, and once it has been received, we must pray with all our heart that it will germinate and grow until it bears fruit. And even though with the help of God's grace the fruit of good works will grow in us more and more, we must pray that the one who gave it to us so that it would germinate and grow will also grant us perseverance together with good will, as the apostle says: *'For it is God who works in you both to will and to do for his good pleasure.'*

In order for us to relate a few examples out of the many in sacred Scripture about how our God's help accords with the judgement of our good will, may your charity direct your attention to the following prooftexts from the divine Scriptures. The grace of God surpasses the will of man according to what is said: *'The mercy of my God will come before me.'* And our will takes precedence when it says: *'And in the morning my prayer will come before you.'* And again: *'Mine eyes have come before you at daybreak.'* He admonishes us when he says: *'The whole day I have stretched out my hands to the unbelieving people.'* And he is summoned by us when we have said to him: *'I have stretched forth my hands unto you.'* He waits for us when the prophet says: *'Therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you.'* And we wait for him when we say: *'I waited patiently for the Lord, and he inclined unto me.'* He strengthens us when he says: *'And I have chastised them and strengthened their arms.'* And in order that we may be strengthened ourselves, he exhorts us when he says: *'Strengthen the feeble hands and firm up the weak knees.'* Jesus calls out when he says: *'If anyone thirsts, let him come unto me and drink.'* Let us also call out ourselves with the prophet: *'I cried unto you, Lord; I said you are my hope.'* The Lord seeks us out when he says: *'I have sought you out and there was no man and there was none who would respond.'* And he asks that we seek him out when he says: *'Seek his face continually'* and *'seek the Lord while he may be found.'*

In this way and in such a manner the grace of God assists our free will in good measure, so that he assists even what good we desire in order that it will be done, and he sends the consolation of his grace that it may be accomplished. For to fall into sin is a choice of the sinful will, and but to be turned back to forgiveness

through penitence after having sinned is the combined effort of God's mercy and our labour. As with David, who fell by free will and committed two such heinous crimes, namely murder and adultery, one reads that through God's clemency his sin was forgiven. Because his crime was committed through free will, and because it is shown by the prophet that grace is a demonstration of divine favour, when a humbled man acknowledges his sin as his own, within a brief space of time he has earned the tenderness that is the Lord's mercy. Thus we must believe completely that he will work to inspire, protect, and strengthen us, not that he will withdraw the freedom of choice that he once granted us, but that through the operation of our own good will, his will shall be perfected in us, for as we say when we pray, 'may his will be done in us'.

15. (fols 60<sup>v</sup>–62<sup>r</sup>) Sermo sancti Augustini de baptismo non iterando.

Duș namque sunt natiuitates, una de morta`lita'te, alia ęternitate, una de terra, alia de ęelo, una de carne, alia de spiritu, una de masculo et femina, alia de Deo et ęclesia. Set ipse due singule sunt. Nec illa potest repeti nec illa. Sicut Nichodemus intellexit, non posse hominem denuo ex matre nasci (cf. John 3. 4). Sed quicumque tibi dixerit ut spiritaliter renascaris, responde: 'Iam natus sum de Adam; non me potest iterum generare Adam. Iam natus sum de Christo; non me potest iterum generare Christus.' Quomodo uterus non potest repeti, sic nec baptismum. Qui nascitur de ecclesia tamquam de Sarra nascitur, quę est libera. Qui nascitur de here`tico' tamquam de ancilla nascitur set ex semine Abraham. Recurrit animus uester ad Abraham et Isaac et Iacob. In his tribus inuenimus parere liberas, parere et ancillas. Ancilla enim nihil boni significat.

Quattuor modis sunt genera Christianorum. Per bonos nascuntur boni si et qui baptizant /61<sup>r</sup>/ boni sunt, et qui baptizantur recte credunt, sicut Annanias baptizauit Paulum. Per malos mali si et qui baptizant mali sunt, et qui baptizantur non recte credunt, de quibus dicit apostolus: '*Siue occasione siue ueritate Christus adnuntiatur et in hoc gaudio*' (Philippians 1. 18). Per bonos mali cum qui baptizant sancti sunt, et qui baptizantur tenere uias Domini nolunt, sicut a Philippo sancto baptizatus est Simon Magus. Per malos boni aliquando cum baptizat adulter, et qui baptizatur iustus efficitur. De talibus dicit Dominus: 'Que dicunt facite, quę autem faciunt facere nolite' (cf. Matthew 23. 3).

Nota sunt ista quattuor genera quę significantur in partu liberarum et ancillarum. Liberas accipimus in bonos, ancillas in malos. Pariunt libere bonos: Sarra peperit Isaac. Pariunt ancille malos: Agar peperit Ismael. Pariunt liberę malos: Rebecca peperit Esau. Pariunt ancillae bonos, sicut legimus de filiis Iacob, natis ex ancillis et in hereditatem cum ceteris fratribus admixtos, et nihil eis obfuit natiuitas ex uteris ancillarum quando in patre cognouerunt semen suum. Quomodo enim in filiis Iacob non obfuit pariter ancillarum quia p̄ualuit semen paternum, sic quicumque per malos baptizantur tamquam de ancillis uidentur nati, set tamen quia ex semine uerbi Dei, quod figuratur in Iacob renascitur, /61<sup>v</sup>/ ad hereditatem perueniunt salutis aeternę, tantum non imitantur ancillam male sectando opera iniquorum. Qui sunt

secundum carnem nati? Dilectores mundi, amatores seculi. Qui sunt secundum spiritum nati? Amatores regni celorum, dilectores Christi, desiderantes uitam aeternam.

Baptismus ergo Christi nulla peruersitate hominis siue dantis siue accipientis turbari potest nec uiolari, et sicut potest aliquid ex corpore quod adhuc corrumpitur et adgrauat animam minus liquide terrene et aliter sapere quam iustum est, sic in homine carnali atque peruerso potest aliquot bonum et utile repperi quod aliunde sit non ex ipso. Nam ut palmitis fructuoso inuenitur aliquid quod purgandum sit ut maiorem fructum ferat, ita in arundine stereli atque arida uel alligata solet uina pendere.

Nec ob aliud illis temporibus quando ista questio uentilabatur, uisum est quibusdam egregiis uiris, inter quos beatus Ciprianus eminebat, non posse aput hereticos uel scismaticos esse baptismum Christi, nisi quia non distinguebatur sacramentum ueri baptismatis, illic non esse putabatur. Dignum ergo honorem dignamque reuerentiam, quantum ualeo, persoluo sancto et glorioso martyri Cipriano. Audeo tamen dicere aliter eum sensisse de scismaticis et hereticis baptizandis, quam postea /62/ ueritas prodidit, non ex mea set ex uniuerse ecclesie sententia plenarii concilii Affricani auctoritate roborata atque firmata. Sicut uenerans pro sui merito Petrum primum apostolorum, audeo tamen dicere non eum recte fecisse ut gentes iudaizari coierentur. Hoc enim dico non ex mea set ex apostoli Pauli salutari doctrina per uniuersam ecclesiam. Disputans ergo contra sententiam Cypriani, multo inferior illo, dico sacramentum baptismi et bonos et malos posse habere, posse dare, posse accipere, et nihil interest ad baptismi sanctitatem, quantequisque peior habeat, quanto peior tradat, potest tradere separatur, si illud baptismum fit in nomine Trinitatis sub trina mersione. Amen.

#### 15. Sermon by St Augustine on not repeating baptism.

There are indeed two births: one into mortality, the other into eternity, one of the earth, the other of heaven, one of the flesh, the other of spirit, one of male and female, the other of God and the Church. But each birth occurs only once. Neither that one nor this one can be repeated. As Nicodemus understood, no man can be born from his mother a second time. But if someone tells you that you are born again spiritually, reply: 'I am already born of Adam; Adam cannot give birth to me again. I am already born of Christ; Christ cannot give birth to me again.' Just as birth from the womb cannot be repeated, so neither can baptism. Whoever is born from the Church is born, as it were, from Sara, who was free. Whoever is born from a heretic is born as if from a maid-servant but from the seed of Abraham. Let your mind go back to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. In these three we find free women who beget and maid-servants who beget. For a maid-servant signifies nothing good.

Christians are born in four ways. Good ones are born from good ones if those who baptize them are good and if those who are baptized also rightly believe, as in the case of Ananias, who baptized Paul. From bad ones bad ones are born if those who do the baptizing are bad and if those who are baptized do not rightly believe. Of these the apostle says: '*Whether in pretence or in truth Christ is preached, and in this I rejoice.*' From good ones bad ones are born when those who baptize are holy

and when those who are baptized have no desire to follow the ways of the Lord, as in the case of Simon Magus, who was baptized by St Philip. From bad ones good ones are sometimes born when a sinner does the baptizing and when the one who is baptized turns out to be righteous. Of such the Lord says: 'Do what they say, not what they do.'

These four births are known that are signified in the parturition of free women and of maid-servants. We take the free women to be among the good, the maid-servants among the wicked. Free women have begotten good children: Sara begat Isaac. Maid-servants have begotten wicked children: Hagar begat Ishmael. Free women have begotten wicked children: Rebecca begat Esau. Maid-servants have begotten good children, as we read concerning the sons of Jacob who were born of maid-servants and who were included in the inheritance along with their other brothers, and their birth from the wombs of maid-servants was not held against them once they had recognized their seed in the father. For in the same way that among the sons of Jacob nothing hindered those born from maid-servants since the paternal seed prevailed equally, so those who are baptized by wicked persons are understood to be born as if from maid-servants, but nevertheless because they are of the seed of the word of God, which is figured in Jacob and is born again, they will come to possess the inheritance of eternal salvation, only let them not imitate the maid-servant by wickedly pursuing the deeds of the unrighteous. Who is born according to the flesh? Lovers of the world, friends of the earth. Who is born according to the spirit? Lovers of the kingdom of heaven, friends of Christ, those who long for life eternal.

The baptism of Christ, therefore, cannot be violated or profaned by any perversity of man, neither by the one performing it nor by the one receiving it. And just as a good man is able to apprehend something less clearly out of an earthly body that is still corrupt and that burdens the soul and know that it is other than just, so in a carnal and perverse man can something good and useful be found that originates in a source other than the man himself. For as in a fruitful branch something can be found that must be cut off in order that it might bear more fruit, so also grapes are often found hanging on a vine that is barren and dry or fettered.

In the days when this question was first brought forward for debate, it appeared to certain eminent men, among whom the blessed Cyprian stood out, that the baptism of Christ could not be administered by heretics or schismatics, for no other reason except that the sacrament of true baptism was not distinguished from its effects, and in such cases it was not considered to be valid. I accordingly pay due respect and fitting honour, so far as I am able, to the holy and glorious martyr Cyprian. However, I venture to say that his opinion concerning schismatics and heretics performing baptism was at variance with the truth that was later disclosed, not by me, but by the judgement of the universal Church, strengthened and confirmed by the authority of a plenary African council. By the same token, while honouring Peter, the first of the apostles, for his merit, I venture to say that he did not do right in compelling the Gentiles to convert to Judaism. I say this not on the basis of my own opinion but relying on the salutary teaching of the apostle Paul made known throughout the

universal Church. In arguing against Cyprian's position, therefore, while far inferior to him, I say that the sacrament of baptism can involve both the good and the bad — both can administer it, both can receive it — and nothing interferes with the sanctity of baptism, no matter how much worse the one who receives it may be than the one who administers it, and no matter how much worse the one who confers it may be than the one who is baptized, he can still confer it if he is made ready, and if that baptism is performed in the name of the Trinity with triple immersion. Amen.





# Wulfstan and Worcester: Bishop and Clergy in the Early Eleventh Century

JULIA BARROW

Gif gehadod man hine forwyrce mid deapscylde, gewilde hine man ȝ healde to  
bisceopes dome. (Peace of Edward and Guthrum, 4, 2)<sup>1</sup>

Wulfstan spent much of his time pontificating (no other word seems so appropriate) about the conduct of the clergy and their relationship with their bishop. In practice, however, when we try to look for definite information about his relations with individual clergy in any of his dioceses (London 996–1002, Worcester 1002–16, and York 1002–23) we are at a loss. We can probably link his interest in certain chapters of the Rule of Aachen to his supervision of St Paul's,<sup>2</sup> and we can see Danelaw influence peeking through in some of his legislation for clergy, suggesting that he was thinking partly about the archbishopric of York,<sup>3</sup> but his

---

<sup>1</sup> *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16), I, 130. 'If a man in orders commits a crime, he is to be seized and kept for the bishop's judgement.' For this translation, and for comment about Wulfstan's authorship of the Peace of Edward and Guthrum, see *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. I, AD 871–1204, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), I, 307–08 and 302–03.

<sup>2</sup> *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, ed. by W. Sparrow Simpson (London, 1873), pp. 38–43; for discussion, see C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Earliest Times to 1485', in *A History of St Paul's Cathedral*, ed. by W. R. Matthews and W. M. Atkins (London, 1957), pp. 1–99, 361–65 (pp. 12–15, 363), and Julia Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and the Eleventh Centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 25–39 (pp. 30–31).

<sup>3</sup> See fines for delinquent clergy in both English and Danish forms in the Peace of Edward and Guthrum, 3, 3.1 and 3.2: *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 130, and *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 306–07.

writings show no precise details about persons and places. The diocese of Worcester, which he officially left in 1016 but over which he retained influence until his death, leaves no obvious traces in his legislation or his homiletic works, even though it provided his scriptorium, and, as Stephen Baxter shows elsewhere in this volume, Wulfstan probably commissioned the earliest Worcester cathedral cartulary.<sup>4</sup> Wulfstan left few surviving charters for Worcester, and given the richness of the Worcester archive as a whole this suggests that he may not have issued very many in the first place.<sup>5</sup> Wulfstan's pontificate at Worcester, together with those of his immediate predecessor, Ealdwulf (992–1002), and his successor, Leofsige (1016–33), forms an obscure period framed by the well-documented pontificate of Oswald (961–92) on the one hand, and on the other by an increasing level of documentation for Brihtheah (1033–38), Lyfing (1038–40 and 1041–46), Ealdred (1046–62), and above all Wulfstan the saint (1062–95).<sup>6</sup>

All in all this means that in order to cast light of any sort on Wulfstan the elder's time at Worcester it will be necessary to make use of material for the whole period from the 990s to the pontificate of his namesake, Wulfstan the saint, especially Domesday Book.<sup>7</sup> The main focus of this essay will be the clergy in the diocese of Worcester in the eleventh century, concentrating on the first two decades as far as possible, but making use of much later material for comparative purposes. We can

---

<sup>4</sup> See discussion of Wulfstan's supervision of Worcester 1016–23 by Ivor Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part II', *Antiquaries Journal*, 20 (1940), 1–38, 203–29 (p. 14); see Stephen Baxter, this volume, for Wulfstan's role in compiling the earliest Worcester cartulary.

<sup>5</sup> P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968), pp. 391–92, nos 1384–85 for charters of Wulfstan concerning the church of Worcester (this work is hereafter cited as S followed by item number); on the Worcester archive, see N. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary: A Description of the Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. XIII', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. by R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, and R. W. Southern (London, 1948), pp. 49–75.

<sup>6</sup> *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996); Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester', pp. 5–38 and 203–09; Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990), esp. pp. 47–61.

<sup>7</sup> *Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliae*, ed. by Abraham Farley and Henry Ellis, 4 vols (London, 1783–1816); translated, with reproduction of Farley's edition, *Domesday Book, Text and Translation*, ed. by John Morris, 38 vols (Chichester, 1975–92), the volumes covering the diocese of Worcester being xv, *Gloucestershire*, ed. by John S. Moore (1982); xvi, *Worcestershire*, ed. by Frank and Caroline Thorne (1982); and xxiii, *Warwickshire*, ed. from a draft translation prepared by Judy Plaister (1976). It should be noted that parts of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire lay in the diocese of Hereford, while the northern two-thirds of Warwickshire lay in the diocese of Lichfield. In what follows Domesday references will be given by volume and folio numbers and also by shire, tenant in chief, and manor in the numbering system of *Domesday Book, Text and Translation*, ed. by Morris.

begin with a look at the range of churches in the diocese, before examining some of the major churches in more detail (the Benedictine houses will be included here, largely because in Wulfstan's day the clerical element was still strong in them). Attention can then be paid to the recruitment and the funding of clergy, and finally to the relationship between bishop and clergy in the diocese in the eleventh century.

The medieval diocese of Worcester stretched from Bristol in the south to what are now the southern suburbs of Birmingham, about eighty miles to the north, and from the Malverns to the Cotswolds, with the east-west axis of the diocese ranging from about ten to about forty miles. This made it a middle-ranking English bishopric in geographical terms, much smaller than the monster dioceses of Dorchester (later Lincoln), York, and Lichfield, but roughly equivalent in area to the slightly smaller see of Hereford and the slightly bigger see of Winchester.<sup>8</sup> When population density is also taken into account, however (we can measure this in relative though not in absolute terms thanks to Domesday), the diocese was clearly far behind its eastern counterparts — Elmham (the East Anglian see, later the diocese of Norwich) and Dorchester were both far more populous.<sup>9</sup> In origins the see corresponded to the ancient Anglo-Saxon kingdom of the Hwicce,<sup>10</sup> but by Wulfstan's time a quite different set of secular boundaries had grown up, with the tenth-century creation of Gloucestershire, the short-lived Winchcombeshire, which had been snuffed out by 1017, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire.<sup>11</sup> These entities did not show complete regard for the bounds of the diocese: most of Warwickshire lay in the diocese of Lichfield, while the north-west tip of Worcestershire lay in the diocese of Hereford, and so too did the Forest of Dean. Wulfstan would have been all too aware of these administrative inconveniences as he moved from shire court to shire court to preside over them with the Ealdorman of Mercia, mostly Eadric Streona, who held this office from 1007 to 1017<sup>12</sup> — a team of judges that must have terrified the local inhabitants. No wonder

---

<sup>8</sup> Ordnance Survey, *Monastic Britain*, 3rd edn (Southampton, 1978), facilitates a comparison of the diocese of Worcester with its neighbours.

<sup>9</sup> For relative population density 1086 across England, see H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 90–94; for comment on this issue, see Julia Barrow, 'Survival and Mutation: Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 2 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 156–76 (pp. 167, 169).

<sup>10</sup> Steven Bassett, 'In Search of the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. by Steven Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 3–27 (p. 6).

<sup>11</sup> Steven Bassett, 'The Administrative Landscape of the Diocese of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 147–73 (pp. 151–57); H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 2nd edn (Leicester, 1972), pp. 228–35.

<sup>12</sup> For Eadric Streona, see Simon Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 43–88 (p. 67).

that it was to Wulfstan that Ælfric addressed his criticism of bishops who, by judging thieves and robbers, assented to the death penalty.<sup>13</sup>

By the time of Domesday we can calculate that there would have been a minimum of 160 churches in the diocese, allowing for tenth- or eleventh-century origins for at least some of the urban churches of Worcester, Gloucester, and just possibly also Bristol.<sup>14</sup> The total was probably higher than this: Domesday was not designed to record ecclesiastical arrangements systematically; the inclusion or omission of small churches seems to have depended on the whim of the tenants in chief supplying the basic information for the returns. To take just one example, we know from the *Vita Wulfstani* that the church of Hawkesbury existed early in the eleventh century, though it is not recorded in Domesday.<sup>15</sup>

The reference above to 160 churches in the diocese *c.* 1086 needs further explanation: Domesday returns for Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire (as in general for the West Midlands) rarely mention the term *ecclesia*, church. In the whole diocese, if we exclude the major monastic foundations, *ecclesiae* (churches) occur in sixteen or seventeen places.<sup>16</sup> Much more common are references to priests (again, this is standard for the West Midlands).<sup>17</sup> The fact that ecclesiastical estab-

---

<sup>13</sup> 'Ælfric's First Old English Letter for Wulfstan' (*Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 299–300); see also Malcolm Godden, this volume.

<sup>14</sup> For urban churches within the diocese, see Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, 'The City of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 129–46 (pp. 130, 137–38, 140–41); Steven Bassett, 'Church and Diocese in the West Midlands: The Transition from British to Anglo-Saxon Control', in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. by John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 13–40 (pp. 20–29); Carolyn Heighway, 'Anglo-Saxon Gloucester, *c.* 680 to 1066', in *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, vol. IV, *The City of Gloucester*, ed. by N. M. Herbert (London, 1988), pp. 5–12 (pp. 9–11); Lorna Watts and Philip Rahtz, *Mary le Port, Bristol: Excavations 1962–1963* (Bristol, 1985), pp. 59–61.

<sup>15</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. by M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), p. 108 (*Vita Wulfstani*, iii, 2) on Hawkesbury.

<sup>16</sup> In Gloucestershire: Cheltenham (*Domesday Book*, I, fol. 162d; I, 1), Bristol (I, fol. 163b; I, 21), Clifford Chambers (I, fol. 163c; I, 37), Beckford (I, fol. 164b; I, 59), Ashton under Hill (I, fol. 164b; I, 60), Littleton on Severn (I, fol. 165b; 9, 1), Cirencester (I, fol. 166c; 25, 1), a church built after 1066 at Frampton (I, fol. 169a; 58, 4), Bitton (I, fol. 170c; 78, 13), and Ampney Crucis (I, fol. 169c; 67, 1); in Worcestershire: Halesowen (I, fol. 176a; 14, 1), Astley (I, fol. 176b; 15, 9), Doverdale (I, fol. 177c; 26, 8), Belbroughton (I, fol. 177d; 26, 13), Martley (I, fol. 180c; Herefordshire, I, 39), and Feckenham (I, fol. 180c; Herefordshire, I, 40); presumably also the church at Pershore paying 16s. was parochial (I, fol. 174c; Worcestershire, 8, 1).

<sup>17</sup> Gloucestershire: *Domesday Book*, I, fol. 162a (G4), fol. 163b (1, 18; 1, 20; 1, 22), fol. 163d (1, 50), fol. 164b (1, 65), fol. 164d (3, 4), fol. 165a (3, 5–6; 4, 1), fol. 165b (7, 1), fol. 165d (12, 1; 12, 3–7), fol. 166c (23, 2; 27, 1; 28, 1; 26), fol. 166d (26, 1–2; 30, 1–2), fol. 167b (34, 8), fol. 167d (39, 6; 39, 8; 39, 12), fol. 168d (39, 17–19; 41, 1–2), fol. 168c (49, 1; 50, 2–3), fol. 168d (55, 1), fol. 169a (56, 1–2), fol. 169b (60, 5; 62, 6; 63, 1; 63, 3), fol. 169c (66, 5–6), fol.

ishments are referred to through their personnel alone rather than, say, to priest and church together, as in many Nottinghamshire returns,<sup>18</sup> or to church alone, as, for example, in East Anglia,<sup>19</sup> may possibly reflect a situation where the church building was of wood, perhaps also one-celled, and thus not regarded as permanent or prestigious. C. J. Bond has commented that pre-conquest stone fabric in Worcestershire churches is extremely rare, a situation replicated in other areas of the West Midlands.<sup>20</sup> As far as the priests are concerned, most of them occur among the manorial tenants, usually with no more than one priest per manor. This suggests that the status of most village priests was relatively modest: their amount of glebe was probably closely comparable to the glebes of between five and twenty acres attached to many of the East Anglian churches described in Little Domesday.<sup>21</sup> However, in over a quarter of cases in the diocese of Worcester in 1086 the status of the priest was significantly higher than that of a manorial tenant.<sup>22</sup> Criteria for identifying clergy of

---

169d (68, 10), fol. 170b (72, 2); fol. 170c (78, 15); Worcestershire: *Domesday Book*, I, fol. 172b (1, 1), fol. 172d (2, 2; 2, 8; 2, 15), fol. 173a (2, 16; 2, 18; 2, 21; 2, 23), fol. 173b (2, 31; 2, 38; 2, 42), fol. 173c (2, 45; 2, 52; 2, 59), fol. 173d (2, 60 TRE; 2, 62–63), fol. 174a (2, 71–72; 2, 76; 2, 79), fol. 174b (2, 81–85), fol. 174c (8, 8–9), fol. 174d (8, 10; 8, 13), fol. 175a (8, 20; 8, 23), fol. 175b (8, 26a; 9, 4), fol. 175c (9, 6), fol. 175d (10, 9–10; 10, 16), fol. 176b (15, 4; 15, 8; 15, 13), fol. 176d (19, 3; 19, 9), fol. 177b (23, 2; 23, 9; 23, 11–12), fol. 177c (24, 1), fol. 177d (26, 10; 26, 15), fol. 178a (28, 1); Warwickshire: *Domesday Book*, I, fol. 238b (1, 8), fol. 238c (2, 3; 3, 1–2), fol. 238d (4, 2), fol. 239d (16, 8; 16, 11; 16, 13), fol. 240a (16, 15–16; 16, 20–21), fol. 240d (16, 61), fol. 242a (18, 2–3; 18, 12–13), fol. 242b (18, 14; 19, 4), fol. 242c (20, 2; 20, 4; 20, 9), fol. 243b (28, 16; 29, 1), fol. 243c (30, 1), fol. 243d (33, 1), fol. 244a (37, 1; 37, 4; 37, 6–7), fol. 244b (39, 4; 43, 1). These references include named or identifiable priests as tenants (to which Walter the deacon, fol. 169a (Glos., 57, 1), the clerk of Hugh of Grandmesnil, fol. 169b, Tovi, holding in alms from the king, fol. 169d (Glos., 67, 6), and Archdeacon Alric, fol. 173a (Worcs., 2, 20; 2, 23) should be added), but do not include unnamed priests whose churches are listed in note 16 above. For clerical tenants in chief, see note 22 below.

<sup>18</sup> For example *Domesday Book*, I, fol. 283a (Notts., 5, 4); fol. 284d (Notts., 9, 22), fol. 286b (Notts., 9, 100).

<sup>19</sup> For example *Domesday Book*, II, fol. 239b (Norfolk, 24, 5) and fol. 240a (Norfolk, 24, 6–7).

<sup>20</sup> C. J. Bond, 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950–1200*, ed. by John Blair, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph, 17 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 118–58 (p. 120); John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (forthcoming), ch. 7.

<sup>21</sup> See examples in note 19 above.

<sup>22</sup> Gloucestershire: Regeinbald (*Domesday Book*, I, fols 162d, 166c; 1, 1; 26), Nigel the doctor (I, fol. 162d; 1, 2), Bernard the priest (I, fol. 163b; 1, 18), Walter the deacon (I, fol. 169a; 57, 1), the clerk of Hugh of Grandmesnil (I, fol. 169b; 62, 6), Tovi (I, fol. 169d; 67, 6), and the unnamed priests and/or endowed churches at Marshfield (I, fol. 163b; 1, 20), Bristol (I, fol. 163b; 1, 21), Clifford Chambers (I, fol. 163c; 1, 37), Bibury (I, fol. 164d; 3, 4), Withington (I, fol. 165a; 3, 5), Bishops Cleeve (I, fol. 165a; 3, 6), Prestbury (I, fol. 165a; 4, 1), Bourton on

higher status are, essentially, those set out for the identification of minster churches by John Blair. The features to note are any one or more of the following: (a) a whole church as a tenant in chief; (b) a named priest, for example, Regenbald, as a tenant in chief (or sub-tenant), particularly if he has priests or clerks on his manor beneath him, for example the tenant in chief Albert the clerk at Upton in Warwickshire; (c) more than one priest; (d) a priest or priests with a tenure of half a hide or more or with a plough-team; (e) a church with revenues attached to it.<sup>23</sup> These are clearly references to clergy of higher status as well as to churches of higher status.

Now, if we compare Worcester with an eastern diocese such as Elmham or Lincoln in 1086 we can observe first that in terms of churches per diocese Worcester was less well supplied than its easterly counterparts. In 1086 Elmham already had at least 700, probably more, and was heading for a total of 1349 by the time of the *Taxatio Papae Nicholai* of c. 1291.<sup>24</sup> The diocese of Lincoln had nearly two thousand parishes by 1291, and although it is not possible to work out satisfactory Domesday figures for the see because much of the area lay in Domesday Circuit IV, which under-records churches, we can still note that in 1086 Lincolnshire alone had about 250 churches or more.<sup>25</sup> A second point of difference is that Worcester showed more vigorous survival of old minster churches in the late eleventh century, whereas East Anglia and Lincolnshire had more or less lost these by 1086.<sup>26</sup> Finally, as we

---

the Water (I, fol. 165d; 12, 3), Bisley (I, fol. 166c; 28, 1), Cirencester (I, fol. 166c; 25), Ampney Crucis (I, fol. 169c; 67, 1), and Bitton (I, fol. 170c; 78, 13); Worcestershire: Arnwin TRE (I, fol. 172d; 2, 8), Archdeacon Alric (I, fol. 173a; 2, 20 and 23), Brictwold TRE (I, fol. 173d; 2, 60), William (I, fol. 174c; 8, 8), and the unnamed priests and/or endowed churches at Fladbury (I, fol. 172d; 2, 15), Bishampton (I, fol. 173a; 2, 21), Ripple (I, fol. 173b; 2, 31), Blockley (I, fol. 173b; 2, 38), Tredington (I, fol. 173c; 2, 45), Overbury (I, fol. 173d; 2, 62), Sedgeberrow (I, fol. 173d; 2, 63), Crothorne (I, fol. 174a; 2, 72), Cleeve Prior (I, fol. 174a; 2, 76), Wolverley (I, fol. 174b; 2, 83), Pershore (I, fol. 174c; 8, 1), Powick (I, fol. 174d; 8, 10), Droitwich (I, fol. 174d; 8, 13), Severn Stoke (I, fol. 175b; 8, 26a), Ombersley (I, fol. 175d; 10, 10), Halesowen (I, fol. 176a; 14, 1), and Chaddesley Corbett (I, fol. 178a; 28, 1); Warwickshire: the priests at Upton (I, fol. 238b; 1, 8).

<sup>23</sup> John Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. by Peter Sawyer (London, 1985), pp. 104–42 (p. 106).

<sup>24</sup> James Campbell, 'The East Anglian Sees before the Conquest', in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996*, ed. by Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill, and Hassell Smith (London, 1996), pp. 3–21 (p. 20); *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, Auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291* (London, 1802), pp. 78–133; on the *Taxatio*, see J. H. Denton, 'Towards a New Edition of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 79 (1997), 67–79.

<sup>25</sup> Barrow, 'Survival and Mutation', p. 167; on Lincolnshire, see Darby, *Domesday England*, p. 346.

<sup>26</sup> Barrow, 'Survival and Mutation', p. 167.

have seen, minor churches in the diocese of Worcester were probably built of less durable materials and would thus have been less impressive than those in the east of the kingdom. This difference between eastern and western England is likely to have been even more marked in the first decade or so of the eleventh century, when Wulfstan the elder was bishop, than in the 1080s. A smaller proportion of the minor churches recorded in 1086 would have existed by c. 1000 in the diocese of Worcester than in eastern dioceses. In the latter, even allowing for steadily continuing establishment of minor churches in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, archaeological evidence shows that the take-off period for many minor churches was in the middle and later decades of the tenth century,<sup>27</sup> and scraps of documentary evidence from the Ramsey Chronicle and wills show several of these churches existing by the early eleventh century.<sup>28</sup> In the West Midlands, the equivalent take-off period seems to have been the middle decades of the eleventh century, and Wulfstan would have thought the area rather static compared with the Fens, where he had contacts, and probably also compared with the Vale of York, where manorial churches would have been springing up on his archiepiscopal estates in the early eleventh century.<sup>29</sup>

So far this sketch of the diocese of Worcester in the eleventh century has concentrated on the global picture and on minor churches, but of course as a diocese it was dominated by several major ecclesiastical establishments: Worcester, Evesham, Pershore, Gloucester (both St Peter's and St Oswald's), Winchcombe, Deerhurst, and Cirencester. Most of these were Benedictine by 1086, but in a state of flux between clerical and monastic status in Wulfstan's time. In the tenth and eleventh centuries several of them were linked to the Bishop of Worcester, but were also coveted by powerful magnates, above all the family of Ealhhelm, ealdorman of Mercia 940–51, his son Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia 956–83, and his grandson (Ælfhere's nephew)

---

<sup>27</sup> Glyn Coppack, 'St Lawrence Church, Burnham, South Humberside: The Excavation of a Parochial Chapel', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 21 (1986), 39–60 (pp. 39–43); Maurice Beresford and John Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village* (London, 1990), pp. 57–61; Warwick Rodwell and Kirsty Rodwell, 'St Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber: Excavation and Structural Study, 1978–81', *Antiquaries Journal*, 62 (1982), 283–315; B. J. J. Gilmour and D. A. Stocker, *St Mark's Church and Cemetery*, The Archaeology of Lincoln, 13.1 (London, 1986), pp. 15–17; J. R. Magilton, *The Church of St Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark*, The Archaeology of York, 10.1 (London, 1980), p. 18; L. P. Wenham, R. A. Hall, C. M. Briden, and D. A. Stocker, *St Mary Bishophill Junior and St Mary Castlegate*, The Archaeology of York, 8.2 (London, 1987), pp. 88–89.

<sup>28</sup> *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. by W. Dunn Macray, Rolls Series, 83 (London, 1886), pp. 51, 84–85; wills preserved by monks of Bury St Edmunds in *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930), nos 13, 14, 30, 26, 29, 34, 37; see also discussion of this material by John Blair, 'Local Churches in Domesday Book and Before', in *Domesday Essays*, ed. by J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 265–71 (pp. 269–71).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c. 800–1100* (London, 2000), p. 287; cf. also Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, ch. 7.

Godwine, who died in 1016, probably as Ealdorman of Lindsey.<sup>30</sup> The family's interest in several of the major churches in the diocese of Worcester seems to have encouraged Bishop Oswald of Worcester into a friendship alliance with Æthelwine, ealdorman of East Anglia,<sup>31</sup> which led to their joint foundation of Ramsey abbey in 965/66,<sup>32</sup> but which Oswald might also have entered into in the hope of providing some political assistance for the churches in his own diocese which he was turning into monastic foundations, for example Westbury, Winchcombe, and Evesham.<sup>33</sup> But Ælfhere was able to exploit the situation after Edgar's death to take over lands associated with several of these houses, expelling Oswald's newly established monks in the process. As Ann Williams has argued, Ælfhere was not inspired by a hatred of Benedictinism: he and his family were benefactors of Glastonbury and Abingdon and were allied to the arch-Benedictine Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (963–84).<sup>34</sup> What inspired him was desire for lands, though he would also have been motivated by hostility to Æthelwine and perhaps also to Oswald, Æthelwine's *amicus*. It took a long time for Ælfhere and his nephew Godwine to relinquish control of the Worcester abbeys.<sup>35</sup> The situation in the major churches in the diocese of Worcester facing Wulfstan on his arrival in 1002 would have been as follows.

---

<sup>30</sup> Ann Williams, 'Princeps Merciorum gentis: The Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 10 (1982), 143–72.

<sup>31</sup> Barrow, 'Survival and Mutation', p. 163, citing *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine, 3 vols, Rolls Series, 71 (London, 1879–94), 1 (1879), 429–30, and *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. by Macray, pp. 82–83.

<sup>32</sup> For Byrhtferth's account of Oswald and Æthelwine's foundation of Ramsey Abbey in his *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, see *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, 1, 428–34; for the dating of the foundation, see Julia Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961–c.1100', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 84–99 (pp. 94–95).

<sup>33</sup> For Westbury, see *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, 1, 424; for Winchcombe, see *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. by Macray, p. 42, and discussion by Michael Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1993), pp. 387–417 (p. 406); for Evesham, see recent discussion by David Cox, 'St Oswald of Worcester at Evesham Abbey: Cult and Concealment', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 269–85, who argues that it was Oswald rather than Æthelwold who originally turned Evesham into a Benedictine house.

<sup>34</sup> Williams, 'Princeps Merciorum gentis', p. 166; on the antimonic reaction, see also D. J. V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1950–52), 254–70.

<sup>35</sup> Williams, 'Princeps Merciorum gentis', pp. 168–71.



## Worcester Cathedral

In Wulfstan of York's day the Worcester cathedral precinct contained two major churches and probably also one small one.<sup>36</sup> The small one, dedicated to St Michael, was perhaps a mortuary chapel associated with the great graveyard which occupied much of the precinct.<sup>37</sup> The two big churches were St Peter's, the old cathedral dating back to the origins of the diocese in the seventh century, which had housed the episcopal *cathedra* up to at least the year before Oswald's death and probably somewhat later, and the church of St Mary, begun by Oswald in 966 and completed in 983.<sup>38</sup> Oswald was buried, probably in St Mary's, in 992, and was translated there by Wulfstan's predecessor Ealdwulf in 1002.<sup>39</sup> St Mary's was pulled down by St Wulfstan in 1084,<sup>40</sup> but fragments of it survive and more can now be guessed about it thanks to recent excavations outside the chapter house which exposed the foundations of a rotunda of Anglo-Saxon date.<sup>41</sup> Either St Mary's or St Peter's was the 'old church' with eighteen altars referred to in *Vita Wulfstani*.<sup>42</sup> In view of the recent excavations, perhaps St Mary's is the likelier candidate. It must have been quite large.

So far, so good. It is now necessary once more to go over trodden ground by defining Worcester's cathedral community (*hired* or *congregatio* as it is referred to in the Worcester charters). The community, originally formed simply of clerics, had been mixed since the 970s, probably 977, when Oswald had brought monks to serve

<sup>36</sup> Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester', pp. 89–91.

<sup>37</sup> Julia Barrow, 'Urban Cemetery Location in the High Middle Ages', in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. by Steven Bassett (Leicester, 1992), pp. 78–100 (p. 86); Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester', p. 90; London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fols 154<sup>v</sup>–155<sup>r</sup>, printed in *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. by Thomas Hearne, 2 vols (Oxford, 1723), II, 342–43, for the description of the Worcester graveyard.

<sup>38</sup> C. C. Dyer, 'The Saxon Cathedrals of Worcester', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd series, 2 (1968–69), 34; Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester', pp. 89–91, 98.

<sup>39</sup> *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 3 vols (Oxford, 1995–), II (1995), 440–41 (recounting the death of St Oswald, says 'he rests' in St Mary's, though without actually stating that that was where he was buried), and 452–53 (recounting the translation of St Oswald, in St Mary's); on the early development of Bishop Oswald's cult, see Alan Thacker, 'Saint-Making and Relic Collecting by St Oswald and his Communities', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 244–68 (p. 256).

<sup>40</sup> *Annales Monastici*, ed. by H. R. Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series, 36 (London, 1864–69), IV (1869), 373 (Annals of Worcester Cathedral Priory); see also William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 122–23 (*Vita Wulfstani*, iii, 10), and Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, p. 118.

<sup>41</sup> Philip Barker, 'Reconstructing Wulfstan's Cathedral', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia Barrow and Nicholas Brooks (forthcoming).

<sup>42</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 26–27 (*Vita Wulfstani*, I, 3).

in his church of St Mary (some of them may have been refugees from Ælfhere's attacks on West Midland monasteries); St Peter's continued to be served by clerks.<sup>43</sup> However, charter witness lists show that the two groups together formed the *hired*, and under Oswald and thereafter the head of the whole community was always a monk.<sup>44</sup> On Oswald's death, according to his biographer Byrhtferth, the funeral service was conducted by the monks and the clerks in two separate groups.<sup>45</sup> Worcester cathedral continued to be served by a mixture of monks and clerks until well into the eleventh century, and perhaps the final monasticization happened only under Wulfstan the younger. This is the explanation of events originally laid out in detail by Ivor Atkins in 1940,<sup>46</sup> reinforced by Peter Sawyer in 1975,<sup>47</sup> and further explored by me in 1992 and 1996.<sup>48</sup> The alternative viewpoint, favoured by David Farmer,<sup>49</sup> but more particularly by Eric John,<sup>50</sup> is that St Oswald acted like St Æthelwold of Winchester, expelling the clerks from Worcester and replacing them with monks, in the 960s (Eric John favoured the date 964, relying on a supposed charter of Edgar forged at Worcester in the twelfth century, commonly known from its opening word as *Altitonantis*).<sup>51</sup> In spite of the weight of strictly contemporary and near-contemporary evidence provided by the genuine leases of Oswald, and by Byrhtferth, the interpretation of Oswald as a second Æthelwold keeps recurring, most recently in a posthumous article by Eric John of 2001,<sup>52</sup> which contains several misconceptions.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>43</sup> For discussion, see Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester', p. 91.

<sup>44</sup> Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester', pp. 87–88.

<sup>45</sup> *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, 1, 472.

<sup>46</sup> Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester'.

<sup>47</sup> P. H. Sawyer, 'Charters of the Reform Movement: The Worcester Archive', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. by David Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 84–93 and 228.

<sup>48</sup> Julia Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), pp. 53–74; Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester'.

<sup>49</sup> D. H. Farmer, 'The Progress of the Monastic Revival', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by Parsons, pp. 10–19 and 209 (p. 12).

<sup>50</sup> Eric John, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 162–63, 242, 247–48, and see note 52 below.

<sup>51</sup> S 731 (*The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, ed. by R. R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Society, n.s., 38 (London, 1968), pp. 4–7, no. 1).

<sup>52</sup> Eric John, 'The Church of Worcester and St Oswald', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. by Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford, 2001), pp. 142–57.

<sup>53</sup> For examples of errors in the article the following may suffice: (1) Eric John states ('The Church of Worcester and St Oswald', p. 146) that the *pontificalis cathedra* mentioned by Byrhtferth in his *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* (*Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, 1, 462)

All that is needful to say here is that the full development of monastic culture at Worcester really took place only from the early eleventh century onwards. This can be measured in two ways: first through the acquisition and copying of books. Richard Gameson has shown that Worcester had some staple Benedictine works in the late tenth century, but acquired far more in the eleventh century.<sup>54</sup> Secondly, a monastic esprit de corps seems to have grown up at St Mary's in the early eleventh century, probably following St Oswald's translation, and this can be seen in the early-eleventh-century Worcester cartulary which forms part of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii. In this compilation are several forged charters purporting to be from Athelstan's time and earlier (S 99, 145, 147, 1282, 401, 402, 428), which refer to the episcopal church of Worcester as St Mary's, even though it would have been well known to the older members of the community that the episcopal church was St Peter's up to at least 991.<sup>55</sup> Finally, the translation of St Oswald was probably the occasion for commissioning Byrhtferth's *Life of St Oswald*, and this text is a panegyric of monasticism, including a particularly florid description of the flowery Fleury as the home of Benedict's relics.<sup>56</sup>

## Evesham

Evesham's tenth- and early-eleventh-century history, preserved for us in the *Evesham Chronicle*, has been discussed by Ann Williams in her account of the career of Ælfhere, *princeps Merciorum*.<sup>57</sup> She argues that the statement in the *Evesham Chronicle*

---

must be Oswald's throne at Worcester rather than St Wilfrid's throne at Ripon, even though the context clearly points to Ripon and the grammar (Byrhtferth was a schoolmaster) points to Wilfrid; (2) on the basis of *Altitonantis* and S 1308 he insists (pp. 147–48) on the rededication of the cathedral at Worcester to St Mary in 964, misreading the evidence of S 1308 that the bishop's throne remained in the church of St Peter and failing to note that S 1308, in spite of its date of 965, was in fact reworked after 985 (see Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester', p. 91); (3) his comment (p. 150) that *Altitonantis* could not have been composed as late as the twelfth century because by then appeals would have been taken to the papal curia is misplaced: the earliest known audience for *Altitonantis* was Bishop Simon of Worcester (Julia Barrow, 'The Chronology of Forgery Production at Worcester from c. 1000 to the Early Twelfth Century', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Barrow and Brooks).

<sup>54</sup> Richard Gameson, 'Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 194–243 (pp. 237–42).

<sup>55</sup> Barrow, 'The Chronology of Forgery Production at Worcester'; on the date of the early-eleventh-century Worcester cartulary, see Stephen Baxter, this volume, and see also Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', pp. 49–75.

<sup>56</sup> *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, I, 413–19; the allusions to flowers are on p. 417.

<sup>57</sup> Williams, '*Princeps Merciorum gentis*', pp. 145–46, 156, 159.

that the church was monastic until Ælfhere's father Ealhhelm threw out the monks and replaced them with canons (presumably 940x951) is not reliable:<sup>58</sup> it is more likely that the church had been staffed by clerics for some considerable time. Ælfhere's family had become accustomed to being in control of the best Evesham estates since Ealhhelm's activities in the mid-tenth century, with a brief and unwelcome interruption under Edgar when monks were installed.<sup>59</sup> Ælfhere was able to regain his lost estates and replace the monks with canons once more on Edgar's death in 975. Nominally the church continued to have an abbot, but it is not clear that this personage was more than the titular head of the community. Several of the late-tenth- and early-eleventh-century Evesham abbots were bishops holding the abbacy in plurality, and therefore would have been absentees.<sup>60</sup> Change came in 1014 when Æthelred appointed Alfwald, monk of Ramsey, as abbot; two years later, the death of Ælfhere's nephew Godwine at Ashingdon in 1016 made the final recovery of the main estates possible.<sup>61</sup> The *Evesham Chronicle* says that Alfwald built up Evesham's collection of books and relics with helpful acquisitions, especially after he became Bishop of London (1035–44), when he appointed Æfic as his dean or monastic deputy.<sup>62</sup> It seems likely, on these financial and cultural grounds, that it was Alfwald who remonasticized Evesham, and it is worth noting that his appointment took place while Wulfstan was at Worcester: it is not impossible that Wulfstan gave his sanction to this.<sup>63</sup>

## Pershore

Pershore, like Evesham, became Benedictine in Edgar's reign: it was presumably one of the seven minsters said by Byrhtferth to have been monasticized by Oswald. However, its monks were dispersed by Ælfhere in 975 and the church seems to have

---

<sup>58</sup> According to the *Evesham Chronicle*, Evesham was a monastic church until 940x951 (*Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham ad Annum 1418*, ed. by William Dunn Macray, Rolls Series, 29 (London, 1863), p. 77), but, as Ann Williams argues, this is unlikely: 'Monastic life doubtless ceased at some earlier date' (*Princeps Merciorum gentis*, pp. 145–46).

<sup>59</sup> Cox, 'St Oswald of Worcester at Evesham Abbey', p. 272, argues for Oswald introducing the first reforming abbot, against *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. by Macray, pp. 77–78, which attributes this to Æthelwold of Winchester.

<sup>60</sup> *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. by Macray, pp. 80–81.

<sup>61</sup> *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. by Macray, pp. 81–82, discussed by Williams, *Princeps Merciorum gentis*, p. 171.

<sup>62</sup> *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. by Macray, pp. 81–83.

<sup>63</sup> It is also worth noting that the year in which Alfwald became abbot, 1014, would have been about the earliest point at which Wulfstan the younger could have begun his elementary schooling at Evesham: see Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, pp. 28, 34, for discussion of his date of birth and the start of his schooling; see also Nicholas Brooks, 'Introduction: How Do We Know about St Wulfstan?', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Barrow and Brooks.

led a rather shadowy existence for a long time thereafter.<sup>64</sup> By the early eleventh century it may have been under the influence of Archbishop Wulfstan, since his nephew Brihtheah was abbot here by 1012.<sup>65</sup> Brihtheah seems to have kept hold of Pershore after he became Bishop of Worcester in 1033, since he bestowed the church of Hawkesbury, a Pershore manor, on Wulfstan the younger after making him priest.<sup>66</sup> Whether or not Brihtheah encouraged monastic life to flourish at Pershore, it was clearly a weak community: in the mid-eleventh century many of its estates were used by Edward the Confessor to endow Westminster abbey.<sup>67</sup>

### Deerhurst

The minster at Deerhurst had been wealthy enough in the ninth century to afford a sizeable, elaborate church building, suggestive of quite complex liturgical functions.<sup>68</sup> Its history in the tenth and earlier eleventh centuries is obscure; however, it was the church where Ælfheah, later Bishop of Winchester (984–1005) and then Archbishop of Canterbury (1005–12), received his education. In the mid-eleventh century it was probably under the control of Odda, kinsman of Edward the Confessor and earl from 1051 until his death in 1056.<sup>69</sup> By the mid-eleventh century it was as vulnerable as Pershore: Edward the Confessor gave it to Saint-Denis, keeping back most of the estates to bestow on Westminster.<sup>70</sup>

### Gloucester (St Peter's)

According to Gloucester's own *Historia*, the ancient monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester, was in the hands of secular clerics in the tenth and early eleventh cen-

---

<sup>64</sup> For the early history of Pershore, see William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. by John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel, 2nd edn, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1817–30), II (1819), 410–11 and 415–16; see also Williams, 'Princeps Merciorum gentis', pp. 159, 167–68; on Foldbirht, abbot of Pershore, see *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, I, 439.

<sup>65</sup> *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by Darlington and McGurk, II, 518–19.

<sup>66</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, p. 108 (*Vita Wulfstani*, III, 2).

<sup>67</sup> *Domesday Book*, I, fols 174c–175c (Worcs., 8 and 9).

<sup>68</sup> Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts, *St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: Field-work, Excavations and Structural Analysis, 1971–1984*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 55 (Woodbridge, 1997); Philip Rahtz, *Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, 1971–3*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 15 (London, 1976).

<sup>69</sup> Patrick Wormald, *How Do We Know so Much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?*, Deerhurst Lecture, 1991 (Deerhurst, 1993), pp. 8–9, 13, 17.

<sup>70</sup> *Domesday Book*, I, fol. 166b (Glos., 19 and 20).

turies until 1022, when Archbishop Wulfstan made them adopt the Rule of St Benedict and appointed Edric as abbot.<sup>71</sup> A strong element of Worcester influence survived at Gloucester, for Edric's successor, Wilstan, appointed in 1058, was a senior member of the Worcester cathedral community, and was installed by Bishop Ealdred,<sup>72</sup> who, moreover, appropriated several of St Peter's manors, which by 1086 were held by Archbishop Thomas of York.<sup>73</sup>

### *Winchcombe*

Winchcombe was one of the churches in which Oswald set up a Benedictine community. Some light on this body of monks is shed by the Winchcombe Sacramentary, compiled either while they were still at Winchcombe or after they had been dispersed by Ælfhere in 975. They fled to Ramsey, and the subsequent history of the house is obscure until the 990s, when an Abbot Ælfwold is recorded; there is then another gap until the 1040s.<sup>74</sup> At about the same time the community of Winchcombe commissioned a *Passio* of its patron saint, St Kenelm, which suggests a newly strengthened sense of corporate identity;<sup>75</sup> moreover the text sheds light on the ecclesiastical topography of Winchcombe, referring to two churches fairly close to each other, evidently the forerunners of the later monastic church and the later parish church lying westwards of it.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps in the early eleventh century the church was served by secular clergy. Wulfstan's relations with Winchcombe are unclear.

Overall, if we look at the houses which were fully Benedictine by the mid-eleventh century we can see (1) that the Bishops of Worcester were becoming the most influential figures in the existence of most of them in Wulfstan's time,

---

<sup>71</sup> *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. by William Henry Hart, 3 vols, Rolls Series, 33 (London, 1863–67), I (1863), 8.

<sup>72</sup> *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri*, ed. by Hart, I, 9; comment by Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, p. 71.

<sup>73</sup> *Domesday Book*, I, fol. 164cd (Glos., 2, 4; 2, 8; 2, 10; 2, 13).

<sup>74</sup> *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, ed. by Anselme Davril, Henry Bradshaw Society, 109 (London, 1995), pp. 22–26; on Germanus and Winchcombe, see *Chronicon Abbatiae Rame-seiensis*, ed. by Macray, p. 42, and Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus', pp. 387–417 (esp. pp. 406–08); see also *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, vol. I, 940–1216, ed. by David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and Vera C. M. London, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 79, 257.

<sup>75</sup> *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, and Vita S. Rumwoldi*, ed. by Rosalind C. Love (Oxford, 1996), pp. xc–ci, on the circumstances of the composition of the *Life* of Kenelm and pp. 49–89 for the text of the *Life* itself.

<sup>76</sup> S. R. Bassett, 'A Probable Mercian Royal Mausoleum at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire', *Antiquaries Journal*, 65 (1985), 82–100 (pp. 85–87), and, for discussion of the mausoleum itself, probably a third church in the same enclosure, pp. 89–93.

especially after the death of Ælfhere's nephew Godwine in 1016; (2) that Worcester influence remained strong until Ealdred was translated to York, at which point York too began to be a significant player; (3) that when Wulfstan became Bishop of Worcester in 1002 none of these houses, as far as we know, was served by a fully Benedictine community; and (4) that Wulfstan made a modest attempt to strengthen the observance of the Benedictine Rule in his diocese, certainly at Gloucester, possibly at Evesham, and probably also at Pershore.

The remaining major churches of the diocese, the minsters which were not turned into Benedictine monasteries in the tenth and eleventh centuries, underwent a variety of fates in the eleventh century, depending essentially on the policies pursued by their patrons. The most prominent patron was the church of Worcester, which, during the eighth and ninth centuries had taken over a very large number of minster churches throughout the diocese but especially in the territory which was later to become Worcestershire,<sup>77</sup> and although, as Sims-Williams shows, some of these churches were retaining their status and functions as *monasteria* in the ninth century, by the mid-tenth century Worcester had appropriated their lands and probably thus demoted the churches to small congregations of clergy. This is how Hanbury, Bibury, Bredon, and so many others occur as manors of the church of Worcester in Domesday.<sup>78</sup> It was not invariable for bishops to do this: the Bishops of Lichfield preserved powerful minsters such as St John's in Chester and St Chad's in Shrewsbury.<sup>79</sup> Obviously Worcester was particularly keen to obtain these churches' lands, but Francesca Tinti has also shown that, at some point before Oswald's sequence of leases begins, Worcester had also taken over the church scot originally payable to these ancient minsters, which now had to be paid to itself.<sup>80</sup> By these means these churches were being depressed to a status only somewhat higher than that of an estate church. To take a few examples: Cutsdean (originally part of Bredon) supported Archdeacon Ailric in 1086 with two hides, two demesne ploughs, a priest, and eleven other manorial tenants; at Bibury in Gloucestershire a priest had three hides of the manor, men of his own, and four ploughs, but at Hanbury in Worcestershire

---

<sup>77</sup> Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 3 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 169–72.

<sup>78</sup> Bibury: *Domesday Book*, I, fol. 164d (Glos., 3, 4); Bredon and Hanbury: *Domesday Book*, I, fols 173a, 174a (Worcs., 2, 22 and 79).

<sup>79</sup> See the Domesday references to St John's church, Chester (*Domesday Book*, I, fol. 263a; Cheshire, B, 10) and to St Chad's church, Shrewsbury (I, fols 252b, 253a; Shropshire, 1, 2; 1, 4; 3f, 1–7).

<sup>80</sup> Francesca Tinti, 'Sustaining the Clergy and the System: The Payment of Church Dues in Late Anglo-Saxon England', unpublished paper delivered at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds 2002 (to be published in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Francesca Tinti, forthcoming).

the Domesday entry mentions one priest only, among the manorial tenants.<sup>81</sup> Meanwhile, the destiny of minster churches which came under royal control (these churches were mostly in Gloucestershire) was rather different. The king was patron of two very large minsters, Cirencester and St Oswald's Gloucester, and a few smaller ones, such as Cheltenham and Berkeley in Gloucestershire and Upton in Warwickshire.<sup>82</sup> We shall see shortly what use eleventh-century kings made of these churches; for the moment we might note that Wulfstan, as Bishop of Worcester, would probably have had little to do with them.

About the individual clergy serving churches in the diocese of Worcester we are poorly informed, save for the inmates of the cathedral church itself. Even here our information for Wulfstan's pontificate is limited, as there are few charters and thus few witness lists. In any case, witness lists are chiefly useful for studying continuity, change, and promotion within a community<sup>83</sup> and are not much help for studying entry into the clergy in the first place. For this, our single most useful source is the *Vita Wulfstani*, supplemented by information about Wulfstan the younger's family in two obit lists. Wulfstan's father, Æthelstan, occurs as priest and monk in the list in Wulfstan of York's homiliary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113), as does a brother called Byrcstan who remained a layman; another brother Ælfstan occurs as priest and monk in the list in Wulfstan the younger's Collectar (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391).<sup>84</sup> Æthelstan is said by *Vita Wulfstani* to have become a monk fairly late in life, when Wulfstan was a young man, but the fact that he was also a priest indicates that his early career had been as a cleric: older lay converts to the monastic life were not likely to obtain enough education to be ordained priest. Æthelstan presumably would have mapped out a clerical career for young Wulfstan, his son, sending him for his initial education to Evesham and then for more advanced study to Peterborough.<sup>85</sup> The community of Worcester educated clerics also: the *Vita Wulfstani* refers to Wulfstan the younger's chaplain Coleman undertaking the

---

<sup>81</sup> Cutsdean and Hanbury: *Domesday Book*, 1, fols 173a, 174a (Worcs., 2, 23 and 79); Bibury: *Domesday Book*, 1, fol. 164d (Glos., 3, 4).

<sup>82</sup> Cirencester: *Domesday Book*, 1, fol. 166c (Glos., 25); St Oswald's, Gloucester: *Domesday Book*, 1, fol. 164cd (2, 1–3; 2, 5; 2, 9; 2, 11–12, i.e. properties held by Stigand in 1066 and by Archbishop Thomas in 1086); Cheltenham: *Domesday Book*, 1, fol. 162d (Glos., 1, 1); Berkeley: *Domesday Book*, 1, fol. 163b (Glos., 1, 18); Upton: *Domesday Book*, 1, fol. 238b (Warw., 1, 8).

<sup>83</sup> See e.g. their use by Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester', and Sawyer, 'Charters of the Reform Movement'.

<sup>84</sup> The obit lists are printed and discussed by Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester', pp. 29–33; for discussion of family links, see Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, pp. 30–33, and Brooks, 'Introduction: How Do We Know about St Wulfstan?'.

<sup>85</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 14–17 (*Vita Wulfstani*, 1, 1).



education of the son of a woman of Droitwich.<sup>86</sup> Coleman is said to have done this in the *curia* of his bishop. Perhaps William of Malmesbury used the term *curia* to translate the term *hired*, community, in Coleman's original Old English version of the life. Wulfstan the younger, too, according to the *Vita Wulfstani*, had joined the *curia* of Bishop Brihteah of Worcester in the 1030s, when he was a young man.<sup>87</sup> Being accepted into a *hired* would hardly have been automatic and would have depended on family networking or on some other form of 'pull': it is noticeable that the young Wulfstan did not get accepted into Worcester cathedral for his early ordination.

Once accepted for tonsure and education the young cleric would look forward to patronage, which in the diocese of Worcester was exercised most prominently by the Bishop and to a lesser extent by the King. Obtaining a church on lands on the estates of the church of Worcester was easiest for those who were members of the Bishop's community: in this way Bishop Oswald had in 969 granted the church of St Peter in Sidbury on the south-western outskirts of Worcester, together with a manor, to Wulfgar, probably identifiable with the Wulfgar who occurs as a clerk in several Worcester witness lists.<sup>88</sup> Similarly Oswald granted land to Wynsig, one of the monks of the community.<sup>89</sup> Brihteah as Bishop of Worcester (and probably simultaneously as Abbot of Pershore) bestowed one of Pershore's churches, Hawkesbury, on the young Wulfstan and later tried to give him one of the churches on the outskirts of Worcester, quite possibly, as Michael Winterbottom and Rod Thomson suggest, St Peter's in Sidbury, a church in its own *haga* to which land was attached.<sup>90</sup> About Archbishop Wulfstan's patronage we are ignorant, but it presumably operated on similar lines to that of Oswald and Brihteah.

For those lucky enough to have the right contacts, royal patronage was an alternative. Within the diocese of Worcester, there were rather fewer moderately endowed royal churches or small estates earmarked for royal clerics than in Wessex (Dorset, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somerset) or the East Midlands (Bedfordshire, Leicestershire),<sup>91</sup> but St Oswald's, Gloucester, with over forty hides, was extremely wealthy. It and the smaller minsters in the diocese were used to reward high-placed ecclesiastics in the mid-eleventh century: Regenbald the king's priest had Cirencester and

---

<sup>86</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 84–85 (*Vita Wulfstani*, ii, 13).

<sup>87</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 20–23 (*Vita Wulfstani*, i, 2).

<sup>88</sup> S 1327 (*Hemingi Chartularium*, ed. by Hearne, i, 136–38).

<sup>89</sup> S 1336 (*Hemingi Chartularium*, ed. by Hearne, i, 175–76).

<sup>90</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 108–09 (*Vita Wulfstani*, iii, 2) for Hawkesbury, and pp. 22–23 (i, 3) for the reference to the church on the outskirts of Worcester, with discussion about whether it was St Peter's in Sidbury, p. 23, n. 5.

<sup>91</sup> Julia Barrow, 'Clergy in English Dioceses in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', unpublished paper delivered at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds 2002 (to be published in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Tinti).

also Cheltenham, while Stigand had St Oswald's up to his disgrace in 1070.<sup>92</sup> Stigand might perhaps have been rewarded as early as Cnut's reign,<sup>93</sup> Regenbald received Cheltenham and perhaps Cirencester from Edward the Confessor and was given bigger estates near Cirencester by William I.<sup>94</sup> Since the sharp growth in the numbers of curial clerks cannot be traced back further than Cnut's reign, it is uncertain how Æthelred the Unready made use of these churches, but it is hard to imagine him taking no interest in them, and it is possible that they were used to reward bishops, as Alfred had used the minsters of Congresbury and Banwell to reward Asser.<sup>95</sup>

Clerical recruitment thus operated along separate courses according to who was dispensing patronage. It is overwhelmingly probable that this split between episcopal and non-episcopal clergy was significant in other aspects of ecclesiastical life, such as clerical discipline. It would have been a relatively simple matter for the Bishop to discipline clergy on his own estates, which he would visit on a regular basis.<sup>96</sup> It would have been much harder for him to discipline clergy whose protector was the King, since the only real point of contact he would have with them would be ordination. Wulfstan of York's stipulations about seizing clerks committing crimes and keeping them for the Bishop's judgement could only have operated selectively, if at all. Clerics committing crimes were surely simply brought into the shire courts: Wulfstan would have helped to preside over the Gloucestershire and Worcestershire courts and would have had no problems in judging his own clerics, who, given the scope of episcopal patronage, would have formed a significant proportion of the clergy of the see. It was during the pontificate of Wulfstan the younger that the rush to build estate churches altered the pattern of church provision and patronage in the

---

<sup>92</sup> See note 82 above and notes 93–94 below for the estates of Cirencester, St Oswald's, Gloucester, and Cheltenham. On the eighth- or ninth-century church at Cirencester, a building about 179 feet by 52 feet, see also P. D. C. Brown and Alan D. McWhirr, 'Cirencester 1965', *Antiquaries Journal*, 46 (1966), 240–54 (pp. 245–48), and David Brown, 'Archaeological Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Period', in *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Cirencester*, ed. by Alan McWhirr, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 30 (Oxford, 1976), pp. 19–45.

<sup>93</sup> M. F. Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 16 (1994), 199–219 (pp. 199–200 for Cnut's favour to Stigand, pp. 208–09 for St Oswald's).

<sup>94</sup> Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988), 185–222 (pp. 195, 212).

<sup>95</sup> Simon Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1997), 203–71 (pp. 205–13 on curial clerks); for Asser's rewards, see *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. by William Henry Stevenson, new impression with article on recent work on Asser's Life of Alfred, by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1905; repr. 1959), p. 68 (c. 81); also translation by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, *Alfred the Great* (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 97.

<sup>96</sup> Christopher Dyer, 'Bishop Wulfstan and his Estates', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Barrow and Brooks.

diocese,<sup>97</sup> making it necessary for him and his successors to reconsider clerical discipline. The pattern of episcopal authority over clerics set out in the legal writings of Wulfstan the elder would have been workable in the old-fashioned, almost intimate world of the diocese of Worcester in the early eleventh century. The curious thing is that Wulfstan would have been well aware of the quite different situation pertaining in much of eastern England, with hundreds of churches and with many different patrons of individual clerics, but he makes no allowances for this in his legislation.

To conclude, Wulfstan's period in office at Worcester was an unexciting one in terms of ecclesiastical administration. He appears to have made little impact on his see, though he did give limited support to the growth of Benedictine monasticism. The diocese was about to undergo a revolution in the provision of pastoral care in the form of many new estate churches, but this process was essentially a phenomenon of the mid-eleventh century and later. In Wulfstan the elder's day, the diocese was run on traditional, cosy lines. For clergy, there was a clear-cut and very limited pattern of patronage, to obtain which they and their families had to be on good terms with the Bishop. For the Bishop, there was the happy realization that most of the clergy in the diocese were somehow linked to the *hired* of the church of Worcester, or of some other church under episcopal influence, through training or continued membership, thus making episcopal authority relatively easy to uphold.

---

<sup>97</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, ch. 7.



# Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property

STEPHEN BAXTER

Shortly after 1002, when Wulfstan became Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, a number of charters relating to the endowment of the church of Worcester were copied into a cartulary. One of the scribes who worked on this manuscript used the lower margin of the last folio to write three lines of Latin verse wishing Wulfstan peace, long life, and salvation and urging him to be mindful of the Worcester community:

Sit pariter lupo pax uita longa salusque  
Iungere gaudemus lapidem disiungere necne  
Lætatur pius his iunctis nostri memor et sit.<sup>1</sup>

Wulfstan did as he was urged: he was indeed mindful of the Worcester community, especially insofar as its tenurial resources were concerned. Wulfstan's achievements

---

<sup>1</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 101<sup>v</sup>. The verse plays on Wulfstan's name, which is a combination of Old English *wulf* ('wolf') and *stan* ('stone') (Latin *lupus* and *lapis* respectively). The verse is not easy to translate idiomatically, but might be rendered as follows: 'Let there be peace, long life, and also salvation for the wolf / We rejoice to unite the stone and not to separate it / The holy man rejoices with these united, and let him be mindful of us.' Fol. 101<sup>v</sup> was the last folio of the cartulary as it was originally arranged. Another Latin poem in honour of Wulfstan is preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 148<sup>v</sup>: see N. R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary: A Description of the Two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. XIII', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. by R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 49–75 (p. 72, n. 1). I am grateful to Patrick Wormald, Richard Sharpe, and Francesca Tinti for commenting on earlier versions of this paper; and to Simon Keynes for helpful guidance, for showing me his hitherto unpublished analysis of Anglo-Saxon charters preserved in the Worcester archive, and for supplying a copy of the map printed below (fig. 7.8).

as a statesman, lawmaker, and homilist are justly celebrated; but the fact that he also deployed some innovative methods of estate administration is often overlooked. The object of this essay is to draw attention to this remarkable but little-known aspect of Wulfstan's career.<sup>2</sup>

The estates controlled by Wulfstan as Archbishop of York and Bishop of Worcester were considerable,<sup>3</sup> but vulnerable to loss and spoliation.<sup>4</sup> Three documents closely connected with Wulfstan show that Wulfstan addressed this problem with characteristic vigour. The documents in question comprise an early-eleventh-century Worcester cartulary preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, and two documents relating to archiepiscopal estates in Yorkshire, one preserved in London, British Library, Harley 55, the other in the York Gospels (York, Minster Library, Additional 1). The former demonstrates that Wulfstan was responsible for the making of England's earliest extant cartulary and that he used this cartulary to keep track of property which had been alienated from the church of Worcester by his predecessors in office; the latter prove that Wulfstan was able to recover certain archiepiscopal estates which had been despoiled shortly before he became Archbishop. The manuscript context of the York documents is also instructive

---

<sup>2</sup> In doing so, I build on the seminal work of Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', and Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London, 1986), pp. 81–99.

<sup>3</sup> It is impossible to reconstruct the precise extent and distribution of the estates which Wulfstan would have controlled between 1002 and 1016, but one could arrive at a rough estimate by identifying the property attributed to the churches of Worcester and York and their dependencies in Domesday Book and making appropriate adjustments for those transactions (a few gains and many losses) which are known to have affected their endowments between 1016 and 1086. In very rough terms, the church of Worcester held approximately six hundred hides worth about £450 in 1086, and if Hemming's account of the spoliation of Worcester is accurate (see note 9 below), the church of Worcester would have possessed approximately two hundred hides more (worth about £175) in 1016. The Archbishop of York controlled about nine hundred carucates worth £400 in 1086 (this figure includes the estates assigned to St Peter's York, St Mary's Southwell, and St John's Beverley). If Wulfstan held anything like this much property between 1002 and 1016, he would have been one of the wealthiest landholders in England. On Wulfstan and Worcester, see also Julia Barrow, this volume.

<sup>4</sup> The endowments of religious houses were vulnerable to secular predation and various other forms of pressure throughout the late Anglo-Saxon period: see Robin Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *English Historical Review*, 100 (1985), 247–65; David N. Dumville, 'Ecclesiastical Lands and the Defence of Wessex in the First Viking Age', in his *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 29–54; Ann Williams, 'The Spoliation of Worcester', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1997), 383–408; Stephen Baxter, 'The Leofwinesons: Power, Property and Patronage in the Early English Kingdom' (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2002), pp. 156–223; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (forthcoming), ch. 6.

and suggests that Wulfstan regarded the protection of God's property to be an integral element of his wider programme for the regeneration of a Christian society.

Before turning to these documents, there are two related problems which ought to be addressed. The first relates to a cartulary compiled at Worcester *c.* 1240, which describes Wulfstan as *reprobus* on the grounds that he despoiled the church of Worcester.<sup>5</sup> When and how did Wulfstan acquire this reputation? It is conceivable that he acquired it during or shortly after his lifetime. Wulfstan is known to have alienated Worcester property to various individuals including members of his own family.<sup>6</sup> There is also clear evidence that Wulfstan continued to exercise authority over the endowment of the church of Worcester after he resigned the bishopric of Worcester in 1016.<sup>7</sup> If Wulfstan used Worcester property to supplement his

---

<sup>5</sup> *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, ed. by R. R. Darlington (London, 1968), p. 1: 'Nonus decimus Wlstanus reprobus. Nam nimis errauit dum nos rebus spoliauit. Et ipse archiepiscopus Eboracensis' ('The nineteenth [Bishop of Worcester] was Wulfstan, the sinner; for he erred greatly when he despoiled us of property; and he was Archbishop of York'). Here one might add that a list of Bishops of Worcester in an Evesham manuscript calls Wulfstan *impius*: London, British Library, Harley 229, fol. 15<sup>f</sup>. However, this is neither surprising nor especially significant: Evesham abbots and Worcester bishops were frequently at odds and their respective communities were rarely complimentary to one another in the eleventh century.

<sup>6</sup> There is evidence of various kinds relating to six leases issued by Wulfstan. Three are known only from a list of Worcester charters compiled by Dugdale in 1643: see P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968), revised edn, ed. by S. E. Kelly, currently available online at [www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww](http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww) (hereafter 'S'), nos 1845–47). One is referred to in a boundary clause preserved in a twelfth-century Evesham cartulary (S 1590). The remaining two comprise a seventeenth-century transcript of a lease issued by Wulfstan in favour of his brother Ælfwig (S 1384) and a single-sheet original of a lease issued by Wulfstan in favour of a certain Wulfgifu, probably Wulfstan's sister (S 1385). For Wulfgifu and her descendants, see S 1459; Ann Williams, 'An Introduction to the Worcester Domesday', in *The Worcester-shire Domesday*, ed. by Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1988), pp. 1–31 (pp. 24–26); Williams, 'Spoliation of Worcester', pp. 394–96, 403.

<sup>7</sup> Wulfstan issued S 1384 and S 1847 in 1017. S 1388 is a lease issued by Wulfstan's successor, Bishop Leofsige of Worcester, in 1016; however, Wulfstan is the first person named in the witness list of this document, which proves that he was at least party to the transaction. The fragment S 1860 appears to have been drawn up in or shortly before 1017 and may relate to a document issued by either Wulfstan or Leofsige. For the suggestion that Leofsige was Wulfstan's suffragan at Worcester between 1016 and 1023, see Ivor Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part II', *Antiquaries Journal*, 20 (1940), 1–38, 203–29 (p. 14); Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 72–85 (p. 84, n. 2); *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, rev. edn (Exeter, 1976), pp. 9–11; *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 65–68.

resources after that date, this may have caused lasting resentment.<sup>8</sup> An account of the spoliation of Worcester written by a monk named Hemming in the 1090s says that the Worcester endowment sustained several losses in and shortly after 1016, and the community of Worcester may have blamed Wulfstan for these losses.<sup>9</sup> However, leasing land was an entirely standard method of exercising patronage throughout the Anglo-Saxon period; and although Wulfstan favoured his kinsmen, so too did other Worcester bishops, including Bishop (and Saint) Oswald.<sup>10</sup> It is also significant that, although Hemming had no qualms about assigning responsibility for the spoliation of Worcester to the *negligentia* of former bishops, he did not specifically blame Wulfstan for any of the losses incurred between 1016 and 1023.<sup>11</sup> This is a strong indication that Wulfstan *reprobis* was a late invention. Indeed, it is probable that Wulfstan's reputation became tarnished in a post-Gregorian climate when his familial property strategies and his tenure of Worcester and York in plurality made him an obvious target for criticism, and that Wulfstan's declining reputation was simply a casualty of a wider process which caused the Worcester community to invent various aspects of its Anglo-Saxon past.<sup>12</sup>

A second preliminary problem is the extent of Wulfstan's involvement in the composition or transmission of *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* and *Gerefa*, two late Anglo-Saxon texts which are both concerned with estate administration, albeit in

---

<sup>8</sup> Archbishop Ealdred was accused of diverting the revenues of Worcester property for his own use after he resigned the see of Worcester in 1062: see *Vita Wulfstani* in William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. by M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), pp. 7–156 (pp. 46, 48–50); *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 3 vols (Oxford, 1995–), III (1998), 10–18 (s.a. 1070). For Ealdred, see Vanessa King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: The Worcester Years', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 18 (1996), 123–37.

<sup>9</sup> Tiberius A.xiii, fols 119<sup>r</sup>–131<sup>r</sup>; *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. by T. Hearne, 2 vols (Oxford, 1723), I, 248–81; Williams, 'Spoliation of Worcester'.

<sup>10</sup> For early English leases, see Julia Barrow, 'From the Lease to the Certificate: The Evolution of Episcopal Acts in England and Wales c. 700–c. 1250', in *Die Diplomatie Der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250: Referate zum VIII. Internationalen Kongress für Diplomatie*, ed. by Christoph Haidachter and Werner Köfler (Innsbruck, 1995), pp. 529–42, esp. pp. 529–32. For leases issued by Bishop Oswald in favour of his kinsmen, see Vanessa King, 'St Oswald's Tenants', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996), pp. 100–16 (pp. 108–11); and Andrew Wareham, 'Saint Oswald's Family and Kin', in *ibid.*, pp. 46–63.

<sup>11</sup> *Hemingi Chartularium*, ed. by Hearne, I, 284. Hemming was especially critical of Bishop Brihteah of Worcester (1033–38): see Williams, 'Spoliation of Worcester', pp. 394–95.

<sup>12</sup> Julia Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), pp. 53–74.



different ways.<sup>13</sup> In 1963, Dorothy Bethurum argued on stylistic grounds that Wulfstan rewrote *Rectitudines* and *Gerefa* from an older document.<sup>14</sup> Paul Harvey has subsequently shown that *Rectitudines* and *Gerefa* were originally quite separate compositions: whereas *Gerefa* is a literary work of a colloquy type probably written in the late tenth or early eleventh century, *Rectitudines* is an administrative text, 'a concise and practical statement of what an estate manager could expect to receive', probably composed in south-west England in the mid-tenth century. The texts were brought together and revised in the early eleventh century, and *Rectitudines* was interpolated at that time.<sup>15</sup> Harvey accepted that the interpolator might have been Wulfstan, but Patrick Wormald has since argued that '*Rectitudines* differs in tone, vocabulary and message from the corpus of the archbishop's writings': the reviser 'may have been guided by the ideas that Wulfstan was expressing' but is unlikely to have been Wulfstan himself.<sup>16</sup> Here is not the place to weigh the merits of these arguments, except to recall that the Old English versions of *Rectitudines* and *Gerefa* are preserved in a St Paul's manuscript.<sup>17</sup> On this basis alone, one perhaps ought to leave open the possibility that the texts were brought together and interpolated by Wulfstan while he was Bishop of London (996–1002), perhaps before his prose style had matured to the point where it might be recognizable to modern scholars. Either way, the three manuscripts which are the main focus of this paper constitute much clearer evidence of Wulfstan's interest and involvement in estate management.

### *The Making of Liber Wigorniensis*

In 1948, Neil Ker published a masterly article in which he showed that Tiberius A.xiii comprised not one, but two cartularies, both written at Worcester: folios 1–109 and 111–18 were written in the early eleventh century, whereas folios 119–200

---

<sup>13</sup> The texts are printed in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16), I (1903), 444–55.

<sup>14</sup> Dorothy Bethurum, 'Episcopal Magnificence in the Eleventh Century', in *Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur*, ed. by Stanley B. Greenfield (Eugene, OR, 1963), pp. 163–70.

<sup>15</sup> P. D. A. Harvey, 'Rectitudines Singularum Personarum and Gerefa', *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993), 1–22 (p. 12).

<sup>16</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by David A. E. Pelteret (New York, 1999), pp. 191–224; repr. in Patrick Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51 (pp. 247–51); Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. I, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 387–89.

<sup>17</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 228–36.

were written in the late eleventh century.<sup>18</sup> Ker referred to these two cartularies as 'Tib. I' and 'Tib. II' respectively, but it is now conventional to refer to the former as *Liber Wigorniensis* and to the latter as 'Hemming's cartulary'.<sup>19</sup>

In order to illustrate Wulfstan's involvement in the production and subsequent use of *Liber Wigorniensis* it is necessary briefly to describe the structure of the manuscript (a detailed analysis of *Liber Wigorniensis* which illustrates many of the points that follow can be found in the appendix). Ker's palaeographical analysis remains largely unchallenged, but subsequent work on the topographical logic of the cartulary has refined our understanding of its original arrangement.<sup>20</sup> The manuscript comprised fifteen quires, mostly of eight leaves each, and the bulk of the text was written by at least five different scribes. These scribes sometimes left blank spaces at the end of the sections for which they were responsible, and some of these were used for later additions. The compilers worked to a topographical scheme arranging the charters in groups, county by county. The cartulary was divided into two halves. The first half comprised folios now numbered 1–57 and 103–09 and consisted of royal diplomas and title deeds together with some episcopal leases which were no longer operative when the cartulary was compiled. These charters were mostly arranged topographically, dealing with Worcestershire, Winchcombeshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire in turn; there followed a series of fourteen charters which were not arranged in topographical order. The second half of the cartulary comprised the folios now numbered 57–101 and 111–13 and consisted of copies of seventy-six operative leases of which all but two were issued by Oswald, bishop of Worcester (961–92) and archbishop of York (971–92). These leases appear to have been arranged in the following topographical order: Gloucestershire, Winchcombeshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, and Worcestershire (there followed two leases which appear to have slipped out of sequence).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary'. Fol. 110 is a fragment containing remnants of what may have been rough notes for a lease (S 1860); it did not originally form part of the manuscript.

<sup>19</sup> *Liber Wigorniensis* was thus named by H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), p. 16. Although there is no manuscript justification for this title, it has been adopted in recent work: see, most recently, Francesca Tinti, 'From Episcopal Conception to Monastic Compilation: Hemming's Cartulary in Context', *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2003), 233–61 (p. 235 and *passim*). The making of Hemming's cartulary should also be considered in relation to Bishop Wulfstan II's (i.e. Saint Wulfstan's) involvement in the making of the Worcestershire Domesday: see Stephen Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book*, ed. by Elizabeth Hallam and David Bates (Stroud, 2001), pp. 73–102, 203–08 (pp. 81–93).

<sup>20</sup> Finberg, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*, pp. 16–18; Julian Whybra, *A Lost County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 1 (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 31–64, esp. pp. 58–64.

<sup>21</sup> Whybra, *Lost County*, pp. 61–63. For the sake of simplicity, the appendix to this essay identifies the shire to which each vill pertained at the time of the Domesday survey (1086); Winchombeshire no longer existed as an administrative entity by this date.

*Liber Wigorniensis* was almost certainly compiled on Wulfstan's instructions at some stage after he became Bishop of Worcester in 1002. Its formal dating limits are 996, the date of the latest charter in the cartulary, and 28 May 1023, the date of Wulfstan's death.<sup>22</sup> However, there are good reasons for thinking that the cartulary was compiled in or shortly after 1002. None of Wulfstan's leases were copied into the cartulary;<sup>23</sup> the age profile of the leases in *Liber Wigorniensis* is consistent with the proposition that the cartulary was compiled early in the eleventh century;<sup>24</sup> and the cartulary concludes with three lines of Latin verse in honour of Wulfstan.<sup>25</sup> There is also one further, clinching piece of evidence: the manuscript contains numerous annotations written in a hand which Ker identified as being that of Wulfstan himself.<sup>26</sup>

These annotations can be divided into three groups. The first comprises marginal rubrics which give the name of the estate (or estates) to which each charter pertains. The 'Wulfstan hand' has written such marginal rubrics on almost every leaf in the first half of the manuscript as it was originally arranged (see, for example, fig. 7.1). A second, much smaller group of annotations occurs in the second half of the manuscript. Here the 'Wulfstan hand' seems to have written the title which commences the sequence of leases, 'Geanbec into glewe[ceastre]' on folio 57<sup>r</sup>, together with marginal annotations on folio 70<sup>r</sup> and leaves 97 to 101 (see, for example, figs 7.2 and 7.3). The third group comprises several brief alterations to the homily beginning *Adam se æresta man* written on folios 115<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>v</sup>, which had been left blank by the cartulary scribes. All this proves that *Liber Wigorniensis* was known to and used by Wulfstan; it also amounts to a powerful, if not quite conclusive, case that Wulfstan actually commissioned and supervised the work.

*Liber Wigorniensis* is an exceptionally rich and important document. It raises several questions which have an important bearing on Wulfstan's approach to estate administration. For example, no other cartulary is known to have been produced in England until the last quarter of the eleventh century, so what inspired the production

---

<sup>22</sup> S 1381. For the suggestion that the cartulary may have been compiled by Wulfstan's predecessor, Ealdwulf, bishop of Worcester 992–1002 and archbishop of York 995–1002, see V. H. Galbraith, 'Notes on the Career of Samson, Bishop of Worcester (1096–1112)', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967), 86–101 (pp. 97–98).

<sup>23</sup> For Wulfstan's leases, see above note 6. David N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, AD 950–1030*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 6 (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 66, suggests that the cartulary may have been compiled before 1016 on the basis that it does not contain copies of leases issued in 1016–17.

<sup>24</sup> Below, Table 1.

<sup>25</sup> Above, note 1.

<sup>26</sup> Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31 (pp. 324–26).

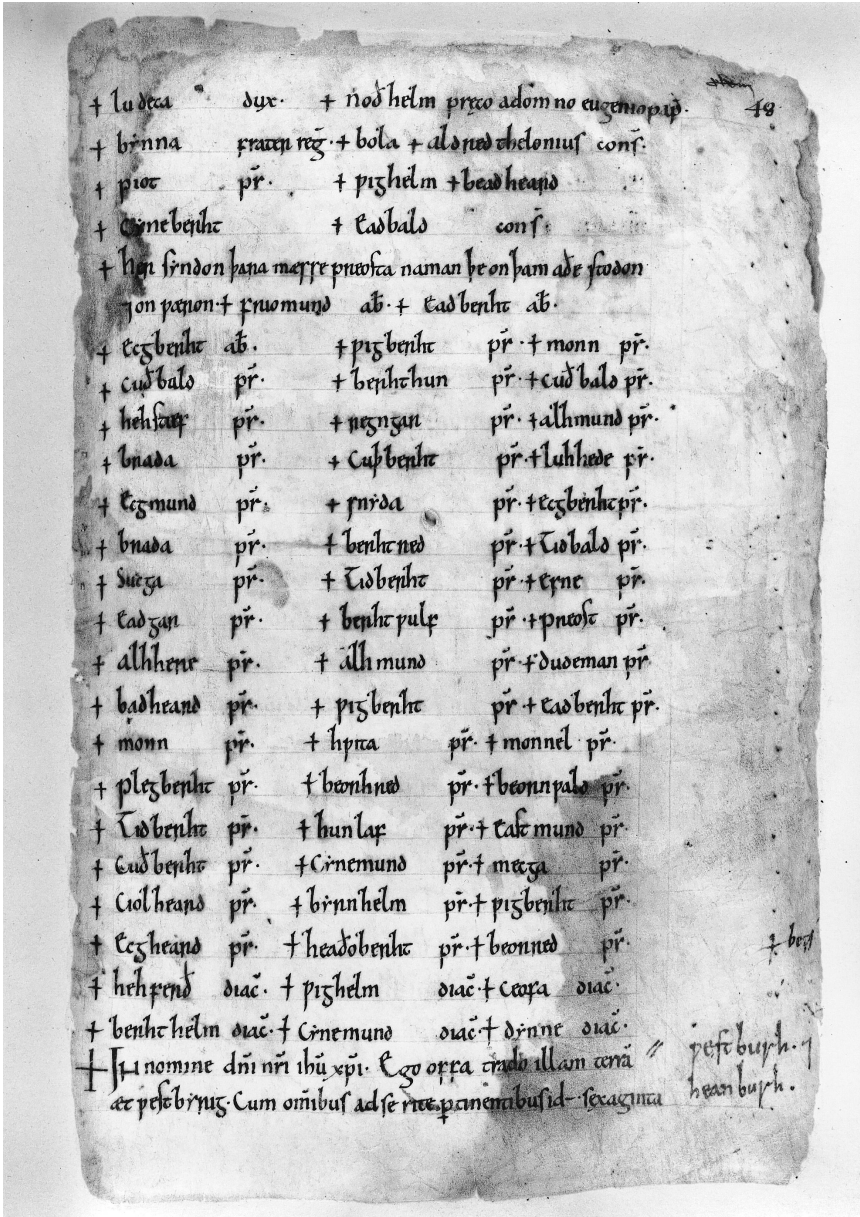


Figure 7.1. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 48<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the British Library). The marginal rubric 'westburh 7 heanburh' is written by the 'Wulfstan hand' in the margin next to S 146, a royal diploma pertaining to Westbury-on-Trym and Henbury in Gloucestershire.

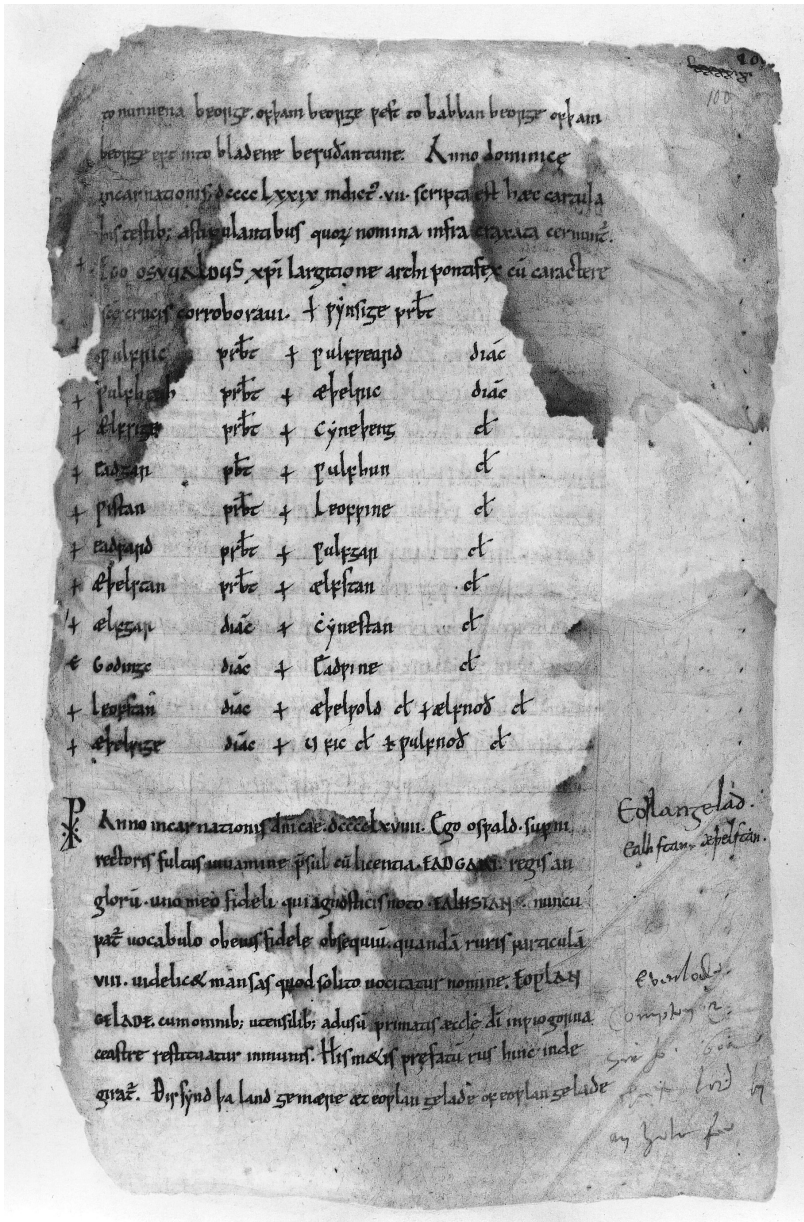


Figure 7.2. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 100<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the British Library). The marginal rubric ‘Eowlangelad. Ealhstan. Æpelstan’ is written by the ‘Wulfstan hand’ next to S 1325, a lease pertaining to Evenlode in Gloucestershire.

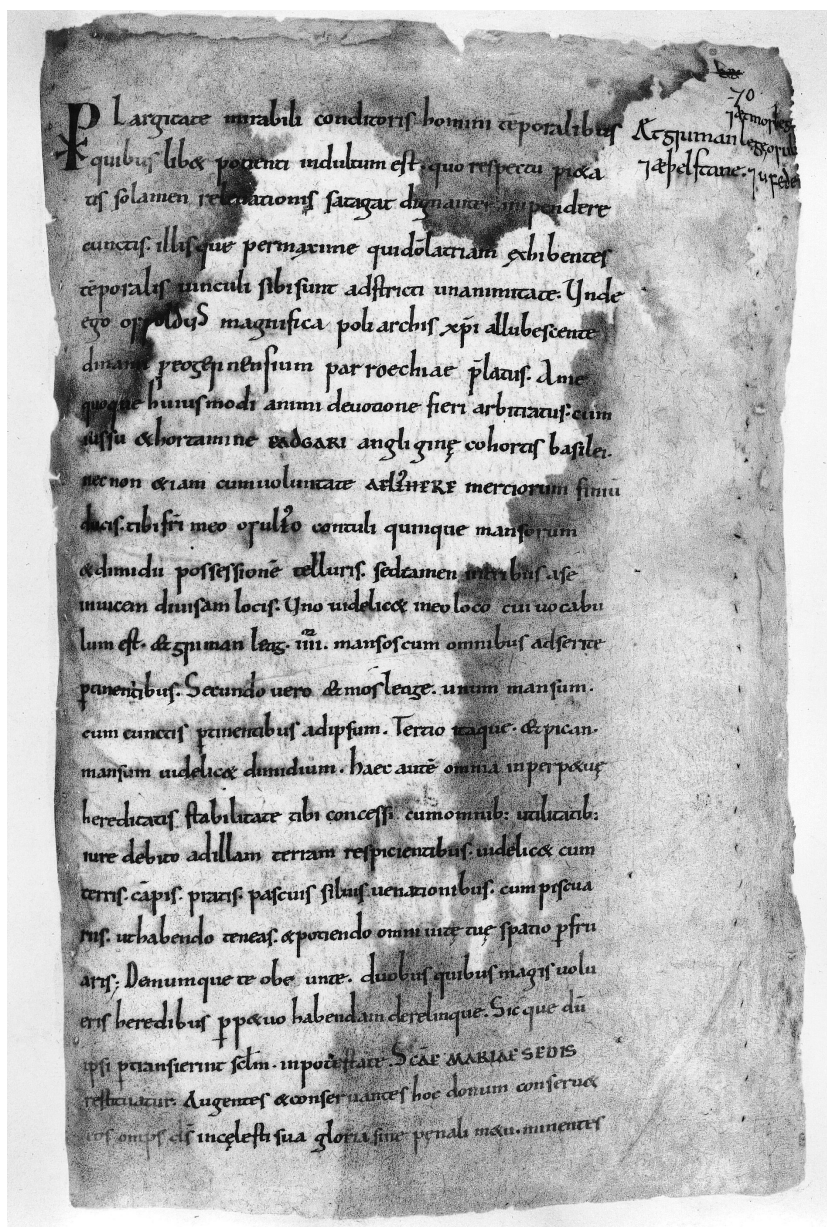


Figure 7.3. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 70<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the British Library). The marginal rubric ‘æt grimanlæge 7 æt moslege osulfe 7 æpelstane 7 ufede’ occurs next to S 1370, a lease pertaining to Grimley and Moseley in Worcestershire; the last two words were written by the ‘Wulfstan hand’.

of *Liber Wigorniensis*?<sup>27</sup> Why was it not comprehensive?<sup>28</sup> How many forgeries does it contain, and is it possible to determine whether any of these were manufactured in

<sup>27</sup> For the suggestion that a cartulary was compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury in the 1070s or 1080s, see Robin Fleming, 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History, 1995*, ed. by C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 83–156. Two cartularies were made at Worcester in the late eleventh century: Hemming's cartulary, plus another cartulary which is thought to have been compiled at the behest of Saint Wulfstan and which survives in fragmentary form. These are the only other English cartularies known to have been compiled before 1100: see G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958), pp. xi–xii, 123. For recent work on record keeping and cartulary making in early medieval Europe, see Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 81–114; *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. by Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth (Toronto, 2002). In structural terms, the continental cartularies which most closely resemble *Liber Wigorniensis* are those compiled during the ninth century in eastern Francia at Fulda, Mondsee, Passau, Regensburg, and Wissembourg. In common with *Liber Wigorniensis*, these followed a geographical format, their contents arranged by region or 'Gau'. It may be possible to identify further similarities between these east Frankish cartularies and *Liber Wigorniensis*. For example, the Passau cartulary supplies headings for each 'Gau'; the Mondsee cartulary has marginal rubrics which draw attention to specific locations mentioned in the text; and the Wissembourg cartulary was not intended to be comprehensive but was primarily concerned with property which had been alienated in dependent tenure: see Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 90, 93, 97 (but note also p. 102 for the suggestion that *Liber Wigorniensis* may have drawn on insular tradition). The matter would benefit from further investigation, though it may never be possible to determine whether such similarities are anything more than coincidence since so little is known about the extent and nature of Wulfstan's contacts with continental contemporaries.

<sup>28</sup> The three eleventh-century Worcester cartularies do not by any means account for all of the pre-conquest charters preserved in the Worcester archive. Some are extant in single-sheet form and others are known from early modern transcripts of single sheets which are now lost. Although most of these presumably existed when *Liber Wigorniensis* was compiled, a significant number of them were omitted from the cartulary. These 'omissions' include (1) royal diplomas which remain extant as single sheets (e.g. S 59, 89, 173, and 772?); (2) royal diplomas and other title deeds known from early modern transcripts taken from single sheets (e.g. S 53, 57, 62, 75, 77, 113, 201, 212, 219, 520, 773, 788, 1177, and 1289); (3) leases which remain extant as single sheets (e.g. S 1281, 1347, and 1385); (4) leases known from early modern transcripts of single sheets (e.g. S 1273, 1283, 1315, 1384, and 1416); (5) any pre-eleventh-century charters in Hemming's cartulary which may be deemed genuine (e.g. S 1368?); (6) lists and notes of charters compiled by Dugdale and Young in the early modern period (S 1822–58); and (7) a miscellany of other documents (e.g. S 1437, 1459–60, and 1534). These 'omissions' are potentially revealing. Indeed, it may be that almost as much can be learned as to the nature and purpose of *Liber Wigorniensis* from charters known to have been omitted from the cartulary as from those which were included. At the very least, these 'omissions' prove that *Liber Wigorniensis* was the product of a careful process of selection, and not indiscriminate copying.

Wulfstan's time?<sup>29</sup> These are major questions. Some of them will doubtless receive attention in the edition of Anglo-Saxon charters preserved in the Worcester archive which David Dumville has in hand. For now it is proposed to focus on the way in which *Liber Wigorniensis* functioned as a working register of Worcester's *lænland* — that is, property leased from the church of Worcester, usually for the lifetimes of the original lessee and two subsequent heirs with eventual reversion to the church.

The rubrics and postscripts pertaining to the leases in *Liber Wigorniensis* are of considerable interest. In most cases, they supply the names of the leased estate, of the first beneficiary, and of any subsequent lessee. For example, folio 71 preserves a copy of a three-life lease of land at Smite in Hindlip in Worcestershire issued in 978 by Archbishop Oswald in favour of a certain Æthelnoth. The marginal rubric reads 'æt smitan æpel[noth] ȝ leofwine', which suggests that Leofwine had succeeded Æthelnoth as his 'heir' to the estate when the cartulary was compiled. This seems to be confirmed by the postscript: 'æpelnoth wæs se forma man ȝ leofwine his sunu is þe oðer'. The shift of tense from 'was' to 'is' is near conclusive evidence that Æthelnoth had indeed been succeeded by his son Leofwine when this rubric was written.<sup>30</sup> Most of the leases in *Liber Wigorniensis* have marginal rubrics of this kind, and about a dozen have postscripts.<sup>31</sup>

What do these rubrics and postscripts reveal about the function of the second half of *Liber Wigorniensis*? It is conceivable that the scribes were merely taking information from the endorsements of single-sheet originals. However, one of the leases copied into *Liber Wigorniensis* remains extant in its original form, and this contains

---

<sup>29</sup> Tinti, 'From Episcopal Conception to Monastic Compilation', shows that Hemming's cartulary contains many newly forged charters. The royal diplomas in *Liber Wigorniensis* tend to enjoy a better reputation than those in Hemming's cartulary, but some of the former are also spurious. S 428 is a particularly interesting case, since it is partly modelled on an authentic York charter, S 407: see J. Armitage Robinson, *St Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, British Academy Supplementary Papers, 5 (London, 1919), pp. 32–33; *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, c. 500–1042, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979), p. 548. It is therefore probable that S 428 was forged during the period between 971 and 1016 when the Archbishop of York was also Bishop of Worcester; it may therefore be a product of Wulfstan's time, though the point cannot be proven.

<sup>30</sup> S 1339.

<sup>31</sup> The operative leases which do *not* have marginal rubrics naming the original beneficiary and any subsequent lessees are the following: S 1367 (fol. 74<sup>v</sup>), S 1305 (fol. 88<sup>r</sup>), S 1321 (fol. 98<sup>r</sup>), S 1341 (fol. 98<sup>v</sup>), S 1340 (fol. 99<sup>v</sup>), S 1298 (fol. 101<sup>r</sup>), S 1307 (fol. 101<sup>v</sup>), S 1344 (fol. 113<sup>r</sup>). The leases which have postscripts include the following: S 1303 (fol. 63<sup>v</sup>), S 1301 (fol. 69<sup>r</sup>), S 1300 (fol. 69<sup>v</sup>), S 1370 (fol. 71<sup>r</sup>), S 1339 (fol. 72<sup>r</sup>), S 1373 (fol. 72<sup>v</sup>), S 1348 (fol. 73<sup>v</sup>), S 1329 (fol. 74<sup>r</sup>), S 1361 (fol. 74<sup>v</sup>), S 1367 (fol. 75<sup>r</sup>), S 1323 (fol. 75<sup>v</sup>), S 1319 (fol. 77<sup>r</sup>), S 1336 (fol. 82<sup>v</sup>). These postscripts generally occur immediately before the witness lists of the leases in *Liber Wigorniensis*.



no mention of the lessees named in marginal rubric of the cartulary copy.<sup>32</sup> A few early modern transcripts taken from the originals of leases copied into *Liber Wigorniensis* also remain extant, but these also fail to supply the information given in the rubrics or postscripts of their corresponding cartulary copies.<sup>33</sup> It would thus seem likely that the Worcester leases acquired their rubrics and postscript when they were entered into *Liber Wigorniensis*; and this in turn suggests that the second half of *Liber Wigorniensis* was intended to function as a working register which enabled the Worcester community to keep track of its *lænland* tenants.

This conclusion is strengthened by one further piece of evidence. Several marginal rubrics seem to have been augmented with additional material written in different ink and by different hands, probably because the manuscript was updated when new tenants acquired usufruct of their estates. Thus, folio 83 has a copy of S 1338, a lease of land at Redmarley D'Abitot in Gloucestershire issued by Archbishop Oswald in favour of a certain Æthelmund in 978. The marginal rubric reads 'æt rydmæreleage æpelmundo ȝ godwine', but the last two words are written in a different ink and hand (see fig. 7.4). This suggests that the estate was held by Æthelmund, the original lessee, when *Liber Wigorniensis* was first compiled and that the marginal rubric was updated when the estate passed to Godwine at a later date. The rubrics of nineteen of the seventy-six leases in the cartulary have been updated in this way, proving that *Liber Wigorniensis* continued to be used as a working register for some time after its production.<sup>34</sup> The 'Wulfstan hand' wrote the names of two lessees in the margin next to one lease and updated the marginal rubric of another,

<sup>32</sup> S 1326 (London, British Library, Additional Ch. 19792). This was a lease of land at Teddington and Alstone in Gloucestershire issued by Bishop Oswald in favour of his kinsman Osulf in 969 with reversion to his children if they survived, and if they did not to his wife Eadleafu and thence to one of her two brothers. The rubric in the margin next to this charter in *Liber Wigorniensis* (fol. 83<sup>v</sup>) reads '[te]ottingetun ȝ ælfri[ges]tun osulfe ȝ leof[...n] ȝ wihtgare', which suggests that Osulf's children acquired usufruct of the estate after his death.

<sup>33</sup> For example, S 1348 is a lease of land at Lower Wolverton in Stoulton, Worcestershire, issued by Archbishop Oswald in 984 in favour of a certain Eadwig and his wife Wulfgifu. The marginal rubric in *Liber Wigorniensis* (fol. 72<sup>v</sup>) reads '[æt wulf]rington eadwige [w]ulfgeofe ȝ heora dohtor'. This suggests that the daughter of Eadwig and Wulfgifu held the land after them, but the postscript on fol. 73<sup>r</sup> reads 'Eadwig wæs þe forma man ȝ wulfgyfuu wæs þe oðer nu hæft æpelsige hit to þan þe þu wyll', and this suggests that Æthelsige was the third life. Either way, a transcript of this charter was made by Somers and printed in *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ed. by John Smith (Cambridge, 1722), p. 778, and this version makes no mention of either the daughter or Æthelsige. Similarly, Smith's edition of S 1370 (*Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, pp. 773–74) does not supply the additional information given in the rubric or postscript of the cartulary copy, *Liber Wigorniensis* fols 70<sup>r</sup>–71<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> See fols 60<sup>r</sup> (S 1316), 61<sup>v</sup> (S 1304), 62<sup>r</sup> (S 1365), 62<sup>v</sup> (S 1324), 70<sup>r</sup> (S 1370), 72<sup>v</sup> (S 1348), 78<sup>r</sup> (S 1353), 82<sup>v</sup> (S 1336), 83<sup>r</sup> (S 1338), 86<sup>r</sup> (S 1314), 89<sup>v</sup> (S 1330), 90<sup>r</sup> (S 1337), 93<sup>r</sup> (S 1356), 94<sup>v</sup> (S 1318), 95<sup>r</sup> (S 1350), 96<sup>r</sup> (S 1334), 96<sup>v</sup> (S 1310), 97<sup>v</sup> (S 1328), 111<sup>r</sup> (S 1308).

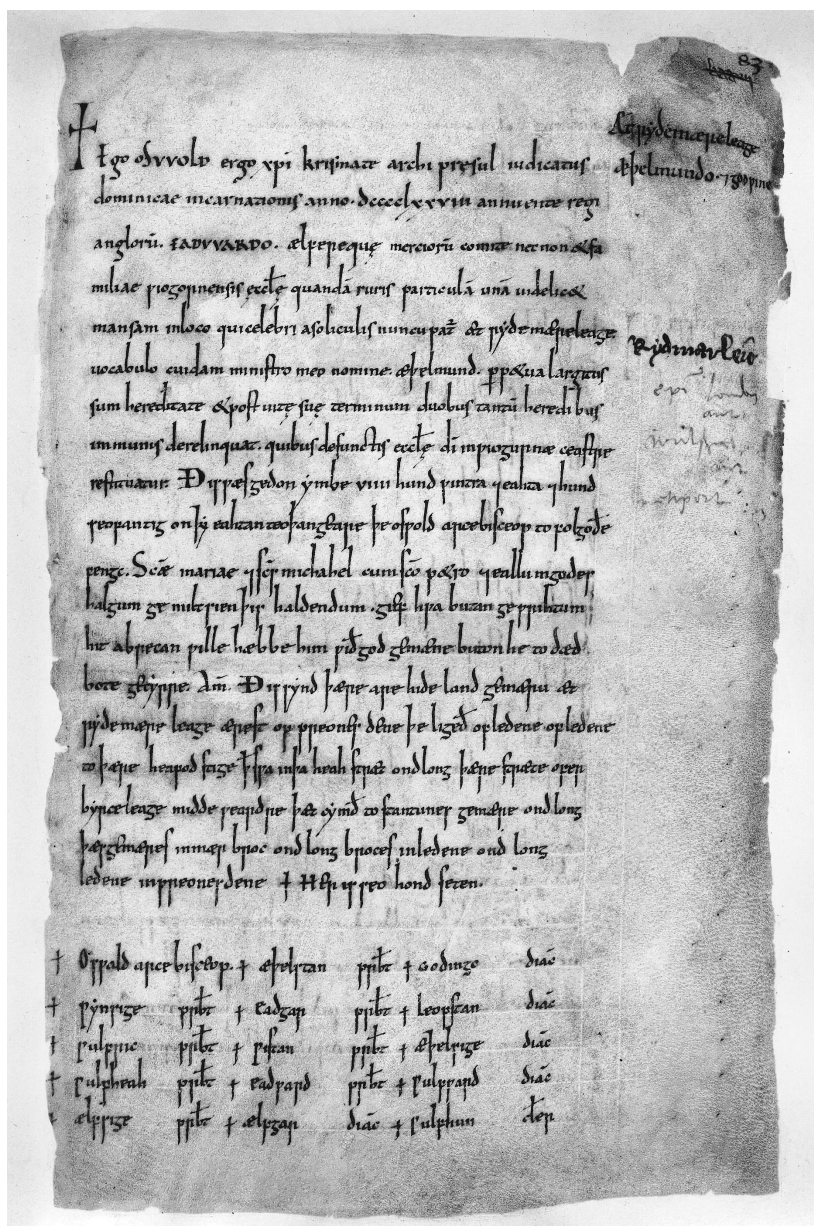


Figure 7.4. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fol. 83<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the British Library). The marginal rubric 'æt rydmæreleage æpelmundo 7 godwine' occurs next to S 1338, a lease pertaining to Redmarley D'Abitot in Gloucestershire; the last two words are written in a different ink and hand.

and this confirms that Wulfstan himself used the cartulary to keep track of his tenants (see figs 7.2 and 7.3).

Why did Wulfstan and the Worcester community go to such lengths to maintain a documentary trail relating to their *lænland* tenants? Unlike its late-eleventh-century counterpart, the early Worcester cartulary does not contain a description of the circumstances in which the cartulary came to be produced.<sup>35</sup> However, both *Liber Wigorniensis* and Hemming's cartulary yield important clues as to why the former was compiled.

In the first place, dating clauses and marginal rubrics of the leases in *Liber Wigorniensis* make it possible to build up an approximate profile of their age and status, and this shows that several leases were nearly due for reversion to the church when the cartulary was compiled. The relevant details are set out in Table 1, which analyses the leases in *Liber Wigorniensis* by their date of issue and according to the number of lessees or 'lives' named in the marginal rubrics. This analysis is complicated by the fact that the rubrics were updated over time, and for this reason the table shows the number of leases in each category both before and (in parentheses) after the rubrics were updated.

**Table 1. Distribution of the age and status of leases in *Liber Wigorniensis***

Date of issue	No one identified in rubric	First 'life' only identified in rubric	Second 'life' identified in rubric	Third 'life' identified in rubric	Fourth 'life' identified in rubric	Total
950s	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)	1
960s	4 (4)	10 (4)	13 (14)	4 (8)	0 (1)	31
970s	2 (2)	9 (5)	4 (6)	2 (4)	0 (0)	17
980s	2 (2)	12 (9)	6 (7)	1 (2)	0 (1)	21
990s	0 (0)	4 (4)	1 (1)	1 (0)	0 (1)	6
Total	8 (8)	35 (22)	24 (28)	9 (15)	0 (3)	76

Approximately 90 percent of the documents in question were leases for three lives.<sup>36</sup> The table thus shows that about half of the leases in *Liber Wigorniensis* were held by the original lessees when the cartulary was originally compiled — a profile consistent with the hypothesis that the cartulary was produced shortly after 1002. However, it is also significant that the remaining half of the leases in *Liber Wigorniensis* were

<sup>35</sup> Hemming's cartulary contains a text entitled *Enucleatio Libelli* which describes the circumstances in which the cartulary was made. For this crucial but problematic text, see *Hemingi Chartularium*, ed. by Hearne, I, 282–86; Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester', pp. 1–4; Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', pp. 63–68; Galbraith, 'Notes on the Career of Samson', pp. 98–99; Tinti, 'From Episcopal Conception to Monastic Compilation'.

<sup>36</sup> The sample includes two leases originally for one life (S 1325 and 1349); the number of individuals named in the rubric next to these documents is two and one respectively. There are also six leases for two lives (S 1298, 1299, 1328, 1344, 1354, and 1366); the number of individuals named in the rubric next to these documents is 0, 3, 2, 0, 1, and 1 respectively.

held by the heirs of original lessees, since this suggests that a significant proportion of Worcester's *laenland* was about to fall due for reversion to the church when the cartulary was compiled. The estate at Tidmington in Warwickshire is a case in point. A copy of S 1330, a lease of Tidmington issued by Archbishop Oswald in 977, was written on folio 89 of *Liber Wigorniensis*, and the marginal rubric supplies the names of three lessees (the first two written by one scribe, the third by another). This lease presumably expired before 1023, since Wulfstan is known to have issued another lease pertaining to the same estate.<sup>37</sup>

There is also clear evidence that the reversion of *laenland* was often difficult to secure when leases expired. Tenants were naturally reluctant to relinquish property which their families had controlled for extended periods of time. Some were able to use the support of the lords to whom they were commended to help them permanently prise *laenland* from monastic lordships.<sup>38</sup> This was a major problem: if Hemming's testimony is anything like accurate, the church of Worcester lost about one-quarter of its endowment between Cnut's Conquest and the 1090s, mostly through failure to recover *laenland*. It is probable that Wulfstan saw this problem looming and commissioned *Liber Wigorniensis* as a way of maintaining tighter documentary control over his *laenland* tenants.<sup>39</sup>

To summarize the foregoing: Wulfstan was involved in the production and subsequent use of what is by some distance England's earliest extant cartulary. The resulting manuscript was set out in a logical and practical manner and was used inter alia as a working register of leases. As such, it was probably intended to confront one of the most serious tenurial problems encountered by the church of Worcester during the course of the eleventh century. It follows that *Liber Wigorniensis* was a precocious and prescient instrument of estate administration.

### *York Estate Memoranda*

Two documents relating to archiepiscopal estates in Yorkshire throw further light on Wulfstan's methods of estate administration. The first is a property memorandum

---

<sup>37</sup> S 1846; Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary', p. 69.

<sup>38</sup> For example, Hemming complained that several Worcester tenants commended themselves to the Earls of Mercia and other lords, and with their support obtained permanent control of Worcester *laenland*: see Williams, 'Spoliation of Worcester', pp. 385–88; Baxter, 'The Leofwinesons', pp. 179–93.

<sup>39</sup> That the reversion of *laenland* was already problematic in Wulfstan's time is suggested by the fact that three supposedly 'three-life' leases were assigned to a fourth lessee during the period when *Liber Wigorniensis* was in use as a working register: four names are listed in the marginal rubrics next to S 1324 (fol. 62<sup>v</sup>), S 1353 (fol. 78<sup>r</sup>), and S 1365 (fol. 62<sup>r</sup>), and each of these rubrics has been 'updated'. (This assumes that each name represents a different 'life', though one should perhaps allow for the possibility that the rubrics may sometimes give the names of tenants whose joint tenure constituted a single 'life'.)

preserved in Harley 55. This is a composite manuscript; that is to say, its component parts were written separately long before they were bound together in a single volume. The property memorandum is on folio 4<sup>v</sup>, the last item in a section comprising four half-sheets, in which it is preceded by a medical text and the law-code known as II–III Edgar. The ‘Wulfstan hand’ has annotated both II–III Edgar and the memorandum (see fig. 7.5).<sup>40</sup>

The Oswald memorandum begins with a title written by the ‘Wulfstan hand’: ‘Pas swutelunge gedichte oswald arcebisop ȝ awritan het’ (‘these declarations Archbishop Oswald expounded and had written down’). It proceeds to list a number of villas (*tunas*) which had been taken from the archiepiscopal estates of Otley, Ripon, and Sherburn-in-Elmet in the West Riding of Yorkshire. There follows a list of a dozen different villas ‘in Northumbria’ which had been obtained in various ways by Oscytel, archbishop of York (956–71), and then a statement to the effect that Archbishop Oswald held all of the above until ‘Porað’ succeeded and that Saint Peter was afterwards robbed of them.<sup>41</sup> ‘Porað’ has been plausibly identified as Thored, earl of southern Northumbria (Deira) between c. 975 and 992, and it would thus appear that the author of the memorandum held Earl Thored responsible for the losses it describes.<sup>42</sup> The annotations in the ‘Wulfstan hand’ include the title, both references to Oswald,

<sup>40</sup> S 1453. The text is printed in *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1939), no. 54, pp. 110–13, with notes pp. 357–60; translated in *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Whitelock, no. 114, p. 565; and reproduced in facsimile among the appendices to *A Wulfstan Manuscript Containing Institutes, Laws and Homilies* (British Museum, Cotton Nero A.I.), ed. by Henry R. Loyn, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 17 (Copenhagen, 1971). For the manuscript, see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 301–02 (no. 225); Ker, ‘Handwriting’, p. 327; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 185–90.

<sup>41</sup> This crucial part of the text is unfortunately difficult to read because the manuscript has been damaged (probably because it had once formed the end leaf of a manuscript prior to its incorporation into Harley 55: Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 186). However, the illegible sections can be partly reconstructed from a sixteenth-century copy in London, British Library, Harley 6841, p. 129. The best reading is ‘ealle ic hy h[æfde o]ð þ[.].rað in com þa wæs s[an]cte peter bereafod ȝ ic syððan’ (‘I had them all until Thored succeeded, then St Peter was afterwards robbed [of them] and I afterwards’). Harley 6841 has ‘þerað’, perhaps in error for ‘porað’. See *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, p. 112, n. 20; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 302; *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 565, n. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, ‘The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries’, in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickens*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 70–88 (pp. 79–80); Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred ‘the Unready’ 978–1016*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series, 13 (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 158 (n. 11), 187 (n. 118), 197; L. N. Banton, ‘Ealdormen and Earls in England from Alfred to Ethelred the Unready’ (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1981), pp. 246, 250–51; Keynes, ‘Additions’, p. 84; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 192–93.



and the concluding words of the memorandum, 'wrece God swa he wille' ('may God avenge it as he will').<sup>43</sup>

The Oswald memorandum can be compared with a slightly later group of surveys appended to the York Gospels which are also concerned with Otley, Ripon, and Sherburn (see figs 7.6–7.7).<sup>44</sup> These were 'multiple-estates' of a type characteristic of the northern Danelaw in the late Anglo-Saxon period; that is, they comprised a manorial centre with associated demesne (*inland*), together with detached parcels of demesne (*agenland*), tributary land held by dependants in return for rent or service (*weorcland*), and other less heavily dependent tributary lands known as sokelands (*socn* or *socn-land*).<sup>45</sup> The three surveys are essentially lists of the tributary vills which pertained to Otley, Ripon, and Sherburn. They have been entered into the verso and second leaf of a bifolium originally left blank at the end of the gospelbook. A further gathering of four leaves was added to the manuscript to provide space for the addition of four Old English texts, all connected in various ways with Wulfstan: three homilies written by Wulfstan, and a copy of King Cnut's Letter to the English which is partly written in Wulfstan's style (three further Old English texts were added later in the eleventh century). The surveys were written by three different scribes, a fourth scribe was responsible for the homilies and Cnut's letter, and the 'Wulfstan hand' made some interlineal glosses or corrections to the homilies. Since Cnut's letter is dated 1019 or 1020, the homilies and the letter must have been entered into the gospelbook at some stage between then and 28 May 1023 when Wulfstan died; and it follows that the surveys must have been entered in the gospelbook in about 1020. Although the 'Wulfstan hand' does not gloss the surveys themselves, it was almost certainly Wulfstan who commissioned the surveys and caused them to be entered into the gospelbook.<sup>46</sup>

Since the Oswald memorandum lists tributary vills despoiled from Otley, Ripon, and Sherburn in Thored's time, and the surveys in the York Gospels appear to be complete inventories of the vills pertaining to the same estates a generation or so later, it is a reasonable supposition that any vill listed in both documents was recovered during Wulfstan's time. Here one must take account of certain problems and uncertainties. For example, the surveys in the York Gospels may have listed all the tributary vills which the community of York hoped to recover in addition to those

---

<sup>43</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 302.

<sup>44</sup> S 1461a. The text is printed and discussed by W. H. Stevenson, 'Yorkshire Surveys and Other Eleventh-Century Documents in the York Gospels', *English Historical Review*, 27 (1912), 1–25; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 84, pp. 164–69, 413–16; and *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. 1, ed. by W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914), pp. 21–23 (no. 7).

<sup>45</sup> There is an extensive literature on this type of manorial structure; see most recently D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c. 800–1100* (London, 2000), pp. 94–164.

<sup>46</sup> Ker, 'Handwriting', pp. 330–31; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 468–69 (no. 402); Keynes, 'Additions', pp. 81–83; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 195–97, 347–48.

**D**is is seo soen into scyðe byrnan mid þole rihte. 7 pa dæl  
 of eanda. 7 pic scop eal 7 ufer selebý eal 7 pa oxna gang on fleax  
 lge. 7 healf bepnlege. 7 eal briede tun butan healf ploges land.  
 7 eal byrne. 7 eal byrhtun butan healf ploges land. 7 eal gætre  
 forð. 7 eal tpegen þoppas. 7 pa byrft eal 7 pa hadel sæ eall.  
 7 þif oxna gang on þuddan hadel sæ. 7 healf byrce ne. 7 eal sudun.  
 7 eal byrum. 7 briede tun eal 7 briede tun eall 7 eal fapen byrne.  
 butan healf þudde ploges land. 7 pa ploges land on ledes ham. 7 an  
 on npan þopp. 7 eal mcla feld. 7 eal hyllum. 7 eal þuftun. 7 eal  
 lundby. 7 eal fcyfe tun. 7 eal myle forð. 7 eal fennun. butan healf  
 ploges land. 7 pa ploges land 7 þif oxna gang on bapcefe time. 7 eal  
 luteþung tun. 7 eal hehþeðe heðe. 7 eal hudeles tun.

**O**n cyðe byrnan to ecan þam inlande 7 7 ndan. 7 hida þeope lande.  
 7 on luteþunga time. 7 hida 7 on bapcefe time. 7 hid. 7 þif oxna gang.  
 7 of fcyfing time time þreopa oxna gang.  
 7 on pic 7 þeope tpegea oxna gang. 7 on capuda 7 pa dæl þaf lande.  
 7 7 agen land into scyðe byrnan. 7 fennun 7 læn dæp healf  
 ploges land.

Figures 7.6–7.7. The York Gospels (York, Minster Library, Additional 1), fols 156<sup>v</sup>–157<sup>r</sup> = S 1461a, surveys of Sherburn-in-Elmet, Otley, and Ripon, Yorkshire, belonging to the see of York (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).



157  
 Ihto otcæn læge .iii. ploȝaland. 7 on bælgel tūne .ii. On hæfereƿeƿeƿe .ii. On ðeƿan  
 hæfereƿeƿeƿe .ii. On ðentūne .ii. On tūmbel ðeƿe healf ploȝeƿe land. On eac tūne healf  
 ploȝeƿe land. Ihtis unbesacen agenland. Ihtis to eacan hƿiƿe ƿas soƿen land. Ihto otcæn  
 læge. On otcæn læge .ii. ploȝ. 7 on bælgel tūne .ii. 7 on hæfereƿeƿeƿe .ii. 7 on ðeƿan  
 hæfereƿeƿeƿe .ii. On sceƿinge .i. On men sing tūne .iii. On burih læge .vi. On mædet tūne  
 .iii. On sille læge .ix. On xna gang. On ðentūne .ii. ploȝ. On clift tūne .i. On biceƿa tūne .ii.  
 On ƿapn læge .iii. On eac tūne ðeƿe healf. On ƿoƿle .iii. On lunde læge .iii.

**E**t ƿƿum ðreƿt mile ȝemet on eac healf. 7 bƿeoƿtun iƿ monham.  
 .ii. hida. 7 eaple ƿic .v. hida. 7 healf muneca tun hiƿ agen land ƿeoƿe  
 healf hida. 7 healf meƿcinga tun. 7 ƿiðde healf hida. On heƿeleƿ ho healf hid.  
 On ƿoƿ læge .iii. hida. On ƿuð tūne oƿeƿ healf hida. On tunne ƿic .iii. hida.  
 On ƿoƿ tūne .ii. hida;

**I**htis ƿeƿe land. An ƿ ƿal læge. Oðeƿ iƿ ȝpante læge. 7 ƿiðde iƿ eƿeƿ  
 tun. 7 ƿeoƿe iƿ ƿeƿeleƿ healf .v. iƿ healf eac ƿeƿeƿe ƿeoƿe;

**Ɔ**on ƿindan hiƿ ƿeoƿta land. On ƿeƿe ƿic .iii. hida. On noƿe ƿtan læge .iii.  
 On ȝyðing dale .i. hida. On meƿcing tūne. 7 ƿeo ȝna gang. On muneca tūne  
 7 ƿeo ȝna gang. On ho tūne .ii. ȝna gang;

**Ɔ**on ƿindan ƿoƿen land into ƿƿum. On ȝyðinga deal .viii. hida. 7 oƿen eall  
 muneca tun .viii. hida. 7 on eaple ƿic .ii. hida. On meƿcinga tūne. 7 ƿiðde  
 healf hida. 7 on heƿeleƿ ho. 7 ƿuðde healf hida. 7 on ƿuð tūne. oƿeƿ healf  
 hida. On nyƿian ƿtan læge .v. hida. 7 on noƿe ƿtan læge .i. hida. 7 on tunne  
 ƿic .i. hida. 7 on heaple .v. hida. 7 on ƿleaninga ƿoƿe .ii. hida;

which they actually held; in other words, they may have been statements of aspiration, not of fact. In addition, it is possible that Thored despoiled only part of the land in certain vill, leaving the Archbishop in possession of the remainder; and vill thus divided could theoretically occur in both the Oswald memorandum and the York Gospels surveys, even though none of the despoiled land had been recovered.

However, even when full allowance is made for such complications, it remains difficult to resist the conclusion that several parcels of property were indeed recovered at some stage during Wulfstan's archiepiscopate. The relevant details are set out in Table 2 and Figure 7.8.

The Oswald memorandum lists thirteen vill pertaining to Otley from which land had been taken, and eight of these are listed in the survey; the Archbishop of York held land in each of these eight vill in 1086, and only one of them was divided at that date.<sup>47</sup> The Oswald memorandum also lists six vill pertaining to Ripon from which land had been taken, of which two are listed in the survey; the Archbishop of York held land in two of these vill in 1086, although one of these was divided.<sup>48</sup> In addition, the Oswald memorandum lists three vill pertaining to Sherburn. This is a more complex case. Cawood is the only one of the three vill pertaining to Sherburn which can now be identified, and even in this case it is impossible to be certain that the portion of the vill lost in Oswald's time had been recovered when the survey was made.<sup>49</sup> In

---

<sup>47</sup> The vill listed as missing in the Oswald memorandum which were not mentioned in the York Gospels survey were Addingham, Guiseley, Stainburn, Beckwith, and *Byllincton*. The divided vill was Ilkley, held by the Archbishop of York, and by a certain Gamal in 1066: *Great Domesday Book: Library Edition*, ed. by Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1986–92) (hereafter 'GDB'), fol. 303c (*Domesday Book, Text and Translation*, ed. by John Morris, 38 vols (Chichester, 1975–92), vol. xxx, *Yorkshire*, ed. by Margaret L. Faull and Marie Stinson (1986) (hereafter 'Yorkshire'), 2W:4), and GDB fol. 321c (Yorkshire 13W:5). For Otley, see Keynes, 'Additions', pp. 89–90; I. N. Wood, 'Anglo-Saxon Otley: An Archiepiscopal Estate and its Crosses in a Northumbrian Context', *Northern History*, 23 (1987), 20–38.

<sup>48</sup> The vill listed as missing in the Oswald memorandum which were not mentioned in the York Gospels survey were *Ansaetley*, Helperby, Myton, and Poppleton (two hides). The divided vill was North Stainley, held by the Archbishop of York, and by a certain Gamal in 1066: GDB, fol. 303d (Yorkshire 2W:8), and GDB fol. 308c (Yorkshire 5W:38). For Ripon, see Keynes, 'Additions', pp. 90–91; Glanville R. J. Jones, 'The Ripon Estate: Landscape into Townscape', *Northern History*, 37 (2000), 13–30.

<sup>49</sup> The two vill listed as lost in the Oswald memorandum which cannot be identified were *Ceoredesholm* and *Gisferpesdæll*. The Oswald memorandum says that 'half of Cawood' had been lost. The York Gospels survey refers to Cawood twice: the first entry says that two-thirds of Cawood was *soch*; the second entry says that two-thirds of the land at Cawood was *agen-land*. It is impossible to be sure whether these entries describe all or part of the land lost in Oswald's time, or whether they represent that part of Cawood which had *not* been taken in Oswald's time. There is no entry for Cawood in *Domesday Book*, but later documents show that whereas the greater part of the vill remained in the Archbishop's possession, another portion of the vill was held by various secular lords: see N. K. Blood and C. C. Taylor, 'Cawood: An Archiepiscopal Landscape', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 64 (1992), 83–102.

**Table 2. Analysis of the surveys in the York Gospels****1. Sherburn-in-Elmet**

<b>Vill</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Quantity</b>
<b><u>Cawood</u></b>	socn	two thirds of
Wistow	socn	all of
Selby [Upper]	socn	all of
Flaxley	socn	2 oxgangs
Barlow	socn	half of
Brayton	socn	all except 0.5 ploughland
Burn	socn	all of
Burton	socn	all except 0.5 ploughland
Gateforth	socn	all of
Thorpe 1	socn	all of
Thorpe 2	socn	all of
Hirst 1	socn	all of
Hirst 2	socn	all of
Haddlesey 1	socn	all of
Haddlesey 2	socn	all of
Haddlesey 3	socn	5 oxgangs
Birkin	socn	half of
Sutton	socn	all of
Byrom	socn	all of
Brayton	socn	all of
Brotherton	socn	all of
Fairburn	socn	all except 2.5 oxgangs
Ledsham	socn	2 ploughlands
Newthorpe	socn	1 ploughland
Micklefield*	socn	all of
Hillam*	socn	all of
Fryston*	socn	all of
Lumby*	socn	all of
Steeton*	socn	all of
Milford*	socn	all of
Fenton *	socn	all except 0.5 ploughland
Barkston	socn	2 ploughlands and 5 oxgangs
Lotherton*	socn	all of
<i>Hehferðehegðe</i>	socn	all of
Huddestone	socn	all of
Sherburn	inland	
Sherburn	weorcland	4 hides
Lotherton*	weorcland	3 hides
Barkston	weorcland	1 hide and 5 oxgangs
Steeton*	weorcland	3 oxgangs
Wistow	weorcland	2 oxgangs
Cawood*	agenland	2 thirds of
Fenton*	læn	1.5 ploughlands

**Table 2 (continued)****2. Ripon**

Vill	Type	Quantity
Ripon	-	milegemet either side
Bishopton	agenland?	within the 2 hides
<i>Carlewic</i>	agenland?	5 hides
Monkton	agenland	half of, 3.5 hides
Markington	agenland?	half of, 2.5 hides
How Hill	agenland?	0.5 hides
Studley	agenland?	3 hides
Sutton	agenland?	
Nunwick	agenland?	1.5 hides
Thornton	agenland?	3 hides
Sawley	weste	2 hides
Grantley	weste	
Eavestone	weste	
Wilsill	weste	
<i>Cnearresweorth?</i>	weste	
Westwick	preostaland	4 hides
North Stainley	preostaland	4 hides
Givendale	preostaland	1 hide
Markington	preostaland	3 oxgangs
Monkton	preostaland	3 oxgangs
Hutton	preostaland	2 oxgangs
Givendale	socnland	8 hides
Monkton	socnland	7 hides
<i>Eastwic</i>	socnland	2 hides
Markington	socnland	2.5 hides
How Hill	socnland	2.5 hides
Sutton	socnland	1.5 hides
<u><i>Nyrran Stanlege?</i></u>	socnland	5 hides
<u><b>North Stainley</b></u> †	socnland	1 hide
Nunwick	socnland	1 hide
<u><b>Hewick</b></u>	socnland	5 hides
Slensingford	socnland	2 hides

**3. Otley**

Vill	Type	Quantity
Otley	agenland	4 ploughlands
Baildon	agenland	2 ploughlands
Hawksworth 1	agenland	2 ploughlands
Hawksworth 2	agenland	2 ploughlands
<u><b>Denton</b></u>	agenland	2 ploughlands
<u><b>Timble</b></u>	agenland	1.5 ploughlands
<i>Ectune</i>	agenland	0.5 ploughland
Otley	socnland	2 ploughlands
Baildon	socnland	2 ploughlands
Hawksworth 1	socnland	2 ploughlands
Hawksworth 2	socnland	2 ploughlands
<u><b>Chevin</b></u>	socnland	1 ploughland
<u><b>Menston</b></u>	socnland	3 ploughlands
<u><b>Burley</b></u>	socnland	6 ploughlands
<u><b>Middleton</b></u>	socnland	3 ploughlands
<u><b>Ilkley</b></u> †	socnland	6 oxgangs
<u><b>Denton</b></u>	socnland	2 ploughlands
Clifton	socnland	1 ploughland
<i>Biceratune</i>	socnland	3 ploughlands
Farnley	socnland	4 ploughlands
<i>Ectune</i>	socnland	1.5 ploughlands
Poole	socnland	3 ploughlands
<u><b>Lindley</b></u>	socnland	3 ploughlands

Notes:

(1) vills marked with an asterisk are listed in S712, a Sherburn charter dated 963

(2) vills **underlined in bold** are among those which were listed as having been lost in S 1453, the 'Oswald Memorandum'

(3) † indicates a divided vill in 1086



Figure 7.8. Map showing the estates listed in S 1461a, the surveys of Sherburn-in-Elmet, Otley, and Ripon in the York Gospels. (by permission of Prof. Simon Keynes)

addition, the Oswald memorandum says that ‘half of the soke’ belonging to Sherburn was taken, but it does not list the places affected by this loss. However, we do have a charter dated 963 which contains a description of the bounds of Sherburn and its tributary vills, and this makes it possible to compare the structure of the estate in 963 and *c.* 1020.<sup>50</sup> The survey of Sherburn names all of the places in the boundary clause of this charter and several more besides; this suggests that the estate had expanded considerably between 963 and *c.* 1020, absorbing a large quantity of additional territory into its orbit. Since the Oswald memorandum is a record of contraction and loss, it seems reasonable to suppose that the expansion occurred in Wulfstan’s time.<sup>51</sup>

The evidence is problematic, but its cumulative effect is to demonstrate that the endowment of York prospered under Wulfstan’s administration: several tributary lands were recovered, and at least one estate expanded, absorbing tributary lands in the process. But this is not all. The manuscript context of the Oswald memorandum and the surveys in the York Gospels also has a bearing on Wulfstan’s approach to estate administration, since both texts occur alongside other material concerned with God’s property and dues. These textual and conceptual connections are worth exploring further.

As we have seen, the Oswald memorandum is preceded in Harley 55 by a copy of the text conventionally known as II–III Edgar, which comprises the ecclesiastical and secular parts of a single code issued at Andover in Hampshire during King Edgar’s

---

<sup>50</sup> S 712 (*Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. by Farrer, no. 6, pp. 18–21).

<sup>51</sup> Keynes, ‘Additions’, pp. 86–89. For subsequent analysis of the (somewhat garbled) boundary clause of S 712, see M. Long, ‘Sherburn’, in *Yorkshire Boundaries*, ed. by H. E. Jean Le Patourel, Moira H. Long, and May F. Pickles, Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Leeds, 1993), pp. 117–24. Long shows that the boundary clause describes a relatively small parcel of inland to the west of Sherburn itself and that the other places mentioned in the boundary clauses were tributary lands (thus confirming a suggestion first made by F. M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*, Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, 2 (Oxford, 1910), p. 82). This is important since if the boundary clause of S 712 related only to the inland of Sherburn without reference to its tributary land, it would not be directly comparable with the survey in the York Gospels. Long also proposes an alternative reading of the last sentence of the boundary clause of S 712: ‘and oðer healf hid on Kawuda, and eal þæt land (?) ðe ðærto gebyrað, andlang Usan betweenen Weorf and Yr (?) on wuda and wætere and on felda’: W. H. Stevenson in *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. by Farrer, p. 20. Stevenson (*ibid.*) translated this sentence thus: ‘and one and a half hides in Cawood, and all the land (?) that belongs thereto along the Ouse between the Wharfe and the Aire, in wood and water and field’. This reading would indicate that an extensive quantity of tributary land which pertained to Sherburn was not specifically mentioned in the boundary clause; and this would in turn cast doubt on the proposition that the estate expanded between 963 and *c.* 1020. However, Long argues that the word ‘island’ should be substituted for ‘Aire’, with the significant implication that the sentence in question relates only to a small parcel of land near Cawood itself — a reading consistent with the proposition that Sherburn’s tributary territory expanded between 963 and *c.* 1020.

reign.<sup>52</sup> The first part of the code is predominantly concerned with God's dues. It begins by pronouncing that God's churches shall be entitled to every right, and proceeds to deal with the payment of tithe, church-scot, and hearth-penny, and with the proper observance of Sundays, festivals, and fasts. Comparison of the text in Harley 55 with other extant versions reveals that certain clauses have been added to the former, presumably by Wulfstan himself: these include instructions on plough-arms, Friday fasts, soul-scot, and sanctuary.<sup>53</sup> The second part of the code is concerned with various aspects of the machinery of justice: it deals with just judgement, apposite punishment, and restraint on resort to the king; there follow injunctions on court attendance, surety, and untrustworthy persons; and the code concludes with material on coinage and standard weights and measures. The instructions on court attendance demand that the bishop and ealdorman should be present at meetings of the shire-court, and should expound 'ge Godes riht ge woruldriht' ('both the ecclesiastical and the secular law').

It is not difficult to see conceptual connections between this legislation and the Oswald memorandum. The first part of the Andover code is explicitly concerned with payments to and respect for God's churches. The second part is concerned with administrative arrangements intended inter alia to exact punishment from those who failed to do so, and ealdormen are assigned a prominent role in this process. By contrast, the Oswald memorandum is concerned with the loss of church income, and implicitly blames an earl for that loss: so far from protecting and augmenting God's property, Thored was responsible for its spoliation. Ideal and reality are thus juxtaposed in adjacent texts. It is well known that the failure of the English people to observe the good laws of King Edgar is a recurrent theme in Wulfstan's writings. The Andover code and Oswald's memorandum may well have been paired up to illustrate that failure.

There is also a continuum of ideas which connect the surveys in the York Gospels with adjacent texts. The most obvious point to make about the manuscript context of the surveys is their proximity to the Gospels themselves. This was common practice in late Anglo-Saxon England: David Dumville has listed twenty-six Anglo-Saxon gospelbooks and twenty-four liturgical manuscripts which acquired documentary additions of various kinds between the tenth and twelfth centuries. It is presumed that documentary records gained from proximity with such awesome matter: the association would sanctify a transaction and its written record, enhance the integrity and force of the record as a point of reference, and improve its chances of survival.<sup>54</sup> This explains why the surveys and other additions in Old English were entered in the York Gospels; but should any further significance be attached to the composition and content of these additions as a group?

---

<sup>52</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 194–206; *English Historical Documents*, ed. by White-lock, pp. 431–33; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 313–17.

<sup>53</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 314.

<sup>54</sup> David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 5 (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 119–27; Keynes, 'Additions', p. 81.

The surveys occupy folios 156<sup>v</sup>–157<sup>r</sup> of the York Gospels; they are followed on folios 158<sup>r</sup>–159<sup>v</sup> by three homiletic tracts, written by Wulfstan and annotated by the ‘Wulfstan hand’, and on folio 160<sup>r-v</sup> by King Cnut’s Letter to the English of 1019 or 1020, part of which is written in Wulfstan’s style. The first of the three homilies is entitled *Sermo Lupi*. This homily — which must be distinguished from the famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* — is a general discourse on Christian duties, addressed to ‘God’s servants’ (i.e. the clergy) and to laymen at large, and is made up almost entirely of quotations from Wulfstan’s writings. Among various admonitions on good Christian conduct, it enjoins men to protect God’s churches, to visit them frequently for the sake of prayer, and to pay God’s dues (*godes gerihta*).<sup>55</sup> The second and third homilies, *Be hæpendome* and *Be cristendome* were clearly intended to form a pair. *Be hæpendome* is a broadly conceived tirade against heathenism and a wide variety of other human failings and social ills. Its contents have little direct relevance to church property, except insofar as church-persecutors, thieves, pillagers, and plunderers form part of a long and characteristically Wulfstanian list of sinners.<sup>56</sup> However, *Be cristendome* is expressly concerned with men’s obligations to the church as members of a Christian society and focuses explicitly on the payment of church dues and the correct observance of festivals and fasts. Virtually all of the matter it contains has parallels in Wulfstan’s writings including in particular the sequence of legislation which repeats and develops the provisions of the Andover code.<sup>57</sup> Cnut’s letter is also partly concerned with the payment of God’s dues, and rehearses the responsibilities of ealdormen in this regard:

Nu bidde ic mine arcebisceopas 7 ealle mine leodbisceopas, þæt hy ealle neodfulle beon ymbe Godes gerihta, ælc on his ende, þe heom betæht is; 7 eac minum ealdormannum ic beode, þæt hy fylstan þam biscopum to Godes gerihtum 7 to minum kynescype 7 to ealles folces þearfe. Gif hwa swa dystig sy, gehadod oððe læwede, Denisc oððe Englisc, þæt ongean Godes lage ga 7 ongean minne cynescype oððe ongean worold-riht, 7 nelle betan 7 geswican æfter minra biscopa tæcinge, þonne bidde ic þurcyl eorl 7 eac beode, þæt he ðæne unrihtwisan to rihte gebige, gyf he mæge.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschrieben Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, *Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*, 4 (Berlin, 1883), pp. 307–09 (no. LIX); Keynes, ‘Additions’, pp. 92–93.

<sup>56</sup> *Wulfstan*, ed. by Napier, pp. 309–10 (no. LX); Keynes, ‘Additions’, pp. 93–94.

<sup>57</sup> *Wulfstan*, ed. by Napier, pp. 310–11 (no. LXI); Keynes, ‘Additions’, pp. 94–95.

<sup>58</sup> Cnut 1020 (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 273–75); trans. *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Whitelock, pp. 452–54 (no. 48; p. 453): ‘Now I pray my archbishops and all my diocesan bishops, that they all may be zealous about God’s dues, each in the district which is entrusted to him; and I also charge my ealdormen that they help the bishops in furthering God’s rights and my royal dignity and the benefit of all the people. If anyone, ecclesiastic or layman, Dane or Englishman, is so presumptuous as to defy God’s law and my royal authority or the secular law, and he will not make amends and desist according to the direction of my bishops, I then pray, and also command, Earl Thorkell, if he can, to cause the evil-doer to do



These texts and the surveys make very suitable companions. The Oswald memorandum showed that Edgar's laws were being flouted by those whose job it was to see them implemented, but the surveys proved that the lands despoiled by Thored were subsequently recovered. This was manifest evidence that Edgar's law had been restored, and with it greater respect for God's churches — just as Cnut's letter proclaimed.

Of course, it is one thing to point to these connections, but quite another to prove that Wulfstan himself intended them to be made. There are reasons for proceeding with caution. The documents in question address a wide variety of pressing concerns, and not just the protection of God's property and dues. Wulfstan was not necessarily responsible for positioning the relevant texts together in these manuscripts, and even if he were it would be impossible to prove that he was conscious of the conceptual connections between them. The Oswald memorandum forms part of a fragment of a larger manuscript whose contents are not known, so our understanding of its manuscript context is necessarily partial. Wulfstan's homilies and Cnut's letter were not appended to the York Gospels at the same time, and it is arguable that they were placed there only because it was presumed that they would thereby gain through association with the Gospels themselves (and the deluxe volume in which they were bound). It follows that any correspondence of ideas between these texts may be no more than coincidence.

On the other hand, since Wulfstan plainly used and annotated these volumes, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was also he who caused these texts to be brought together; and if so, it is in a sense immaterial as to whether the texts in question were entered into their respective codices at precisely the same time, or whether the decision to bring them together came later: the important point is that they were brought together in Wulfstan's time and probably at his instigation. Likewise, the recurrence of groups of texts with closely related concerns in two different manuscripts makes it decidedly unlikely that their association was simply a matter of chance. Wulfstan *is* known to have compiled other books comprising texts which relate to a wide range of different topics but which have a common thematic thread, a 'unanimity of message'.<sup>59</sup> There was also a common thematic thread connecting the property documentation with the other material in both Harley 55 and the York Gospels: all were concerned in different ways with the sanctity of God's property.

---

right.' Here it is important to distinguish between the first part of Cnut's letter (chs 1–13) which is largely free of traces of Wulfstan's style, and the second part (chs 14–20) which is replete with such traces: see Keynes, 'Additions', pp. 95–96; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 347–48. The quotation is from chs 8–9, and thus may not have been composed by Wulfstan himself; but there can be little doubt that Wulfstan caused the letter to be entered into the gospelbook, and thus endorsed all of its contents.

<sup>59</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society'; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 196.

## *Conclusions*

What does all this add to our knowledge of Wulfstan? The Worcester evidence suggests that Wulfstan was responsible for an extraordinarily well-conceived and innovative method of documenting the church of Worcester's tenurial rights. It also proves that Wulfstan was personally engaged with the process of the making and subsequent use of the cartulary: the marginalia in *Liber Wigorniensis* permit us to glimpse a rigorous individual at work, writing rubrics in the margins next to most of the charters in the cartulary, and using the section of the cartulary concerned with leases as a working register of *laenland* tenants. Wulfstan thus emerges as someone who took estate administration seriously enough to become engaged with its minutiae. The York surveys and memorandum prove that he not only excelled in documenting his tenurial rights, but that he was also effective when it came to enforcing them in practice. There were of course limits to what Wulfstan could achieve using such documents: not even a figure of his stature was able to hold back the tide of secular pressure on religious endowments. However, Wulfstan also had ways of confronting this wider problem. His writings provide clear and abundant evidence of his conviction that a stable and prosperous Christian society should protect and augment the property and rights of the church. It is therefore striking that at least two documents relating to the administration of his estates are preserved alongside documents which articulate that conviction. The evidence suggests that the protection of church property was intimately bound up, not just in a metaphorical sense but also in a physical sense, with Wulfstan's programme for the moral rejuvenation of a people of God.

## APPENDIX

*Analysis of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, fols 1–118*

The purpose of this appendix is to illustrate the structure of the early-eleventh-century Worcester cartulary which was compiled for and annotated by Archbishop Wulfstan. Each row represents a different text in the manuscript. The table should be read across the facing pages: the numbers given in the first column of both pages are my own and are simply intended to make the table easier to follow. The column with the heading 'S' gives the number assigned to each document in the 'Revised Sawyer' (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, revised edn, ed. by Kelly); the columns headed 'Scr', 'Han', 'Sec', and 'Qui' give Ker's analysis of the date of the script, the hand, the section of the manuscript, and the quire number respectively following Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary'; for a different analysis, see Whybra, *Lost County*. The column headed 'Shire' indicates the shire to which the property in question pertained at the time of the Domesday survey (1086). In the 'Rubric' column, entries in the 'Wulfstan hand' are in **bold and underlined**; entries in other hands are in roman; subsequent additions to the rubrics are in *italics*. The shaded rows indicate those parts of the manuscript which were left blank by the scribes who worked on the manuscript in the early eleventh century; some of these blank spaces were used by scribes writing at later dates.

No.	Folio	S	Scr	Han	Sec	Qui	Date(s)	Description	Grantor/Lessor
1	1 <sup>r-v</sup>		s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1			
2	1 <sup>r-v</sup>	180	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	816	Royal diploma	King Coenwulf
3	1 <sup>v</sup> –2 <sup>r</sup>	223	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	884x901	Royal diploma	Æthelred and Æthelflæd
4	2 <sup>r</sup> –3 <sup>r</sup>	154	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	799 (? for 802)	Royal diploma	King Coenwulf
5	3 <sup>r</sup> –4 <sup>r</sup>	1272	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	849	Episcopal lease	Bishop Alhhun
6	4 <sup>r-v</sup>	199	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	849	Royal diploma	King Berhtwulf
7	4 <sup>v</sup> –6 <sup>r</sup>	428	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	930 (for 934)	Royal diploma	King Æthelstan
8	6 <sup>r-v</sup>	117	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	780	Royal diploma	King Offa
9	6 <sup>v</sup> –7 <sup>v</sup>	1280	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	904	Episcopal lease	Bishop Wærferth
10	7 <sup>v</sup>	95	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	723x737	Royal diploma	King Æthelbald
11	7 <sup>v</sup> –8 <sup>v</sup>	1430	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1	789	Settlement of a dispute concerning land at Inkberrow and Bradley, Wor	
12	8 <sup>v</sup> –9 <sup>r</sup>	1260	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	A	1–2	803	Episcopal lease	Bishop Deneberht
13	9 <sup>r</sup>	1432	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	822x823	Memorandum concerning King Ceolwulf's request for land at Bromsgrove from Bishop Heahberht	
14	9 <sup>r-v</sup>	76	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	697x699	Royal diploma	King Æthelred
15	10 <sup>r</sup>	1252	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	699x717	Episcopal lease	Bishop Ecgwine
16	10 <sup>r-v</sup>	172	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	814 = 813	Royal diploma	King Coenwulf
17	11 <sup>r</sup>	185	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	798x821 (? 814)	Royal diploma	King Coenwulf
18	11 <sup>r</sup> –12 <sup>r</sup>	116	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	780	Royal diploma	King Offa
19	12 <sup>r-v</sup>	192	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	840	Royal diploma	King Berhtwulf
20	13 <sup>r-v</sup>	193	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	841 = 840	Royal diploma	King Berhtwulf
21	14 <sup>r-v</sup>	1442	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	897	Settlement of a dispute concerning land at Upton in Blockley, Glos.	
22	14 <sup>v</sup> –15 <sup>v</sup>	207	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	855	Royal diploma	King Burgred
23	15 <sup>v</sup>	101	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	727x736	Royal diploma	King Æthelbald
24	15 <sup>v</sup> –16 <sup>r</sup>	109	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2	772 (? for 755 or 777)	Royal diploma	King Offa
25	16 <sup>r</sup> –17 <sup>v</sup>	55	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	2–3	757	Royal diploma	Eanberht, Uhtred and Ealdred
26	17 <sup>v</sup> –18 <sup>r</sup>	1282	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	3	907	Episcopal lease	Bishop Wærferth
27	18 <sup>r</sup> –19 <sup>r</sup>	346	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	3	889	Royal diploma	King Alfred
28	19 <sup>r-v</sup>	208	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	3	857	Royal diploma	King Burgred

No.	Beneficiary	Property	Shire	Rubric
1				Heading: 'INTO VVEOGERNA CESTRE'
2	Bishop Deneberht	Whittington, Spetchley, Tolladine etc	Wor	—
3	St Peter's, Worcester	Worcester	Wor	<u>to weora[...]</u>
4	Abbot Balthun	30 hides belonging to Kempsey minster	Wor	—
5	King Berhtwulf	<i>Wearset felda</i> , Cofton Hackett etc	Wor	<u>wel[...]</u> <u>7 wrel[...]</u>
6	Egbert	Cofton Hackett in Alvechurch	Wor	<u>Ælfgyðecvrc[e]</u>
7	St Mary's, Worcester	<i>Werstfelda</i> in Alvechurch etc.	Wor	<u>[Ælfe]yðecvrce</u>
8	St Peter's, Bredon	<i>Wærsetfelda</i> in Alvechurch etc.	Wor	<u>Ælfgyðecv[rce]</u>
9	Æthelred and Æthelflæd	messuage in Worcester; Barbourne	Wor	<u>Lænhaga 7 landlæn æberede 7 æbelflæde</u>
10	Cyneburg	Bradley near Inkberrow	Wor	—
11			Wor	—
12	Wulfheard	Inkberrow and Bradley	Wor	—
13			Wor	<u>Brem[...]</u>
14	Bishop Oftfor	Fladbury	Wor	<u>Fled[...]</u>
15	Æthelheard	Fladbury minster	Wor	<u>Fledanbvrig</u>
16	Bishop Deneberht	remission of dues	—	—
17	Bishop Deneberht	Fladbury	Wor	<i>lost</i>
18	St Peter's, Bredon	Bredons Norton etc	Glos and Wor	<u>Breodun</u>
19	Bishop Heahberht	Little Washbourne etc	Glos and Wor	<u>Wassanburna</u>
20	Abbot Eanmund	Bredon minster	—	<u>Breodun</u>
21			Glos	<u>Uptun</u>
22	Bishop Alhhun or Alhwine	Blockley minster	Glos	<u>Bloccan Leah</u>
23	Bishop Wilfred	Batsford	Glos	<u>[Bæ]ccesoran</u>
24	Ridda	Evenlode	Glos	<u>Eulangelad</u>
25	Bishop Milred	Tredington	Wor	<u>Tredinc tun</u>
26	Cynhelm	Bengeworth	Wor	<u>Benning weorð</u>
27	Bishop Wærferth	<i>Hwætundes stane</i> in London	London	<u>Lunden</u>
28	Bishop Alhhun	<i>Ceolmundingchaga</i> in London	London	<i>lost</i>

No.	Folio	S	Scr	Han	Sec	Qui	Date(s)	Description	Grantor/Lessor
29	20 <sup>r</sup>	98	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	A	3	? 743x745	Royal diploma	King Æthelbald
30	20 <sup>v</sup> –21 <sup>r</sup>	52	s. xi <sup>1</sup>		A (i)	3	680	Royal diploma	King Oshere
31	21 <sup>r-v</sup>	190	s. xi <sup>1</sup>		A (ii)	3	836	Royal diploma	King Wiglaf
32	21 <sup>v</sup>		late s. xi		A (iii)	3		Extract from Domesday Book concerning the payment of church dues	
33	22 <sup>r</sup>					3		Blank	
34	22 <sup>v</sup>		s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	3			
35	22 <sup>v</sup> –23 <sup>r</sup>	1431	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	3	803	Record of an agreement concerning claims to the minsters of Cheltenham and Beckford	
36	23 <sup>r</sup> –24 <sup>r</sup>	141	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	3	777x779	Royal diploma	King Offa
37	24 <sup>v</sup>	56	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	3	759	Royal diploma	Eanberht, Uhtred and Ealdred
38	25 <sup>r-v</sup>	1429	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	4	736x737	Decree of a synod concerning the succession of a minster at Withington, Glos	
39	25 <sup>v</sup> –26 <sup>r</sup>	1255	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	4	774	Episcopal lease	Bishop Milred
40	26 <sup>r-v</sup>	1413	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	4	781x800	Ecclesiastic grant	Abbot Headda
41	26 <sup>v</sup> –27 <sup>r</sup>	99	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	4	743 (for 737x740)	Royal diploma	King Æthelbald
42	27 <sup>r-v</sup>	215	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	B	4	875	Royal diploma	King Ceolwulf
43	27 <sup>v</sup>					4		6 blank lines	
44	28 <sup>r</sup>		s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	4			
45	28 <sup>r-v</sup>	107	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	4	765	Royal diploma	King Offa
46	28 <sup>v</sup> –29 <sup>r</sup>	217	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	4	880 (for 887)	Royal diploma	Ealdorman Æthelred
47	29 <sup>v</sup> –30 <sup>r</sup>	210	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	4	864	Royal diploma	King Burgred
48	30 <sup>v</sup> –31 <sup>r</sup>	361	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	4–5	900 (? for 904)	Royal diploma	King Edward
49	31 <sup>r-v</sup>	402	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	5	929	Royal diploma	King Æthelstan
50	31 <sup>v</sup> –32 <sup>r</sup>	84	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	5	718 (? for 727)	Royal diploma	King Æthelbald
51	32 <sup>r</sup>	194	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	5	841	Royal diploma	King Berhtwulf
52	32 <sup>v</sup>	196	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	2	C	5	841 = 840	Royal diploma	King Berhtwulf
53	32 <sup>v</sup> –33 <sup>r</sup>	1568	s. xi		C (i)	5		Bounds of <i>Readanoran</i> and of Pyrtun, Oxon	
54	33 <sup>r-v</sup>		s. xi		C (ii)	5		Bounds of <i>Claceswadlande</i>	
55	33 <sup>v</sup>		s. xi/xii		C (iii)	5		First entry in the bishop of Worcester's fee in the Wor Domesday	
56	34 <sup>v</sup> –35 <sup>v</sup>	142	s. xi/xii		C (iv)	5	757x774	Royal diploma	King Offa
57	35 <sup>v</sup> –36 <sup>r</sup>		s. xi/xii		C (v)	5		An 'agreement' drawn up c. 1086 between Bishop Wulfstan II and Walter, abbot of Evesham	

No.	Beneficiary	Property	Shire	Rubric
29	Bishop Milred	remission on toll due at London	London	<u>Lunden</u>
30	monk of Bishop Winfred	Ripple	Wor	<u>rippel</u>
31	Hanbury Minster	grant of privileges	Wor	<u>Heanbyri</u> <i>wið þære wic</i>
32				
33				
34				Heading: 'INTO VVINCELCVMBE SCIRE'
35			Glos	<u>[...]</u> <u>a</u>
36	St Michael's, Bishops Cleeve	<i>Timbingctun</i> under <i>Wendelsclif</i> etc	Glos	<u>Clife</u> <i>Offa bocað into wirecest[...]</i>
37	Abbot Headda	Andoversford	Glos	<u>Onnanford</u>
38			Glos	<u>Wudian dun</u>
39	Abbess Æthelburh	Withington	Glos	<u>Wudian dun</u>
40	Bishopric of Worcester	Dowdeswell, <i>Tyreltune</i> etc	Glos	<u>dogedes wyllan. 7 [æt] tireltune 7 æt on[nan]dune</u>
41	Osred	Aston Blank and Notgrove	Glos	<u>[E]as tun 7 Na[t]lan graf</u>
42	Bishop Wærferth	Daylesford	Glos	<u>dægles ford</u>
43				
44				Heading: 'INTO OXENA FORDA SCIRE'
45	Bishop Milred	Pyrton	Oxon	<u>Pyrig tun</u> <i>offa gæf into wirecastre</i>
46	Bishopric of Worcester	Brightwell Baldwin, Watlington	Oxon	<u>Bvrhtan wyllan. 7 wæcling tun</u>
47	Bishop Alhhun	Water Eaton	Oxon	<u>Ea tun</u>
48	—	Water Eaton	Oxon	<u>Ea tun</u>
49	St Mary's, Worcester	Water Eaton	Oxon	<u>Ea tun</u>
50	Bægia	Daylesford	Glos	<u>[dæ]gles ford</u>
51	Bishop Heahberht	Daylesford	Glos	<u>dægles ford</u>
52	Bishop Heahberht	Wychwood	Oxon	<u>Hwicce wudu</u>
53	—			
54				
55				
56	Bishop Milred	Wick Episcopi	Wor	
57				

No.	Folio	S	Scr	Han	Sec	Qui	Date(s)	Description	Grantor/Lessor
58	36 <sup>r</sup> –37 <sup>r</sup>		s. xi/xii		C (vi)	5		Three documents relating to a dispute between the church of Worcester and the abbey of Evesham	
59	37 <sup>r</sup>		s. xi/xii		C (vii)	5		Writ of King William II demanding payment from the honour of Worcester on the death of Bishop Wulfstan II (1095)	
60	37 <sup>v</sup> –38 <sup>v</sup>		s. xi/xii		C (viii)	5		Commemoratio placiti in the Evesham dispute	
60.5	39 <sup>r</sup>		s. late xi		D (iii)	6		Note of the number of hides pertaining to Bibury, Withington, Bishops Cleeve and Westbury	
61	39 <sup>r</sup>		s. xi <sup>1</sup>	3	D	6			
62	39 <sup>r</sup>	1254	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	3	D	6	718x745	Episcopal lease	Bishop Wilfred
63	39 <sup>r</sup> –40 <sup>r</sup>	206	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	3	D	6	855	Royal diploma	King Burgred
64	40 <sup>v</sup>	1279	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	3	D	6	899	Episcopal lease	Bishop Wærferth
65	41 <sup>r-v</sup>	1262	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	3	D	6	798x822	Episcopal lease	Bishop Deneberht
66	42 <sup>r-v</sup>	145	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	3	D	6	777	Royal diploma	King Offa
67	42 <sup>v</sup> –43 <sup>r</sup>	103	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	3	D	6	716x745	Royal diploma	King Æthelbald
68	43 <sup>r</sup> –44 <sup>r</sup>	1441	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	3	D	6	896	Record of an agreement concerning property at Woodchester, Bisley, Avening etc	
69	44 <sup>v</sup> –45 <sup>v</sup>	118	s. xi <sup>2</sup>		D (i)	6	780	Royal diploma	King Offa
70	45 <sup>v</sup> –46		s. xi/xii		D (ii)	6		Note of the annual rent in kind due to the cellarer of Worcester	
70.5	47 <sup>r</sup>							Blank (no heading, but a space has been left for one)	
71	47 <sup>r</sup> –48 <sup>r</sup>	1433	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	824	Settlement of a dispute concerning land at Westbury-on-Trym, Glos	
72	48 <sup>r</sup> –49 <sup>r</sup>	146	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	793x796	Royal diploma	King Offa
73	49 <sup>r</sup> –50 <sup>r</sup>	1187	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	804	Lay grant	Æthelric son of Æthelmund
74	50 <sup>v</sup> –51 <sup>v</sup>	218	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	883	Royal diploma	Ealdorman Æthelred
75	51 <sup>v</sup> –52 <sup>r</sup>	63	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	757x774	Royal diploma	Ealdred (King Offa's consent)
76	52 <sup>r</sup>	148	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	796	Royal diploma	King Ecgrith
77	52 <sup>r-v</sup>	139	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	793x796	Royal diploma	King Offa
78	52 <sup>r</sup> –53 <sup>r</sup>	1411	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	757x774	Ecclesiastic grant	Abbot Ceolfrith
79	53 <sup>r</sup> –54 <sup>r</sup>	401	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	929	Royal diploma	King Æthelstan



No.	Beneficiary	Property	Shire	Rubric
58				
59				
60				
60.5				
61				Heading: 'INTO GLEAWECESTRE SCIRE'
62	Leppa	5 hides by the river Colne (Bibury)	Glos	<u>Beagan byrig</u>
63	Bishop Alhhun	Ablington, Poulton, Barnsley, Eisey etc	Glos	<u>Eadboldingtun Pulton. Ber[...]des lea. Eseg</u>
64	Werwulf	Ablington	Glos	<u>Eadboldingtun</u>
65	Balthun	Barnsley and Colesborne	Glos	<u>Bearmodes lea. ⁊ Colesburna</u>
66	St Mary's, Worcester	Doughton in Tetbury, Eisey in Latton	Glos	<u>Ducton. ⁊ Eseg.</u>
67	St Peter's, Worcester	Woodchester	Glos	<u>Wudu ceaster.</u>
68			Glos	<u>Wudu ceaster.</u>
69	Bishopric of Worcester	Crothorne, Netherton, Elmley Castle, Kersoe, Charlton, Hampton, Bengeworth (Wor)		
70				
70.5				
71			Glos	<u>Westburh</u>
72	Church of Worcester	Westbury-on-Trym and Henbury	Glos	<u>westburh ⁊ heanburh.</u>
73	Various including Worcester	Westbury-on-Trym and <i>Stoce</i> etc	Glos and Wor	<u>Westburh. ⁊ Stoc</u>
74	Berkeley Abbey etc	Stoke Bishop	Glos	<u>Stoc</u>
75	Beornheard	<i>Huntena tun</i>	Glos?	<u>Huntena tun</u>
76	Æthelmund	<i>Huntena tun</i>	Glos?	<u>Huntena tun</u>
77	Æthelmund	Westbury-on-Trym	Glos	<u>Westburh.</u>
78	St Peter's, Worcester	Henbury, Sture in <i>Ismere</i>	Glos	<u>Heanburh.</u>
79	St Mary's, Worcester	Aust	Glos	<u>Austan.</u>

No.	Folio	S	Scr	Han	Sec	Qui	Date(s)	Description	Grantor/Lessor
80	54 <sup>r-v</sup>	137	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	794	Royal diploma	King Offa
81	54 <sup>v</sup> –55 <sup>r</sup>	147	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	7	777x779	Royal diploma	King Offa
82	55 <sup>r-v</sup>	103	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	8	716x745	Royal diploma	King Æthelbald
83	55 <sup>v</sup> –56 <sup>r</sup>	1415	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	8	889	Episcopal lease	Bishop Werferth
84	56 <sup>r</sup> –57 <sup>r</sup>	1446	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	F	8	903	Settlement of a dispute concerning land at Sodbury	
85	57 <sup>r</sup>		s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8			
86	57 <sup>r</sup> –58 <sup>r</sup>	1346	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	984	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
87	58 <sup>r-v</sup>	1317	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
88	58 <sup>v</sup> –59 <sup>r</sup>	1357	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	988	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
89	59 <sup>r</sup>	1299	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	962	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
90	59 <sup>v</sup>	1364	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	991	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
91	59 <sup>v</sup> –60 <sup>r</sup>	1312	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	967	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
92	60 <sup>r-v</sup>	1316	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	967	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
93	60 <sup>v</sup> –61 <sup>v</sup>	1362	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	990	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
94	61 <sup>v</sup>		s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8			
95	61 <sup>v</sup> –62 <sup>r</sup>	1304	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	963	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
96	62 <sup>r-v</sup>	1365	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	991	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
97	62 <sup>v</sup>	1324	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	8	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
98	63 <sup>r-v</sup>	1303	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	963	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
99	63 <sup>v</sup> –64 <sup>r</sup>	1352	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	985	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
100	64 <sup>v</sup> –65 <sup>r</sup>	1327	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
101	65 <sup>v</sup> –66 <sup>r</sup>	1372	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	975x978 (? 977)	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
102	66 <sup>r</sup> –67 <sup>r</sup>	1369	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	? 987	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
103	67 <sup>r-v</sup>	1374	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	975x978 (? 977)	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
104	67 <sup>v</sup> –68 <sup>v</sup>	1342	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	980	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
105	68 <sup>v</sup> –69 <sup>r</sup>	1301	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	962	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
106	69 <sup>r-v</sup>	1300	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9	962	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
107	70 <sup>r</sup> –71 <sup>r</sup>	1370	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	9–10	961x972 (? 969)	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
108	71 <sup>r</sup> –72 <sup>r</sup>	1339	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	978	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
109	72 <sup>r-v</sup>	1373	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	975x978 (? 977)	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
110	72 <sup>v</sup> –73 <sup>v</sup>	1348	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	984	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald

No.	Beneficiary	Property	Shire	Rubric
80	Bishop Heathored	Aust	Glos	<u>Austan.</u>
81	St Mary's, Worcester	Yate	Glos	<u>Geat.</u>
82	St Peter's, Worcester	Woodchester	Glos	<u>Wuduceaster</u>
83	Bishop Werferth	Elmstone Hardwicke	Glos	<u>[A]lhmunding tun</u>
84			Glos	<u>Soppanbyrig</u>
85				<u>Geanbec into gleawelceaster</u>
86	Æthelweard	Stoke Bishop	Glos	æt bisceopes sto[...] æþelweard 7 æþel[...]
87	Æthelweard	Stoke Bishop	Glos	æt bisceopes stoce æþelweardo 7 æþelmæro
88	Æthelweard	Upton in Tetbury	Glos	upton æþelwerd 7 æþelmær
89	Æthelm	Elmstree in Tetbury	Glos	æþelmodes treow æþelme 7 ælfstane 7 wulfrice
90	Ælfstan	Itchington in Tytherington	Glos	æt icenantune ælfstano
91	Æthelweard	Itchington in Tytherington	Glos	æt icenantune æþelwerde
92	Wulfgar	Itchington in Tytherington	Glos	æt icenantune wulfgaro wulfric <i>wulby</i> [...]
93	Æthelmær	Compton Greenfield, Marsh	Glos	æt cumtune æþelmære
94				Heading: 'þas gén béc hyrað into wincescumbæ'
95	Æthelnoth	Harford in Naunton	Glos	æt beort forða æþelnode 7 <i>ælsige</i>
96	Æthelmær	<i>Æsctun</i> , possibly Ashton-under-Hill	Wor?	æsctun æþelmære 7 wulfware 7 eadmære 7 <i>ælmære</i>
97	Eadric	Saberton in Beckford	Glos	æt sapertune eadrico 7 <i>ælfric</i> 7 <i>siric</i> 7 <i>ælfild</i>
98	Ælfric	Cotheridge	Wor	æt coddanhrycce ælfrice 7 æþelsie
99	Wulfgar	Clopton in St John-in-Bedwardine	Wor	æt cloptune wulfgaro
100	Wulfgar	Battenhall St Peter's without Worcester etc	Wor	æt baten hagen 7 æt þære pyrian wulfgaro
101	Wulfgar	Little Witley	Wor	æt witlea wulfgaro
102	Goding	Bredicot, <i>Genenofre</i> , Tibberton etc	Wor	æt bradingc cotan godingce 7 æt genen of[re]
103	Wulfheah	<i>Genenofre</i>	Wor	æt genenofre wulfge godwine ælfrice
104	Wulfgar	Waresley in Hartlebury	Wor	[æt] wæres leage [wulf]gare preoste
105	Eadmær	Bentley in Holt, Bradley	Wor	[beo]net leah eadmære [7] wulfrune
106	Cynhelm	Upton-upon-Severn	Glos	upton cynelme 7 godwine
107	Osulf	Grimley, Moseley, Wick Episcopi	Wor	æt grimanlæge 7 æt moslege osulfe 7 æþelstane 7 <i>ufede</i>
108	Æthelnoth	Smite in Hindlip	Wor	æt smitan æþel[noth] 7 leofwine
109	Wulfgeat	Himbleton (i.e. Huddington)	Wor	æt hymeltune wulfgete 7 wulfmære
110	Eadwig and Wulfgifu	Lower Wolverton in Stoulton	Wor	[æt wulf]rington eadwige [w]ulfgeofe 7 <i>heora dohtor</i>

No.	Folio	S	Scr	Han	Sec	Qui	Date(s)	Description	Grantor/Lessor
111	73 <sup>v</sup> –74 <sup>r</sup>	1329	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	974	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
112	74 <sup>r-v</sup>	1361	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	989 (for 983x985)	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
113	74 <sup>v</sup> –75 <sup>r</sup>	1367	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	972x992 (? 985)	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
114	75 <sup>r-v</sup>	1323	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
115	75 <sup>v</sup> –76 <sup>v</sup>	1297	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	943 (for 963)	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
116	76 <sup>v</sup> –77 <sup>r</sup>	1319	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
117	77 <sup>v</sup>	1332	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	977	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
118	78 <sup>r</sup>	1290	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	957	Episcopal lease	Bishop Cenwald
119	78 <sup>r</sup> –79 <sup>r</sup>	1353	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	10	987	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
120	79 <sup>r-v</sup>	1335	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	977 (? for 974)	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
121	79 <sup>v</sup> –80 <sup>r</sup>	1359	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	989	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
122	80 <sup>r-v</sup>	1309	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	966	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
123	80 <sup>v</sup> –81 <sup>r</sup>	1320	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
124	81 <sup>v</sup>	1351	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	985	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
125	82 <sup>r</sup>	1355	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	988	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
126	82 <sup>v</sup>	1336	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	977	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
127	83 <sup>r-v</sup>	1338	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	978	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
128	83 <sup>v</sup> –84 <sup>r</sup>	1326	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
129	84 <sup>r-v</sup>	1306	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	963	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
130	84 <sup>v</sup> –85 <sup>r</sup>	1363	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	990	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
131	85 <sup>r</sup> –86 <sup>r</sup>	1322	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
132	86 <sup>r-v</sup>	1314	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11	967	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
133	86 <sup>v</sup> –87 <sup>r</sup>	1331	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	11–12	977	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
134	87 <sup>r-v</sup>	1349	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	984	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
135	87 <sup>v</sup> –88 <sup>r</sup>	1345	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	983	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
136	88 <sup>r</sup> –89 <sup>r</sup>	1305	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	963	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
137	89 <sup>r-v</sup>	1381	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	996	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Ealdwulf
138	89 <sup>v</sup> –90 <sup>r</sup>	1330	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	977	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
139	90 <sup>r-v</sup>	1337	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	978	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
140	91 <sup>r</sup>	1366	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	991	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
141	91 <sup>v</sup>	1333	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	977	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
142	92 <sup>r-v</sup>				G	12		Blank	

No.	Beneficiary	Property	Shire	Rubric
111	Brihtlaf	Cudley in St Martin's-without-Worcester	Wor	[c]uddingclea [bri]htlafa ȝ byrht[mære] ȝ bryhtwine
112	Gardulf	Whittington	Wor	hwitintun gardulfe ȝ leofenað
113	Ælfsige	messuage and croft in Worcester	Wor	—
114	Eadmær	Little Witley	Wor	witleah eadmær ȝ wulfrun
115	Cynethegn	Oddingley and Laughern	Wor	[law]ern ȝ oddungalea [cyn]eþegne p'
116	Ælfweard	<i>Theofecan Hyl</i>	Wor?	[þeo]fecan hyl [ælf]werd ȝ edgeouu
117	Æthelwold	Wolverton in Stoulton	Wor	[wulf]ringctun [æpelw]old
118	Behstan	Tapenhall, <i>Grimanhyll</i> (Greenhill in Hallow)	Wor	æt grimanhylle behstane ȝ byrhstane ȝ godwine
119	Æthelmund	Cutsdean	Glos	æt codestune æþelmund ȝ <i>wulfhelm ȝ ælfnoð ȝ godwine</i>
120	Wulfheah	Cutsdean	Glos	æt codestune wulfheh
121	Byrcstan	Bredons Norton	Wor	[n]orðtun byrestan ȝ ælfstan
122	Ælfhild	Hindlip	Wor	hindehlyp ælfild ȝ cynelm ȝ æpelgerd
123	Brihtmær	Whitlinge in Hartlebury	Wor	whitanhlync byrihtmær ȝ ælmær
124	Leofwine	Hartlebury	Wor	[h]eortlanbyrig [le]ofwine
125	Ælfwine	<i>Bradandbeorhge</i> , Holdfast in Ripple etc	Wor	æt bradanbeorge ȝ æt holanfæstene ælfwine ȝ æfæd ȝ heora sunu
126	Wynsige	Little Washbourne	Glos	wasseburne wynsie [m]unuce ȝ <i>wulfwynne</i>
127	Æthelmund	Redmarley D'Abitot	Glos	æt rydmæreleage æþelmundo ȝ <i>godwine</i>
128	Osulf	Teddington and Alstone	Glos	[te]ottingctun ȝ ælfri[ges]tun osulfe ȝ leof[...n] ȝ wihtgare
129	Eadmær	Redmarley D'Abitot	Glos	rydemærelege eadmære ȝ leofrune
130	Beornheah and Bryhstan	Moreton in Bredon	Wor	[m]ortun beornege ȝ byrhstane
131	Cynhelm	Croome d'Abitot	Wor	æt croman cynelm ȝ leofwine
132	Hæhstan	Pendock and Didcot	Wor	peonedoc ȝ dydinccotan hehstan ȝ <i>æþelwyn ȝ æfod</i>
133	Athelstan	Inkberrow	Wor	æt intanbeorgan æþelstan
134	Wulfflæd	Inkberrow	Wor	æt intanbeorgan wulflæd
135	Gardulf	Abbots Lench	Wor	æt lenc gardulf ȝ leoflæd
136	Athelstan	Thorne in Inkberrow	Wor	—
137	Leofenath	<i>Huneshom</i>		æt hunes homme leofenaðe
138	Ælfweard	Tidmington	Warw	æt tidelminctune [ælf]weard ȝ ælfwine [ȝ w]ulfwære
139	Ælfnoth	Blackwell in Tredington	Warw	æt blacewellan ælfnoð ȝ <i>æþelric ȝ leoftæt</i>
140	Eadric	Talton and Newbold in Tredington	Warw	ontætlinctune ȝ æt neoweboldan eadrice
141	Cynulf	Aston Magna	Glos	æt eastune cynulf
142				

No.	Folio	S	Scr	Han	Sec	Qui	Date(s)	Description	Grantor/Lessor
142.5	93 <sup>r</sup>							Blank (no heading, but a space has been left for one)	
143	93 <sup>r-v</sup>	1356	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	988	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
144	93 <sup>v</sup> –94 <sup>r</sup>	1358	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	988	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
145	94 <sup>r-v</sup>	1311	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12	966	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
146	94 <sup>v</sup> –95 <sup>r</sup>	1318	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	12–13	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
147	95 <sup>r</sup> –96 <sup>r</sup>	1350	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	13	985	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
148	96 <sup>r-v</sup>	1334	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	13	977	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
149	96 <sup>v</sup> –97 <sup>r</sup>	1310	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	13	966	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
149.5	97 <sup>v</sup>							Blank (no heading, but a space has been left for one)	
150	97 <sup>v</sup>	1328	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	13	973	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
151	97 <sup>v</sup> –98 <sup>r</sup>	1354	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	13	987	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
152	98 <sup>r-v</sup>	1321	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	13	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
153	98 <sup>v</sup> –99 <sup>r</sup>	1341	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	13	980	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
154	99 <sup>v</sup> –100 <sup>r</sup>	1340	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	13	979	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
155	100 <sup>r-v</sup>	1325	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	4	G	13	969	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
156	101 <sup>r</sup>	1298	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	13	962	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
157	101 <sup>r-v</sup>	1307	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	13	963	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
158	101 <sup>v</sup>		s. xi <sup>1</sup>	?	G	13		verse: Sit pariter lupo pax uita longa salusque / Iungere gaudemus lapidem disjungere nec ne / Lætatur pius his iunctis nostri memor et sit	
159	102 <sup>r-v</sup>				G	13		Blank	
160	102 <sup>v</sup>			?	G			marginal note: ‘hintuna xii hida stræt forða xvi hida Ælfest’ xv	
161	103 <sup>r</sup>		s. xi <sup>1</sup>	5	E	14			
162	103 <sup>r-v</sup>	94	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	5	E	14	716x737	Royal diploma	King Æthelbald
163	103 <sup>v</sup> –104 <sup>r</sup>	120	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	5	E	14	781 = 780	Royal diploma	King Offa
164	104 <sup>v</sup> –105 <sup>v</sup>	198	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	5	E	14	845 = 844	Royal diploma	King Berhtwulf
165	106 <sup>r</sup> –107 <sup>r</sup>	1257	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	5	E	14	781	Surrender of the minster of Bath in return for confirmation of land at Stratford-upon-Avon, <i>Sture</i> , Stour in Ismere and Bredon	
166	107 <sup>r-v</sup>	64	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	5	E	14	699x709	Royal diploma	King Offa
167	107 <sup>v</sup> –108 <sup>r</sup>	64	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	5	E	14	699x709	Royal diploma	King Offa
168	108 <sup>r</sup> –109 <sup>r</sup>	1278	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	5	E	14	872	Episcopal lease	Bishop Wærferth
169	109 <sup>v</sup>		s. xi		E (i)	14		Note in Old English of rents due from tenants	

No.	Beneficiary	Property	Shire	Rubric
142.5				
143	Æthelweard	<i>Clifforda</i>	Warw	æt clifforda æþelwerde 7 eadflæde
144	Eadric	Clopton	Warw	[æt] cloptune [ea]drice
145	Wihthelm	Clifford Chambers	Warw	æt cliforda ii hida wihtelme 7 wihtflæde 7 godhyse
146	Ætheleard	Tiddington in Alveston and <i>Faccanlea</i>	Warw	æt tidinctune 7 æt fahcanlea æþeleardo 7 æþelmære
147	Eadric	Tiddington and Alveston	Warw	æt tidantune eadrice 7 wulfrune
148	Eadric	Tiddington	Warw	æt tidingctune eadrice 7 wulfrune
149	Eadric	Alveston etc	Warw	[æ]t eanulfestune [ea]drice 7 wulfrune
149.5				
150	Brihtric	Brightwell Baldwin	Oxon	<u>Bvrhtanwylle</u> ælfrice 7 leofwine
151	Leofward	Golder in Pyrton	Oxon	æt goldoran leofward
152	Byrnric	Longdon in Tredington	Wor	<u>Langandun</u>
153	Ælfweard	Bengeworth	Wor	<u>Bvnnngweorð</u>
154	Athelstan	Daylesford	Glos	<u>dægles ford</u>
155	Ealhstan	Evenlode	Glos	<u>Eowlangelad. Ealhstan. Æþelstan</u>
156	Ælfwold	<i>Cungle</i>	Glos	<u>Cungle</u>
157	Wulfric	<i>Teodeces leage</i> and Apsley	Warw	<u>Tedeces leage [7 æps]leage</u>
158				
159				
160				
161				Heading: 'INTO WÆRINCG WICAN'
162	Æthelric	Wootton <i>in regione ... Stoppingas</i>	Warw	<u>Wudutun</u>
163	St Peter's Worcester	Hampton Lucy and <i>Fæhha leage</i>	Warw	<u>Hamtun. 7 fehhaeah</u>
164	Bishop Heahberht	Minster at Stratford-upon-Avon	Warw	<u>Strætford</u>
165			Warw	<u>Offan freols</u>
166	church of Worcester	Shottery, Nuthurst	Warw	<u>Scotta rið</u>
167	church of Worcester	Shottery, <i>Hellerege</i> in King's Norton	Warw	<u>Scotta rið</u>
168	Eanwulf	Nuthurst	Warw	<u>Hnut hryst</u>
169				

No.	Folio	S	Scr	Han	Sec	Qui	Date(s)	Description	Grantor/Lessor
170	110	1860	s. xi not late		O			Fragment	
171	111 <sup>r-v</sup>	1308	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	15	965 (for c. 991)	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
172	111 <sup>v</sup>	1313	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	15	967	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
173	112 <sup>r</sup>	1343	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	15	981	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
174	112 <sup>v</sup>	1360	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	15	989	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
175	113 <sup>r</sup>	1344	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	15	982	Episcopal lease	Archbishop Oswald
176	113 <sup>v</sup>	1302	s. xi <sup>1</sup>	1	G	15	962	Episcopal lease	Bishop Oswald
177	114 <sup>r</sup>	1556	s. xi		G (i)	15		Bounds of Withington	
178	114 <sup>v</sup>		s. xi		G (ii)	15		List of bishops of Worcester from Bosel to Æthelhun	
179	115 <sup>r</sup> –116 <sup>v</sup>		s. xi not late		G (iii)	15		Homily in Old English beginning <i>Adam se æresta man</i>	
180	116 <sup>v</sup>	1549	s. xi not late		G (iv)	15		Bounds of Bishop's Cleeve	
181	117 <sup>r</sup>	1595	s. xii		G (v)	15		Bounds of Pensax	
182	117 <sup>v</sup>					15		Blank	
183	118 <sup>r</sup>					15		Blank	
184	118 <sup>v</sup>	913	s. xi not late		G (vi)	15		Royal diploma	King Æthelred
185	118 <sup>v</sup>	1859	s. xi not late		G (vii)	15		Note of the descent of land at Batsford after the lease by Bishop Oswald	



No.	Beneficiary	Property	Shire	Rubric
170				
171	Athelstan	Southam Delabere in Bishops Cleeve etc	Glos	æt suðham ȝ muctune æþelstane ȝ <i>leoflæde ȝ ælfrice</i>
172	Eadmær	Stoke Orchard	Glos	æt stoce to eadmære ȝ byrehtmære
173	Athelstan	Pegglesworth in Dowdeswell	Glos	æt wægleswyrðe æþelstane
174	Eadwig	Cassey Compton in Withington	Glos	æt cumtune eadwige
175	Wulfhelm	unspecified		—
176	Ealhferth	Cassey Compton in Withington	Glos	[æt] cumtune [e]alhferðe
177				
178				
179				<b><u>various annotations in the ‘Wulfstan hand’</u></b>
180				
181				
182				
183				
184	St David’s bishopric	Over in Almondsbury	Glos	
185				



# York Minster in the Time of Wulfstan

CHRISTOPHER NORTON

**T**he history of York Minster in the early eleventh century is wrapped in almost impenetrable obscurity. The written sources, to all intents and purposes, are silent as to both the church and its clergy; not a single stone of the building has yet been found; even its location remains a matter of intense debate. Those who are content with the bare facts need read no further. For those of a more speculative bent, however, it may serve some purpose in what follows, firstly, to define the limits of our ignorance and, secondly, to seek ways to pierce the encompassing darkness.

Wulfstan's Minster presents certain analogies, *si parva licet componere magnis*, with the modern astronomers' black hole. They can deduce its existence from observing what goes on around it; they can theorize about what goes on inside it; but when they look directly at it, they can see nothing. This is not an unreasonable summary of our current situation with regard to Wulfstan's Minster, but in one important respect the analogy breaks down. The laws of physics dictate that it will never be possible to see inside a black hole, whereas the vagaries of archaeology encourage the hope that some remains of the pre-conquest Minster may one day be brought to light. Consequently, a consideration of the extent of our ignorance may serve not only to set boundaries to speculation, but also to indicate avenues for future investigation.

It will be best to start by analysing the nature of our loss, before assessing what can or could be salvaged from it.

## *The Written Sources and the York Gospels*

The ancient Anglo-Saxon cathedral, founded in 627, was destroyed by the Normans. Such a blunt assessment of the impact of the Norman Conquest is scarcely fashion-

able, but more than usually justifiable in the case of York Minster.<sup>1</sup> On 19 September 1069 the Norman garrison manning the city defences set fire to some houses in the suburbs which they feared might assist the attacking Danish and Northumbrian forces. The fire got out of control and spread to the Minster.<sup>2</sup> Shortly afterwards the

---

<sup>1</sup> A note on terminology. York Minster has been the premier church of northern England since its foundation, and the seat of the archbishop since the early eighth century. Although a cathedral church, it is generally known as York Minster. I use the terms cathedral and Minster interchangeably when referring to York. No distinction of status or chronology is implied by the choice of one term or the other — unlike at Winchester, for instance, where the pre-conquest cathedral is generally known as the Old Minster, whereas the post-conquest cathedral is always called the cathedral, never the Minster.

Without wishing to get sucked into terminological problems (see R. A. Hall, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes: Archaeological Ambiguities in Late Ninth- to Mid-Eleventh-Century York', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 311–24), I use the following terms as useful short-hand for the three main *chronological* periods in the Minster's history: Anglian, from its foundation to the capture of York by the Danish army, viz. 627–866; Anglo-Scandinavian, from 866 till the Conquest; Norman, from the Conquest onwards. I use Anglo-Saxon, Romanesque, and Gothic to refer to the main periods of *architectural* development as traditionally conceived, the first two essentially dividing around the Conquest.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Regum*, attributed to Symeon of Durham, in *Symeonis Monachi Omnia Opera*, ed. by Thomas Arnold, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 75 (London, 1882–85), II (1885), 187–88, repeated almost verbatim by John of Worcester in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 3 vols (Oxford, 1995–), III (1998), 8–11; see *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, ed. by D. W. Rollason with D. Gore and G. Fellows-Jensen, *The Archaeology of York*, I (York, 1998), pp. 184–85. Rollason follows the traditional interpretation of the 1069 fire whereby the *castella* from which the fire spread were the two motte-and-bailey castles newly constructed by William the Conqueror to either side of the river Ouse. If so, the fire must have spread through practically the whole of York before reaching the cathedral. There is no other evidence for such a catastrophic conflagration, and some weight of evidence against, and I have argued elsewhere that *castellum* should be understood in its common meaning of 'town' or 'fortified settlement' rather than in the narrow sense of 'castle'. The *castella* then refer to the fortified urban areas, or perhaps in a more restricted sense simply to the fortifications. A fire started just outside the defences on the north side of the precinct could easily have spread to the nearby Minster and associated buildings. See Christopher Norton, *Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and the Norman Cathedral at York*, Borthwick Papers, 100 (York, 2001), p. 34, n. 2. This interpretation can now be confirmed from an addition to the standard twelfth-century text preserved in two fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *Chronica Pontificum*, which reads as follows: 'Octavo post haec die Normanni custodes castellorum, timentes ne *domus suburbii* (my italics) forent Danis suffragia, eas incendere coeperunt, sed flamma nimia excrescens urbem Eboracensem cum ipso monasterio consumpsit' ('A week later, the Normans who were defending the fortresses began to set fire to some houses in the suburbs which they feared might assist the Danes; but the flames increased

Danes captured the city and slaughtered the Norman garrison, provoking William the Conqueror's ferocious campaign of retribution over the winter of 1069–70. In the words of Hugh the Chanter, writing in the late 1120s, 'Incensa quoque et Beati Petri metropolis ecclesia, et ornamenta illius carte et privilegia combusta vel perdita fuerunt'. So when the first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux (1070–1100), arrived in York, 'cuncta hostili vastacione depopulata invenit. De septem canonicis (non enim plures fuerant) tres in civitate et ecclesia combusta et destructa reperit. Reliqui vel mortui vel metu et desolacione erant exulati'.<sup>3</sup> The catastrophe had not been unexpected, though no one could have foreseen the precise form it would take. According to the mid-twelfth-century York *Chronica Pontificum*, Ealdred, the last of the Anglo-Saxon archbishops, had died just a few days before (11 September 1069), broken-hearted and praying to be spared the misery and destruction which he could see coming upon his church and country.<sup>4</sup> He was buried in the Minster just days before its destruction.

The death of Ealdred, no less than the burning of the Minster, symbolizes the demise of the Anglo-Saxon church of York. A prince-bishop of great wealth and magnificence, he played a prominent role in the affairs of state and travelled to Cologne, Rome, and even as far as Jerusalem. He was a munificent patron, particularly of the ancient church of Beverley, and it has recently been argued that he was responsible for the compilation of the D-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. But it was also Ealdred who crowned William the Conqueror at Westminster Abbey on 25 December 1066, and nothing better encapsulates the change of regime than the subsequent

---

exceedingly and consumed the city of York with its Minster'). This could derive from an early account which underlies both John of Worcester and the *Historia Regum*. The same source subsequently uses the word *castrum* for the Conqueror's motte-and-bailey castles at Lincoln, Nottingham, and York (*Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, also known as the Digby Chronicle or as Stubbs, in *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine, 3 vols, Rolls Series, 71 (London, 1879–94), II (1886), 350, n. 1. For Hugh the Chanter's use of *castellum/castrum* to mean town, see Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066–1127*, ed. by Charles Johnson and others, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1990), pp. 126–27, n. 2. David Stocker and Alan Vince, 'The Early Norman Castle at Lincoln and a Re-evaluation of the Original West Tower of Lincoln Cathedral', *Medieval Archaeology*, 41 (1997), 223–33, have independently argued that the *castellum* at Lincoln referred to in Domesday was the whole of the Bail enclosed by the ancient Roman walls, not just the small area within it now known as the Castle.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York*, pp. 2–3 and 18–19, and *Sources*, ed. by Rollason, pp. 193–96: 'The metropolitan church of St Peter was also burned, and its ornaments, charters and privileges consumed and lost'; 'he found everything laid waste as a result of enemy action. Of the seven canons (there had been no more), he found three in the burnt city and ruined church. The rest were either dead, or driven away by fear and devastation.'

<sup>4</sup> *Chronica Pontificum* in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, 348–50; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS D, in *Sources*, ed. by Rollason, p. 196.

translation of his mortal remains into the grand new Norman cathedral which replaced the Anglo-Saxon Minster.<sup>5</sup>

From the perspective of subsequent generations, it is the loss of the Minster's books and archives, as much as anything else, which makes 1069 a critical turning-point in the history of the Minster. Anything that escaped the flames is likely to have succumbed to pillaging or the elements. The Norman and Danish armies would have accounted for anything they found of obvious monetary value, while the cowed and dispersed remnants of the cathedral community would have been powerless to protect the remains of the Minster's book collections and muniments. Wind and rain over the terrible winter of 1069–70 would soon have taken their toll. A final blow fell in 1075 when another invading Danish army 'bræcon sancte Petres mynster, and tocon þærinne mycele æhta, and foron swa aweg' ('broke into St Peter's Minster, and there took much property, and so went away').<sup>6</sup> The *Chronica Pontificum* refers explicitly to the fire of 1069 to explain the disappearance of the charters of profession allegedly signed by two Bishops of Glasgow in the time of Archbishop Cynesige (1051–60). Like Hugh the Chanter, the *Chronica Pontificum* refers to the ornaments, privileges, and charters which were destroyed, but also adds the word 'books'.<sup>7</sup> The loss of early books which had constituted the eighth-century library made famous by Alcuin was perhaps as much a matter of neglect and decay over the centuries as of pillaging and destruction, but the finality of the disappearance of the pre-conquest library is unarguable. A York attribution has been suggested for the occasional extant manuscript, or for exemplars presumed to lie behind extant manuscripts. However, the game of 'hunt the York book' has tended to be played without

---

<sup>5</sup> On Ealdred, see Janet M. Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick Papers, 38 (York, 1970), pp. 23–29; Patrick Wormald, *How Do We Know so Much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?*, Deerhurst Lecture 1991 (Deerhurst, 1993), pp. 10–17; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. VI, MS D, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), p. lxxix. In view of Ealdred's association with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it is not without interest that the York *Chronica Pontificum* devotes ten printed pages to his pontificate, as much as the entire post-Bedan period from the 730s to Ealdred's accession (*Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, 344–54). This must be based on an earlier source, and is further evidence for historical interests in Ealdred's circle. A modern, critical edition of the *Chronica Pontificum* is needed. Michael Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E.xii', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 55 (1983), 11–25, reprinted in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), pp. 453–67 and 492, argues persuasively that fols 116–60 of that manuscript are part of a copy of the Romano-German Pontifical acquired by Ealdred in Cologne in 1154 when he was Bishop of Worcester and that a final quire (fols 153–60) was added at Ealdred's command by an English scribe whose hand can also be identified in some Exeter books from the time of Bishop Leofric (1050–72). Lapidge suggests the scribe was a member of Ealdred's household before transferring to Exeter, taking the Pontifical with him.

<sup>6</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS D, in *Sources*, ed. by Rollason, p. 196.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronica Pontificum*, in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, 343–44.

paying attention to the distinctions which should arguably be made between the library or other books actually held at the Minster, the products of any putative York scriptorium, the personal library, administrative materials, or liturgical books of the archbishops (whether held at York or carried round with them on their travels), and 'York' as a convenient shorthand for the diocese generally. Thus, for instance, the York Gospels were not a library book. And the 'Oswald memorandum' (London, British Library, Harley 55, fols 1–4), discussed elsewhere in this volume by Stephen Baxter, is a key piece of evidence for the pre-conquest archiepiscopal estates in Yorkshire (see fig. 7.5); but it ended up at Worcester, and there is no evidence it ever belonged to the Minster at York. It remains the case that not a single pre-conquest book from the Minster library survives, to our knowledge.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Hugh the Chanter's statement that the Minster's archives were destroyed cannot seriously be challenged. It is true that a handful of miscellaneous charter texts were copied into the Minster cartulary in the fourteenth century; but they could have been culled from outside sources, and for present purposes they contain nothing of relevance.<sup>9</sup>

It is possible that Archbishop Ealdred, his household, and the clergy managed to secrete and save some treasures from the looming disaster. One famous treasure is the horn of Ulf (fig. 8.1), which is traditionally associated with a pre-conquest grant of land to the Minster by Ulf son of Thorald. However, this tradition cannot be traced back earlier than c. 1300, and recent art historical scholarship has proposed a date for its manufacture of c. 1080.<sup>10</sup> It may be a later acquisition. In the early

---

<sup>8</sup> For various suggestions, see *Sources*, ed. by Rollason, p. 150; Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. by Peter Godman (Oxford, 1982), p. lxiii, n. 2; Mary Garrison, Janet L. Nelson, and Dominic Tweddle, *Alcuin and Charlemagne, the Golden Age of York* (York, 2001), p. 29 (no. 31). For discussions of possible 'York' material in the corpus of Wulfstan materials, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', in *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr.*, ed. by Jess B. Bessinger, Jr. and Robert P. Creed (New York, 1965), pp. 214–31, and Richard Gameson, 'Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996), pp. 194–243 (pp. 197, 213, 233). And for 'York' connections of the D-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, see *MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, pp. lvi–lxxix. On Ealdred's Pontifical, see note 5 above.

<sup>9</sup> P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968), nos 407 (possibly spurious), 659, 679, 712, 716, 968, 1159, 1161, discussed in Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London, 1986), pp. 81–99 (pp. 83–86).

<sup>10</sup> T. D. Kendrick, 'The Horn of Ulph', *Antiquity*, 11 (1937), 278–82; Bernard Barr, 'The History of the Volume', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, pp. 101–17 with full bibliography (p. 105, n. 7); John Cherry, 'Symbolism and Survival: Medieval Horns of Tenure', *Antiquaries Journal*, 69 (1989), 111–18. For the dating, see Robert P. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge, MA, 1980), p. 90 and references there cited. Although first documented at the Minster at the end of the fourteenth century, the horn was

sixteenth century the Minster treasury contained two volumes of Gospels which were believed to be associated with St Wilfrid (*duo textus sancti Wilfridi*). They were lavishly ornamented with gold, silver, and ivory bindings; but it must be doubtful whether they were what they claimed to be.<sup>11</sup> Only the York Gospels remain. These too were kept in the treasury in the early sixteenth century and had been at the Minster since the thirteenth. The history of the volume between the time of Wulfstan's death and the thirteenth century is, however, obscure. It has generally been assumed that it was preserved at York and somehow survived the disasters of the 1060s and 1070s. But it may not have been at York at all. I shall return to this point in a moment. In any case, the Gospels contain nothing of direct relevance to the Anglo-Saxon Minster itself.

So when, in the early twelfth century, Hugh, dean of York, turned to Symeon of Durham for information about the early history of the church of York, he inaugurated a millennial tradition of frustrated York people casting around to fill the void in the history of the pre-conquest church. Symeon, like all succeeding historians, turned first to Bede.<sup>12</sup> And the writings of Bede and Alcuin together have ensured that the history of the Minster in the seventh and eighth centuries is better known than the succeeding two and a half centuries, during which the darkness is pierced only by an occasional gleam of light from outside sources.<sup>13</sup> The York historian can only envy the quantity and quality of the books and documents surviving from the twin see of Worcester from the tenth and early eleventh centuries,<sup>14</sup> and wonder what might have been if the materials for the pre-conquest history of the Minster had not been consigned by the events of the 1060s and 1070s into a historical black hole from which they can never escape.

---

associated with Ulf at least a century earlier, as it is represented, along with the attributed arms of Ulf, in the carved heraldry of the nave (begun 1291). See Sarah Brown, 'Our Magnificent Fabrick': *York Minster, An Architectural History c. 1220–1500* (Swindon, 2003), pp. 86–136 and fig. 3.52.

<sup>11</sup> Inventory of treasures at York Minster c. 1500–10, printed in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, III (1894), 376–401 (p. 387), and Bernard Barr, 'Excursus I', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, p. 121, and see p. 106.

<sup>12</sup> *Epistola Symeonis ad Hugonem decanum Eboracensem*, in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, 252–58. The reason for York's request for information from Symeon is debated (e.g. Richard Sharpe, 'Symeon as Pamphleteer', in *Symeon of Durham, Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. by David Rollason (Stamford, 1998), pp. 214–29 (pp. 218–19)). One possibility, which does not seem to have been considered, is that it was part of the process of collecting materials for the composition of the *Chronica Pontificum*, which quotes a number of passages from it (*Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, 323–40).

<sup>13</sup> Assembled in *Sources*, ed. by Rollason.

<sup>14</sup> See the various contributions to *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt; R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Worcester, 2001).





Figure 8.1. The Horn of Ulf. Ivory, eleventh-century, with silver mounts added in 1675 (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

How did the York Gospels survive? Most likely because they were not in York at the time. A good case can be made for the hypothesis that the volume was in fact kept at the archiepiscopal estate at Sherburn-in-Elmet for much of the eleventh century. The evidence is contained within the well-known Old English additions on fols 156<sup>v</sup>–161<sup>v</sup> of the York Gospels. There are ten of them.<sup>15</sup> The earliest additions (1–7), on fols 156<sup>v</sup>–160<sup>v</sup>, were made *c.* 1020. The text of St John's Gospel finishes on fol. 156<sup>r</sup>. Folio 156<sup>v</sup> is occupied by a survey of Sherburn-in-Elmet (1), followed by surveys of the archiepiscopal estates at Otley (2) and Ripon (3) on fol. 157<sup>r</sup> (see figs 7.6–7.7). Folio 157<sup>v</sup> is blank. Then follow on fols 158<sup>r</sup>–160<sup>v</sup> three homiletic tracts by Wulfstan (4–6) and Cnut's first Letter to the English (7) (fig. 8.2). These six pages form a single unit in a single hand, and the three tracts contain alterations by Wulfstan himself. Folio 161 contains three further additions of a slightly later date. An inventory of church treasures at Sherburn-in-Elmet (8), which occupies the top of fol. 161<sup>r</sup> (fig. 8.3), has been dated from its script to the middle of the eleventh century. The rest of the page is blank. Folio 161<sup>v</sup> contains a set of bidding prayers (9), dated from its script to the second quarter of the century, and thus slightly earlier than the preceding item. Below this is a list of Ælfric's *fester men* (10), in a script which is clearly later than all the other items and has been dated to the second half of the eleventh century. Some of the *fester men* can be linked to Sherburn-in-Elmet, and Ælfric is most plausibly identified as Wulfstan's successor, Ælfric Puttoc, archbishop of York 1023–51. The list itself was apparently copied into the Gospels some time later, and the occasion of its original compilation is obscure.

All of these items, except perhaps no. 9, are demonstrably associated with the Archbishops of York in general, or specifically with Wulfstan and Ælfric. It is important here to distinguish between the archbishops and the Minster. The estates at Sherburn, Otley, and Ripon belonged to the archbishops, and it is the archbishops who provide the link between the Old English additions, not the Minster. The assumption that 'this holy place', which is twice mentioned in the bidding prayers (9), refers to York Minster is just that — an assumption. It could refer to somewhere quite different, or nowhere in particular. The only certain topographical references are to Otley, Ripon, and Sherburn-in-Elmet. Otley and Ripon appear only once each (nos 2 and 3), whereas Sherburn-in-Elmet appears not only more frequently (nos 1, 8, and 10) but also more prominently. The Sherburn estate survey (1) is the first of the Old English additions and the closest to the sacred text, being on the verso of the folio where St John's Gospel ends (see fig. 10.1). The survey is written out carefully and spaciouly, with nearly half of the page left blank, in contrast to the surveys of Otley and Ripon on the facing recto, where the lines are slightly cramped and the hand less neat (see figs 7.6–7.7). The inventory of church treasures at Sherburn (8) is

---

<sup>15</sup> The evidence for what follows in the next three paragraphs can be found in Keynes, 'Additions', and Barr, 'History of the Volume', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, pp. 104–06; see also pp. 21–22. They differ in their conclusions from mine.

again neatly written and is prominently placed at the head of an otherwise blank folio. The blank parchment emphasizes the importance of the Sherburn inventory, particularly when seen in conjunction with the facing page in the same opening (fol. 160<sup>v</sup>) which is filled with writing concluding the text of Cnut's letter (figs 8.2 and 8.3). The contents of the list, while interesting for their early date, are in themselves fairly unremarkable — two gospelbooks, two crosses, six other liturgical books, a chalice and paten, two mass vestments, three chasubles, two altar-cloths and two altar-covers, four hand-bells, and six hanging bells. They suggest a church well equipped for divine service, but include nothing exceptional. It is hard to see why such a list would be considered important enough to enter into the Gospels if they were kept at York Minster — or indeed anywhere else, except Sherburn itself. The purpose of the list of *festermen* (10) is not clear; but it definitely is relevant to Sherburn-in-Elmet, and only putatively relevant to York Minster.

So the only link with York Minster at this period is an indirect one, through the archbishops. On the other hand, there is positive evidence for a connection with Sherburn-in-Elmet. This evidence is no less substantial, in quantity and quality, than that which is often used to justify provenancing individual manuscripts. And it extends over several decades, from the earliest additions of the estate surveys, prior to Wulfstan's death, through Ælfric Puttoc and the church inventory of the second quarter of the century, to the writing of the list of *festermen* in the second half of the century. Not only is this compatible with the idea that the Gospels were kept at Sherburn for some decades; the placing of the Sherburn estate survey at the head of the additions, prior to the homilies with corrections in Wulfstan's hand, suggests that the decision to deposit them at Sherburn had been taken before his death, by Wulfstan himself. Unlikely though it may at first seem, Sherburn-in-Elmet would have been a sensible place to keep the York Gospels. It was the most valuable of the three estates listed in the additions; indeed it was one of the most valuable of all the archiepiscopal estates. It was also a much more convenient place for the peripatetic archbishops to stay than Ripon or Otley, being located close to the main north-south artery through the vale of York. This would have been a good incentive to keep the archiepiscopal residence in good repair, to maintain a well-equipped chapel, and to store up there memorials of the archbishops who restored and equipped the estate. It may be noted too that the value of the estate at Sherburn remained constant between 1066 and 1086, whereas Domesday Book records a decline in the value of the Otley estate by two-thirds, and of the Ripon estate by three-quarters. As far as we can tell, Sherburn was kept in good order, an important consideration for the preservation of its contents.

Sherburn, I suggest, has a better claim to have been the home of the York Gospels in the crucial decades of the eleventh century than York. It was very probably one of the two gospelbooks listed in the inventory of the church there on fol. 161<sup>r</sup>. And this



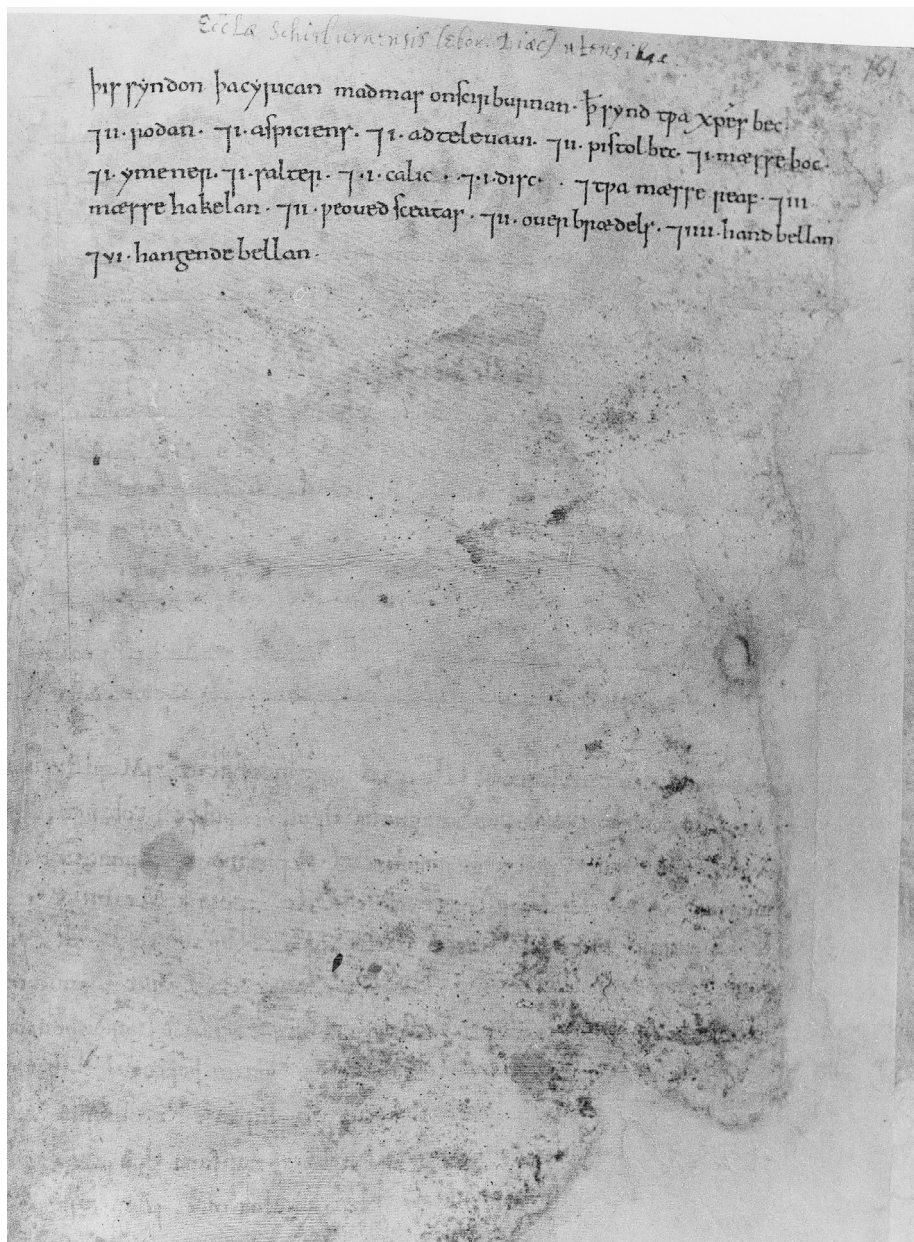


Figure 8.3. The York Gospels, fol. 161<sup>r</sup>. Inventory of church goods at Sherburn-in-Elmet (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

would explain its survival through the post-conquest devastation at York: it was at Sherburn at the time and was only transferred to York later.<sup>16</sup>

This is in no way to diminish the significance of the York Gospels — though it does raise questions about perceptions of the value and purpose of the volume during the eleventh century. It remains one of the key sources for the period, and it is the only tangible link at York with the early-eleventh-century archbishops — albeit not necessarily York Minster itself.

### *The Physical Remains*

The final destruction of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral church took a little longer to accomplish. Initially, Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux revived the Minster by recalling the fugitive canons and adding to their number, by rebuilding their refectory and dormitory, and by reroofing and bringing back into use the burnt-out shell of the ancient cathedral.<sup>17</sup> But within a few years (probably in the later 1070s) he began work on a vast new Romanesque cathedral on a new site. It was complete by the time of his death in 1100.<sup>18</sup> The fate of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral is not recorded, but it was presumably demolished once services had been transferred to the new

---

<sup>16</sup> This argument accords well with the suggestion by Sandy Heslop elsewhere in this volume that the York Gospels belonged to Wulfstan himself rather than the Minster, and perhaps formed part of the archiepiscopal *capella*. A comparable case would be Archbishop Ealdred's Pontifical, which seems to have travelled with a member of his household to Exeter (see note 5 above). It could be suggested that the York Gospels passed from the hands of the Archbishop to the chapter at the time of the creation of the prebend of Sherburn. The prebend was founded by Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux in the 1090s, or by Archbishop Thomas II (1109–14). Alternatively, it could have happened during the division of the prebend of Sherburn into those of Fenton and Wistow by Archbishop de Gray in 1215x1218 (*John le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, vol. vi, *York*, ed. by Diana E. Greenway (London, 1999), p. 70). The church of Sherburn formed part of the original endowment of the prebend of Sherburn granted by Archbishop Thomas I or II (*English Episcopal Acta*, vol. v, *York 1070–1154*, ed. by Janet E. Burton (Oxford, 1988), no. 8). It was Archbishop de Gray who reorganized the chapter into effectively its final form of thirty-six prebends, and he could have instituted the custom of the swearing of oaths by new canons on the York Gospels (Barr, 'History of the Volume', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, pp. 107–08; see also pp. 17–69). On the manor of Sherburn, William Wheeler, *The History of the Parishes of Sherburn and Cawood*, 2nd edn (London, 1882), is still worth consulting.

<sup>17</sup> Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York*, pp. 18–21; *Sources*, ed. by Rollason, pp. 195–96.

<sup>18</sup> Derek Phillips, *The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux: Excavations at York Minster*, vol. II (London, 1985); Norton, *Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux*, pp. 14–33.

building.<sup>19</sup> Such a convenient quarry for building materials is unlikely to have been ignored by the Norman masons. The stone from the ancient cathedral would probably have been reused as building rubble, either in the upper parts of the nave and west front of Thomas of Bayeux's Minster (if that was still under construction) or in some of the other new buildings in the precinct. For in the years around 1090 Archbishop Thomas instituted the formal separation (which remains, *mutatis mutandis*, to the present day) between the Archbishop and the newly constituted dean and chapter; and this was accompanied by a physical division of the close between the Archbishop on the one hand and the Minster clergy (collectively and severally) on the other.<sup>20</sup> New individual residences for the dean and the canons and an enlarged archiepiscopal palace would have consumed considerable quantities of stone and rubble. Over the centuries these buildings were in their turn redeveloped or demolished, while the nave of Thomas of Bayeux's Minster was itself replaced by the nave of the Gothic cathedral in the decades around 1300.<sup>21</sup> If any stones from the Anglo-Saxon cathedral survive, they have yet to be identified. Even its original location passed rapidly out of mind.

Such then is the extent of our ignorance. So where can we turn for clues to the state of the Minster in the early eleventh century? For the future, our principal hope must rest with archaeology. Extensive excavations beneath the Gothic Minster, supplemented by smaller investigations around the close, have revealed significant remains of Roman streets and of buildings which once stood within the Roman military fortress. They also brought to light key evidence for the late-eleventh-century Romanesque Minster of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux.<sup>22</sup> But the intermediate period proved remarkably elusive. A few reused fragments of early Anglo-Saxon sculpture turned up, and part of a cemetery from the Anglo-Scandinavian period was found beneath and adjacent to the south transept.<sup>23</sup> But of the pre-conquest cathedral itself, or indeed any structures of the period, there was no trace. The remarkable archaeological discoveries of recent decades, which have shed so much light on the Anglo-Scandinavian city and made York the 'Viking centre' of England,<sup>24</sup> have yet to be matched by equivalent advances in our understanding of the great ecclesiastical complex which stood at the very heart of the city.

---

<sup>19</sup> At Winchester, demolition of the Old Minster proceeded rapidly after the consecration of the east end of the Romanesque cathedral in 1093, though there it was necessary to remove the old building before the nave could be completed. See *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Martin Biddle, Winchester Studies, 1 (Oxford, 1976), p. 308.

<sup>20</sup> Norton, *Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux*, pp. 4–14.

<sup>21</sup> See below.

<sup>22</sup> Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster*, vol. 1, *From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver, 2 vols (London, 1995); Phillips, *The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux*.

<sup>23</sup> See below.

<sup>24</sup> Summary in Richard Hall, *Viking Age York* (London, 1994).

### *The Topography of the Cathedral Precinct*

If direct evidence for Wulfstan's Minster is lacking, can anything be deduced from indirect sources? Or, to return to our original analogy, if Wulfstan's Minster is a black hole, can we see anything round about it (temporally or spatially) which might help us to discern its presence? Comparisons with equivalent sites elsewhere suggest certain lines of enquiry and give some idea of what we could hope to find, but for the moment the most promising way forward is suggested by topographical analysis of the Minster close.

Various features of the later medieval Minster precinct are explicable on the hypothesis that they reflect aspects of the pre-conquest topography. Some of these elements seem to date back as early as the seventh and eighth centuries, but must still have been significant at the time of the Conquest for them to have left their mark on the later topography. Unravelling the threads of evidence is a painstaking affair which has been set out in full elsewhere; it is only necessary here to summarize the conclusions which relate to the early-eleventh-century Minster.<sup>25</sup> They offer a model of the general disposition of the Minster complex in Wulfstan's time which has yet to be tested by excavation.

The medieval close occupied the northern quadrant of the ancient Roman fortress (fig. 8.4). The line of the Roman fortress walls was perpetuated in the medieval defences, which ran unbroken from Bootham Bar (on the west side of the present Minster) to Monk Bar (to the east). Bootham Bar stands on the site of the Roman north-west gateway, and it gives access to Petergate, one of the main medieval thoroughfares which follows more or less the line of the Roman *via principalis*. The buildings and streets of the Roman fortress had been laid out on a typical rectilinear grid plan, parallel to the fortress walls and the *via principalis*, and this Roman alignment still forms one of the principal determinants of the topography of York. At its heart stood the Roman *principia* buildings, facing the junction of modern Petergate and Stonegate, its basilican hall partly underlying the south transept and crossing of the Romanesque Minster. The Roman north-east gate stood about one hundred yards north-west of medieval Monk Bar. The date at which the principal gateway on this side of the city was moved from the Roman site to its current position at Monk Bar has yet to be determined, but the change had probably taken place prior to the eleventh century, and with it, the development of Goodramgate, the principal thoroughfare leading from Monk Bar to Petergate. So in Wulfstan's time the Minster

---

<sup>25</sup> The evidence on which the whole of this section is based is set out in Christopher Norton, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 151 (1998), 1–42, with full references which I do not repeat here. See further on the Anglian period Christopher Norton, 'Alcuin's York', in *Alcuin*, ed. by Mary Garrison (forthcoming). For a different approach, see Dominic Tweddle, Joan Moulden, and Elizabeth Logan, *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence*, *The Archaeology of York*, 7.2 (York, 1999), esp. pp. 151–67.



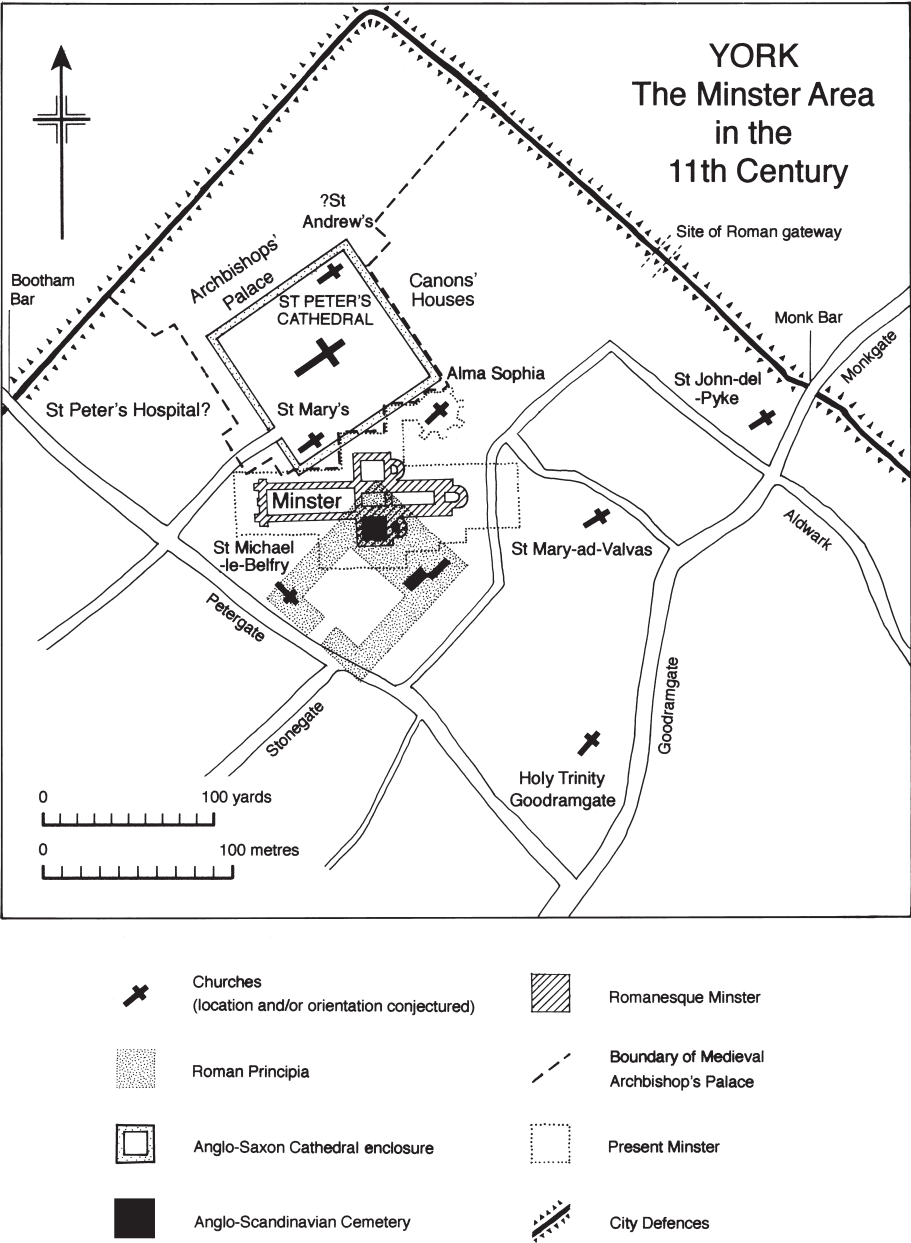


Figure 8.4. Plan of the Minster Close as it may have been in the time of Archbishop Wulfstan. (Drawing: Frances Challoner)

close, like its post-conquest successor, occupied most of the area bounded by Petergate, Goodramgate, and the city defences.

The early-eleventh-century defences were less impressive than the surviving medieval masonry walls. At some time in the Anglo-Scandinavian era, it appears, the standing masonry of the Roman fortress walls was buried under an earth rampart about 35 ft wide at the base and 18 ft high. The rampart was capped by a timber breastwork revetted with stone.<sup>26</sup> The condition of these defences in Wulfstan's time is a matter of speculation, but they clearly delineated the outer boundary of the early-eleventh-century close.

Thomas of Bayeux's Romanesque Minster was laid out at forty-five degrees to the ancient Roman alignment. It faces due east and forms the most prominent axis of the close. A number of other later medieval features, however, are laid out on a third axis which is intermediary between the Roman and medieval axes, being aligned approximately north-east-south-west. This third alignment apparently corresponds to that of the Anglo-Saxon Minster. Further analysis of the relationship between these three alignments and of certain key features of the close suggests the main outlines of the topography of the pre-conquest close as Wulfstan would have known it.

In the later Middle Ages, the archbishops' palace occupied an irregularly shaped plot of land which extended from the northern corner of the city defences as far as the walls of the Gothic cathedral. Within this area are preserved the lines of three sides of a large square enclosure. The jagged south-eastern side of the square, where it abuts the irregular outline of the Gothic Minster, may be presumed to be a later adjustment of what was originally a straight line forming the base of an exact square. The square measured about 100 yards across and was set out on the Anglo-Saxon alignment. The Romanesque Minster of Thomas of Bayeux was laid out hard up against the square, whose southern corner lies in the angle between the north transept and the north side of the nave. This square enclosure is the earliest post-Roman topographical feature within the close, and a number of later features were positioned with reference to it. Now incorporated into a large grassy sward within Dean's Park, this ancient square is largely untouched by excavation. Its unknown centre is, as it were, the 'black hole' around which the rest of the close revolves. The obvious deduction is that there once stood at the heart of this square the Anglo-Saxon Minster of St Peter.

Within the bottom corner of this square, the twelfth-century foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels, hard by the north side of the Romanesque Minster but on the Anglo-Saxon alignment, probably perpetuated the site and alignment of the

---

<sup>26</sup> The evidence for the defences at this time derives mainly from excavations south-west of Bootham Bar, near the Multangular Tower at the western corner of the ancient Roman fortress, in an area which belonged to the Minster. The defences around the Minster close may be presumed to have been similar; see *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York*, vol. II, *The Defences* (London, 1972), pp. 113–14, 122–24, and Hall, *Viking Age York*, p. 33 and plate 1.

documented early Anglo-Saxon church of St Mary.<sup>27</sup> In the opposite corner, the early-thirteenth-century chapel of the archbishops' palace, dedicated to St Andrew, intrudes into the ancient square enclosure. Although there is no documentation for a church or chapel of St Andrew prior to the Conquest, it is conceivable that this too perpetuates the memory of an ancient church of St Andrew. If so, the cathedral enclosure contained a group of churches dedicated to Peter, Andrew, and Mary.<sup>28</sup>

The entrance to the later archbishops' palace was through a gateway adjacent to the west front of the Minster, at the southern end of a range of lodgings flanking the south-western side of the ancient square enclosure. The axis of the twelfth-century gateway was one-third of the way along the side of the square, which suggests that it perpetuated the site of the original entrance into the pre-conquest cathedral enclosure. It was probably approached from Petergate from a point about half-way between Bootham Bar and the junction with Stonegate, where one of the later medieval gateways into the close used to stand.

Following Thomas of Bayeux's division of the close between the Archbishop and the dean and chapter, a substantial archbishops' palace was constructed parallel to and just outside the north-western side of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral enclosure. Only part of the palace chapel, as we have seen, actually encroached upon the ancient square. Round the corner, the space between the north-east side of the square enclosure and the city walls leading towards Monk Bar, which belonged to the chapter, was developed as a number of substantial residences for individual canons. Like the archbishops' palace, these houses and their surrounding plots were aligned with the ancient cathedral square rather than the city walls. In neither area has there been much in the way of excavation, but it may be suggested that the formal division of land between the Archbishop and the canons at the end of the eleventh century reflected a long-standing functional division. Although the entire Minster estate was officially in the hands of the Archbishop prior to c. 1090, there was an evident practical distinction to be made between the needs of the resident cathedral clergy and the Archbishop's household, whose visits to York would have been at best sporadic. This is likely to have been reflected on the ground. Domesday Book mentions the *curiam archiepiscopi et domos canonicorum* ('the archbishop's court and the canons' houses') in the same breath, but separately.<sup>29</sup> Wulfstan may therefore have resided in York in the same

---

<sup>27</sup> Compare Winchester, where the chapel of St Swithin just to the north of the west end of the nave of the Romanesque cathedral perpetuated the site and alignment of the burial place of St Swithin, incorporated into (though originally outside) the Old Minster: see *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Biddle, p. 312 and fig. 9; John Crook, 'St Swithun of Winchester', in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093–1993*, ed. by John Crook (Chichester, 1993), pp. 57–68 (pp. 57–59), with definitive publication due in the forthcoming monograph on the Old Minster at Winchester.

<sup>28</sup> Suggested in Norton, 'Alcuin's York'.

<sup>29</sup> Domesday Book, fol. 298b; see D. M. Palliser, *Domesday York*, Borthwick Papers, 78 (York, 1990).

part of the precinct as his post-conquest successors (though presumably in much humbler dwellings), just round the corner from the resident community.<sup>30</sup> If so, it is in the area to the north-east of the Anglo-Saxon Minster that we should look for the canons' refectory and dormitory whose burnt-out remains were restored by Thomas of Bayeux after the fire of 1069. Whether those particular buildings would have been known to Wulfstan is another question. Archbishop Ealdred (1061–69) is recorded as having built the refectory, and he is also credited with some kind of reform to the life of the cathedral community, so things may have changed since Wulfstan's day.<sup>31</sup>

Moving on round the precinct, we come to the most tantalizing and enigmatic feature of the pre-conquest precinct at York. The church of the Alma Sophia was consecrated by Archbishop Ælberht a few days before his death in 780. It is known only from Alcuin's description of it in his famous York poem. Long and inconclusive has been the scholarly debate about the design, function, meaning, and location of this remarkable monument, and it is not necessary to reprise the discussion here.<sup>32</sup> Suffice it to say that anomalies in the design and alignment of the Minster's Gothic chapter house *could* be explained on the hypothesis that it stood on the site of the Alma Sophia, whose memory it was, in a sense, deliberately perpetuating. The structure, which can be envisaged as a stone-built centrally planned octagonal building, with ambulatory and gallery, could have survived until well after the Conquest; and it is possible that it served as some kind of assembly room or proto-chapter house until its replacement by the present building. If there is any truth in this hypothesis, it would have been a prominent landmark in Wulfstan's time, located just outside the eastern corner of the ancient square cathedral enclosure.

Between the putative site of the Alma Sophia and Petergate much of the ground is occupied by the Gothic cathedral. Excavations around the west front have produced no sign of any pre-conquest buildings, nor did the extensive excavations under and around the central tower. However, a number of Anglo-Scandinavian graves were revealed beneath and outside the south transept. The south transept and transept apse of Thomas of Bayeux's cathedral had been constructed over the graves, some of which were thereby preserved in situ together with some elaborately carved grave markers (fig. 8.5). The graves appear to have formed part of a considerably larger

---

<sup>30</sup> Compare Winchester, where the grand post-conquest bishops' palace stood on the site of a much humbler pre-conquest predecessor, within a plot of land at the corner of the city defences. See *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Biddle, pp. 323–28 and fig. 9; Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies, 4.3 (Oxford, 2002), figs 4 and 5.

<sup>31</sup> *Chronica Pontificum*, in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, 353; Cooper, *Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops*, pp. 23–29.

<sup>32</sup> Alcuin, *Versus de patribus, regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*, vv. 1507–20 in *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. by Godman, pp. 118–21. Discussion of the church in Norton, 'Alcuin's York'.



Figure 8.5. Carved grave markers found in situ over burials 50 and 51 in the pre-conquest cemetery beneath the south transept of York Minster, April 1969. Two grave markers of the late ninth to tenth centuries, with end-stones of tenth-century (left) and mid-tenth- to early-eleventh-century date (right). (Photo: English Heritage YM 1430; by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster)

cemetery extending towards Petergate, whose nucleus is thought to have lain to the south-west.<sup>33</sup> The cemetery can be associated with the church of St Michael-le-Belfrey. In its current form an early-sixteenth-century rebuild, St Michael-le-Belfrey is aligned on Petergate, the only church in York oriented south-east, following the principal axis of the Roman street plan. It appears to be a foundation of great antiquity, and its name suggests that at an earlier stage in its history it consisted of a large free-standing bell tower (probably of timber construction) incorporating a chapel of St Michael, or (conversely) a chapel of St Michael associated with a large wooden bell tower. This would have been the principal Minster bell tower in the pre-conquest era and long afterwards. The dedication to St Michael was particularly apposite both to towers (given the archangel's association with high places) and to cemeteries (in view of his concern for the souls of the departed). Situated on the southern edge of the close and easily accessible from the rest of the city, the cemetery can be envisaged as a high-status burial ground for lay people as well as clergy in the Anglo-Scandinavian era. The *ex situ* fragments of early Anglian sculpture, dating from the pre-Viking era, perhaps derive from an earlier, predominantly ecclesiastical cemetery within the ancient square enclosure, in close proximity to the cathedral itself. The large public cemetery on the city side of the precinct is a feature which can be paralleled elsewhere at the time. The most interesting comparison, for our purposes, is with eleventh-century Worcester, where a large part of the precinct north of the cathedral adjacent to the main urban area was occupied by an extensive cemetery. Not only that, but the cemetery incorporated a large, free-standing bell tower with an attached chapel dedicated to St Michael. Although the origins of the bell tower and the chapel of St Michael-in-Bedwardine are not known, Julia Barrow has argued from the repeated invocation in late-tenth-century sources of St Michael alongside St Peter and St Mary (the dedicatees of the two principal churches at Worcester) for an origin in St Oswald's time.<sup>34</sup> The possibility of a connection between the physical and liturgical topography of the two sees in the tenth and eleventh centuries is suggestive, given the well-known links between Worcester and York in this period. At York, however, unlike Worcester, the Minster apparently did not claim — or at any

---

<sup>33</sup> Phillips and Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster*, I, 75–92 and 191–95, and II, 433–67, on the sculptures, for which see also James Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. III, *York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 53–78.

<sup>34</sup> J. Philip McAleer, 'The Tradition of Detached Bell Towers at Cathedral and Monastic Churches in Medieval England and Scotland (1066–1539)', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 154 (2001), 54–83 (pp. 56–58); Julia Barrow, 'Urban Cemetery Location in the High Middle Ages', in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. by Steven Bassett (London, 1992), pp. 78–100; Julia Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961–c. 1100', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 84–99 (pp. 89–90); Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, 'The City of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 129–46. Compare also the situation at Winchester, discussed by Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Dispersal or Concentration: The Disposal of the Winchester Dead over 2000 Years', in *Death in Towns*, ed. by Bassett, pp. 210–47 (pp. 224–33).

rate did not establish — exclusive rights of burial for the inhabitants of the city, since contemporary burials have been found elsewhere in the city.<sup>35</sup>

One further constituent of the medieval Minster complex was its hospital. In the post-conquest period the hospital of St Peter (or St Leonard's Hospital, as it came more generally to be known) grew to be one of the largest in the land. It occupied a substantial plot to the south of Petergate, bounded by a long stretch of the city defences running south-west from Bootham Bar as far as, and some way beyond, the Multangular Tower at the western corner of the ancient Roman fortress. The medieval hospital traced its origins back as far as the time of King Æthelstan, and it is possible that it owed its foundation to Alcuin's suggestion, over a century earlier, for a *xenodochia*, *id est hospitalia* ('guest house, that is hostel') at York.<sup>36</sup> Hostel or hospital, it probably existed in Wulfstan's time and is most likely to have been situated near the site of its later medieval successor. Alternatively, it may have stood opposite on the north side of Petergate, somewhere between the entrance to the close and Bootham Bar, from where it may have been relocated as part of the post-conquest reorganization of the precinct. Either way, it was conveniently placed for visitors and invalids alike, between the bustle of the city and the quiet of the cathedral close.

### Envoi

Topographical analysis suggests the location of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, but sheds no light on its appearance in Wulfstan's lifetime. Given the importance of the Minster as both the premier church in the north and the oldest, excavation of the remains would be highly desirable. It would then be possible to open up certain questions which we currently have no means of addressing. What was the design and scale of the Minster? Were parts of the seventh-century church still standing, incorporated into later developments, as at the Old Minster in Winchester?<sup>37</sup> York Minster could be especially revealing of the way in which different architectural traditions were continued, juxtaposed, or succeeded one by another. Paulinus, with his origins in Kent, might have been expected to construct a church comparable to the earliest churches of the Augustinian mission in Canterbury. The strength of the northern insular tradition in the Northumbrian church, on the other hand, might suggest an architectural orientation in the opposite direction. Wilfrid, by contrast, could have introduced continental ideas assimilated on his travels in Gaul and to Rome. Without

---

<sup>35</sup> Summary in Hall, *Viking Age York*, pp. 43–47.

<sup>36</sup> Alcuin, Epistola 114, in *Epistolae IV, Epistolae Karolini Aevi II*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin, 1895), p. 169.

<sup>37</sup> Martin Biddle, '*Felix urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. by David Parsons (Chichester, 1975), pp. 123–40; the definitive publication on Old Minster is due out shortly.

even moving beyond the seventh century, the Minster could provide a particularly fascinating architectural and cultural case study.<sup>38</sup> Or had the Minster been comprehensively rebuilt at some later date, like the cathedral at Canterbury?<sup>39</sup> If major architectural work had been carried out during the great phase of institutional flowering in the mid-eighth century, it would be particularly interesting to know what the architectural fashions might have been in the time of Archbishop Ælbert and Alcuin. A crucial determinant of the appearance of the early-eleventh-century Minster would have been its fate during the period of Danish occupation. Was it damaged or destroyed in this period? And did York in any way benefit from the revival of church building in the tenth century which had such a marked impact on the country further south, including the twin see of Worcester?<sup>40</sup> The architectural history of the Minster, could it be recovered, could potentially illuminate so much of the wider ecclesiastical, political, economic, and cultural history of the period. As it is, we have no idea of the form of the building which Wulfstan inherited, of its condition at the time, or whether Wulfstan himself contributed anything significant to its development. Still less can we address the issue of the relationship of the mother church of the north of England to the architecture of other major early-eleventh-century churches in the region, such as Southwell, Beverley, Ripon, and Durham, none of which has yet produced any physical remains.<sup>41</sup> An important chapter in medieval architectural history still waits to be written.

There are two possible clues as to the kind of architectural ornamentation which might have been employed at the Minster, if any significant work was carried out in Wulfstan's time. Firstly, the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptures found under the present Cathedral indicate something of the range of designs and the quality of the carving which might have been available at York (figs 8.5 and 8.6). The majority, however,

---

<sup>38</sup> Architectural traditions in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria are discussed in Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1983), pp. 47–63.

<sup>39</sup> Kevin Blockley and others, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave: Archaeology, History and Architecture* (Canterbury, 1997), pp. 12–23, 95–111.

<sup>40</sup> At the time of writing I had not seen Philip Barker, 'Reconstructing Wulfstan's Cathedral', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia Barrow and Nicholas Brooks (forthcoming).

<sup>41</sup> For the current position, see Richard Morris and Eric Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster before the Early Thirteenth Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. by Christopher Wilson, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 9 (London, 1989), pp. 9–32; R. A. Hall, 'Antiquaries and Archaeology in and around Ripon Minster', in *Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and Architecture from the 7th to 16th Centuries*, ed. by Lawrence R. Hoey, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 16 (London, 1995), pp. 12–30 (pp. 26–27); Eric Cambridge, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Durham', in H. Denis Briggs, Eric Cambridge, and Richard N. Bailey, 'A New Approach to Church Archaeology: Dowsing, Excavation and Documentary Work at Woodhorn, Ponteland and the pre-Norman cathedral at Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 11 (1983), 79–100 (pp. 91–97).





Figure 8.6. Carved grave markers found in situ over a child's grave (burial 48) in the pre-conquest cemetery beneath the south transept of York Minster, April 1969. Eleventh century.

(Photo: English Heritage YM 1425; by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster)

are dated to the earlier Anglo-Scandinavian period, and current evidence suggests that the sculptural tradition largely died out in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, a set of glazed floor tiles was found some years ago in the church of All Saints Pavement, York (figs 8.7 and 8.8).<sup>43</sup> They are among the best-preserved examples of a rare series of pre-conquest polychrome relief tiles, which so far have no parallel on the continent. Elsewhere, they have been found only at cathedrals and major monastic sites, such as Winchester, Canterbury, Westminster, Bury St Edmunds, St Albans, Peterborough, and Coventry,<sup>44</sup> so the parish church of All Saints Pavement is both the most northerly provenance and an unusual one. The tiles had been reused in a pavement of possibly twelfth-century date, part of which was discovered in situ. Their presence in the church suggests that it was a pre-conquest foundation of more than ordinary importance. Alternatively, it could be that they were acquired by the church second-hand, having been removed from some more prestigious building where they were no longer required. The obvious candidate would be the pre-conquest Minster whose materials, as I have already suggested, would have been recycled. Whether or not these particular specimens actually came from the Minster, it is most improbable that the Minster would not have had tiles of this type, if a lesser church in York did. The series across the country as a whole is attributed to the century or so prior to the Norman Conquest; a more precise chronology has so far proved impossible. The York tiles could therefore have been acquired by the Minster in or before Wulfstan's time. Whatever their date, they do indicate that York was keeping up with the latest fashions current among the great churches of the Midlands and southern England.

'And did those feet, in ancient time [. . .]?' The question is unanswerable; but it does bring us back, finally, from the material to the personal, and the personnel. Excavation is unlikely ever to reveal what we would like to know of the institutional organization of the Minster under Wulfstan or the individuals who manned it.<sup>45</sup> And

<sup>42</sup> Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture: York*, pp. 26, 38–40, and 43.

<sup>43</sup> Laurence Keen, 'Pre-Conquest Glazed Relief Tiles from All Saints Church, Pavement, York', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 146 (1993), 67–86.

<sup>44</sup> Principal bibliography in Christopher Norton, 'The Luxury Pavement in England before Westminster', in *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements*, ed. by Lindy Grant and Richard Mortimer (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 7–27, 73–91 (p. 26, nn. 43 and 45), plus Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle, 'Two Anglo-Saxon Relief-Decorated Floor Tiles', in Blockley and others, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave*, pp. 196–200. I am indebted to Laurence Keen for sight of his forthcoming note on additional fragments discovered in recent years at All Saints Pavement, referring also to the tile fragment from St Paul in the Bail, Lincoln, published by R. Kemp, 'A Fragment of Anglo-Saxon Tile from Lincoln', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 29 (1994), 53.

<sup>45</sup> For comparative background, see Julia Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and the Eleventh Centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 25–40; Julia Barrow, 'Survival and Mutation: Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Cultures in Contact*, ed. by Hadley and Richards, pp. 155–76.

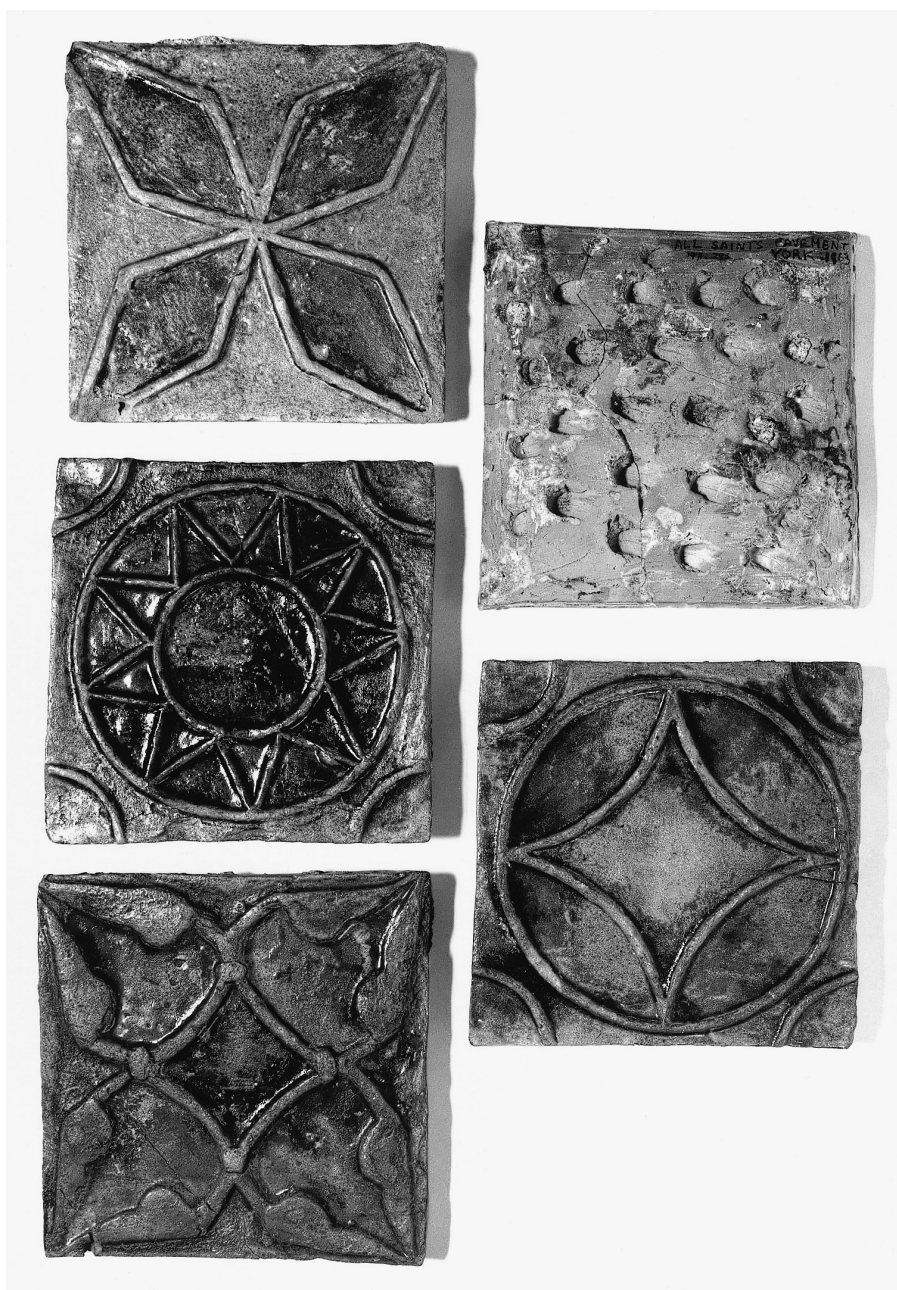


Figure 8.7. Pre-conquest glazed polychrome relief tiles from All Saints Pavement, York. (Photo: Laurence Keen)



Figure 8.8. Pre-conquest glazed polychrome relief tiles from All Saints Pavement, York. (Photo: Laurence Keen)

how did the Minster community relate to its archbishop? How often, in fact, did they ever see their archbishop? We know for certain only that he was in York in 1014.<sup>46</sup> As an archbishop who was closely involved in affairs of state, he must have spent much of his time away on business at the royal court and elsewhere. Such time as he could devote to diocesan affairs had to be divided between York and Worcester. Julia Barrow has noted that Wulfstan has left little actual impact on the community at Worcester, and it is all too probable that constant wanderings on affairs of the realm kept him frequently absent from both Worcester and York.<sup>47</sup> His much better documented Norman successor, Thomas of Bayeux, is recorded at York on only two occasions in thirty years, before returning there to die.<sup>48</sup> Nor should it be assumed that Wulfstan would necessarily have made York his base even when he was staying in Yorkshire. Many subsequent archbishops have preferred to stay at one of their residences south of the city. In Wulfstan's time the most likely retreat was Sherburn-in-Elmet, which provided easy access to York when occasion demanded.<sup>49</sup>

The topographical analysis presented above enables us to imagine the setting for the dramatic events of February 1014: the arrival of the funeral cortège of King Swein Forkbeard following his unexpected demise at Gainsborough on 3 February; its passage through the streets of York and along Petergate, a bell in the tower attached to St Michael's chapel tolling the while; the entry of the procession into the outer close, and thence through the inner gateway into the ancient square cathedral enclosure; the funeral service in the Minster, and the burial of the King. In the same place just a few days later, on 16 February, Wulfstan consecrated Ælfwig Bishop of London. Here too, as Jonathan Wilcox has argued elsewhere in this volume, Wulfstan may have preached his famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* to the assembled *witan*, whose formal meetings, one might conjecture, could have been held in the ancient church of the Alma Sophia. Its centrally planned design and first-floor galleries would have made it a suitable venue for debating weighty affairs of state and for observing the proceedings. If we wish, we may stand on the spot where the ancient

---

<sup>46</sup> Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', pp. 214–15.

<sup>47</sup> Julia Barrow, this volume.

<sup>48</sup> *English Episcopal Acta*, ed. by Burton, pp. 109–12. The sources disagree as to whether Thomas of Bayeux in fact died at York or at Ripon.

<sup>49</sup> A story in the *Chronica Pontificum* (in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. by Raine, II, 350–53) illuminates the relationship between York and the nearby archiepiscopal residences. It tells how early in the Conqueror's reign Ealdred 'was staying at York for one of the major feast days and provisions were being brought to him from his estates near the city' (*Morabatur in una solemnitate Eboraci, et deferebantur ei victualia ex possessionibus vicinis civitati*). Not far from York the horses and carts bringing the provisions were seized by the sheriff, whereupon Ealdred protested vigorously both to the sheriff and to the King in person, finally receiving recompense. The ability to live off his estates would have been one incentive for the Archbishop to stay outside York.

Minster probably once stood and hear the words of the *Sermo Lupi* ring out again (as members of the conference memorably did in 2002).

What may have been Wulfstan's own feelings towards this place? Not all archbishops have looked upon it with fondness. I have suggested above that it could have been Wulfstan himself who decided to deposit the York Gospels at Sherburn rather than at York. If so, why? Because the volume was much less prized then than it is now? Because the Minster was already so well provided with liturgical fittings and manuscripts that Wulfstan preferred to bequeath it elsewhere? Or conversely, because the Minster was so run-down, physically and institutionally, that he feared for its preservation there? What are we to make of the fact that Wulfstan was buried at Ely?<sup>50</sup> Not that burial at the archiepiscopal see was *de rigueur* at the time — indeed rather the reverse. Of his immediate predecessors and successors, Osgytel (died 971) was buried at Bedford, Oswald (died 992) and Ealdwulf (died 1002) preferred Worcester, while Ælfric (died 1051) and Cynesige (died 1060) both chose Peterborough. If Wulfstan died at York, the choice of Ely must have been deliberate. The later Ely chronicler felt impelled to ascribe the choice to a miracle which had occurred earlier in his life. Modern scholars suggest a family connection with the eastern Danelaw.<sup>51</sup> At the end of an essay in which so much is of necessity speculation, perhaps one final conjecture may be permitted. Moralizing prelates are not always appreciated by their subordinates. Could it be that Wulfstan's bequest of his Gospels to Sherburn and his body to Ely reflect that most enduring and least endearing of York traditions, a row between the archbishop and the Minster clergy?

---

<sup>50</sup> See John Crook, this volume.

<sup>51</sup> It is generally supposed that Wulfstan died at York, though the earliest source is John of Worcester (*Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by Darlington and McGurk, II (1995), 508–09); see Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', pp. 214–15 and Cooper, *Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops*, pp. 3–4.

# The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript\*

GARETH MANN

Comere me comiter iussit ita praesulis archi  
Wulfstani pietas, data sit cui arce corona.

Praesule Wulfstano hoc opus est consente paratum  
Pollice quod docto impressit subtilis aliptes.<sup>1</sup>

That the manuscript known today as London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv was one of Wulfstan's books has never been in doubt, even before Neil Ker identified the 'Wulfstan hand' in ten manuscripts associated with the Archbishop.<sup>2</sup> This *versus* on fol. 148<sup>v</sup>, written by Wulfstan, mentions his name six times in as many couplets, leaving little room for questions of attribution. Even the

---

\* I am very grateful to my supervisors, Patrick Wormald and John Nightingale, for their comments on earlier incarnations of this work. My thanks also go to John Eidinow for subjecting Wulfstan's Latin to a classicist's scrutiny; to Mary Garrison for help on Alcuinian matters; and to Matt Townend for being a superb conference convenor and editor.

<sup>1</sup> 'The holiness of the arch-prelate ordered me to be arrayed thus radiantly, to whom may a crown be given in heaven. At the arch-prelate Wulfstan's decree was this work prepared, which the subtle anointer impressed with his learned thumb' (translation by David Howlett, in Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in his *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51 (p. 228)). See also *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595*, ed. by James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 25 (Copenhagen, 1993), pp. 45–47, for Tunberg's account of the poem's importance.

<sup>2</sup> Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31 (pp. 326–27 for Vespasian A.xiv).

contents page inserted by Richard James (Sir Robert Cotton's librarian from 1625) — an inadequate piece of work in many ways, as we shall see — has no hesitation in recording as its tenth item 'Versus de Wulfstano archiepiscopo' (fol. 1\*<sup>r</sup>).

Yet the obviousness of Vespasian A.xiv's Wulfstanian heritage has done relatively little to encourage an understanding of the manuscript as one of the Archbishop's books. Dorothy Whitelock argued strongly that the 'northern interest' of much of the manuscript's contents points to a York provenance, while Dorothy Bethurum and J. E. Cross have contributed importantly to the source-implications of individual texts within Vespasian A.xiv.<sup>3</sup> Colin Chase edited most of the manuscript's Alcuin letters,<sup>4</sup> while other letters, and other texts that Stubbs memorably called 'theological scraps', were collected a century earlier, into *Memorials of Saint Dunstan* or *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*.<sup>5</sup>

Clearly, the problem is not lack of interest in the manuscript — rather the reverse. Vespasian A.xiv contains such a large array of essential texts for the pre-conquest English church that scholars and editors have for the most part been content to work from extracts, within parameters decided by the subject matter and chronology of particular items. This is wholly understandable. Vespasian A.xiv transmits the only version of Oda's *Constitutiones* to us; uniquely too, the canons from Wulfred's Council of Chelsea (816). These, among others, are texts of such importance that Wulfstan's guiding — and even scribal — hand is overlooked in the manuscript's composition. As editor and compiler, Wulfstan has been given less scrutiny.

The present study seeks to address the Archbishop's reasons for including the texts transmitted and to view these texts as source material for Wulfstan's own works. It takes as axiomatic that the eclectic choice of material gives vital insights into Wulfstan's concerns as pastor and legislator. Most importantly, it will be suggested that Vespasian A.xiv evolved into its present form, changing from an Alcuin-based letter-book to a collection of sources designed to uphold the rights of an eleventh-century archbishop. Stubbs's 'theological scraps' should be seen as a mirror of the stresses within the pre-Gregorian church, telescoped onto one archdiocese, and onto one man.

---

<sup>3</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', in *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr*, ed. by Jess B. Bessinger, Jr, and Robert P. Creed (New York, 1965), pp. 214–31; Dorothy Bethurum, 'A Letter of Protest from the English Bishops to the Pope', in *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (London, 1949), pp. 97–104; J. E. Cross, 'Atto of Vercelli, *De pressuris ecclesiasticis*', Archbishop Wulfstan and Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book", *Traditio*, 48 (1993), 237–46.

<sup>4</sup> *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, ed. by Colin Chase, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, 5 (Toronto, 1975).

<sup>5</sup> *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, vol. III (Oxford, 1878); *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 63 (London, 1874), p. liv: 'The MS Vespasian A.14 is a very miscellaneous volume, great part of it consisting of theological scraps, put together under the patronage of Wulfstan, archbishop of York, early in the eleventh century.'



Throughout this study, *Vespasian A.xiv* will be treated as a coherent book, as Wulfstan himself evidently regarded it. For this reason, the four main sections to be discussed below are based on the quire-divisions of the manuscript — a rather dry approach, perhaps, but necessary to my argument of the book's 'development'. Firstly though, a full overview of *Vespasian A.xiv*'s contents is crucial.<sup>6</sup>

ITEM	FOLIATION	DESCRIPTION	EDITION <sup>7</sup>
<b>QUIRES 1–5</b>			
1	Fols 114 <sup>r</sup> –118 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to King Æthelred, the 'patrician Osbald', and <i>dux</i> Osbert	Dümmler no. 18 Chase pp. 39–44
2	Fols 118 <sup>v</sup> –123 <sup>r</sup>	Alcuin to the brothers of Wearmouth and Jarrow	Dümmler no. 19 Chase pp. 44–50
3	Fols 123 <sup>r</sup> –125 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Bishop Higbald and the church of Lindisfarne	Dümmler no. 20 Chase pp. 50–52
4	Fols 125 <sup>v</sup> –129 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Æthelred and all his nobles	Dümmler no. 16 Chase pp. 53–56
5	Fols 129 <sup>v</sup> –130 <sup>r</sup>	Alcuin to Æthelred	Dümmler no. 30 Chase p. 57
6	Fols 130 <sup>r</sup> –133 <sup>r</sup>	Alcuin to the brothers of the church at York	Dümmler no. 43 Chase pp. 58–61
7	Fols 133 <sup>r</sup> –136 <sup>r</sup>	Alchfrid the Anchorite to Higelac	Chase pp. 61–64 Levison pp. 297–300
8	Fols 136 <sup>r</sup> –142 <sup>r</sup>	Alcuin to Archbishop Eanbald II of York	Dümmler no. 114 Chase pp. 64–70
9	Fol. 142 <sup>r–v</sup>	Alcuin to 'Simeon' (Eanbald)	Dümmler no. 116 Chase p. 70

<sup>6</sup> The eleventh-century portion of *Vespasian A.xiv* runs from fol. 114<sup>r</sup> to fol. 179<sup>v</sup>. Preceding it is a high medieval collection of Welsh saints' *vitae* together with other material. That Sir Robert Cotton obtained these sections as separate manuscripts is clear by the presence of his signature on the first folio of both. For Cotton's 'rearrangement' of manuscripts, and the sometimes infelicitous results, see C. G. Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton* (London, 1993), pp. 41–49.

<sup>7</sup> Abbreviations: Dümmler = 'Alcuini Epistolae', in *Epistolae IV, Epistolae Karolini Aevi II*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 1–493; Chase = *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, ed. by Chase; Bethurum = *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957); Levison = Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946); *Memorials* = Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*; H&S III = *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, vol. III; *EHD* = *English Historical Documents*, vol. I, c. 500–1042, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979); Bede, *HE* = Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969); Cross, 'Atto of Vercelli' = J. E. Cross, 'Atto of Vercelli', *Traditio*, 48 (1993); C&S I = *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. I, AD 871–1204, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981).

ITEM	FOLIATION	DESCRIPTION	EDITION <sup>7</sup>
10	Fols 142 <sup>v</sup> –148 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Archbishop Æthelhard of Canterbury	Dümmmler no. 17 Chase pp. 71–76
11	Fol. 148 <sup>v</sup>	Wulfstan <i>versus</i>	Bethurum pp. 377–78
12	Fols 149 <sup>f</sup> –153 <sup>v</sup>	Canons of the Synod of Chelsea, 816	H&S III, 579–84
<b>QUIRE 6</b>			
13	Fols 154 <sup>f</sup> –155 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Æthelhard, including <i>versus</i>	Dümmmler no. 311
14	Fols 155 <sup>v</sup> –157 <sup>f</sup>	Alcuin to Æthelhard	Dümmmler no. 128
15	Fols 157 <sup>f</sup> –158 <sup>f</sup>	‘B’ to Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury (988x990)	<i>Memorials</i> , pp. 385–88
16	Fol. 158 <sup>r-v</sup>	Landferth to the brethren of the Old Minster, Winchester	<i>Memorials</i> , pp. 369–70
17	Fols 158 <sup>v</sup> –159 <sup>f</sup>	Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Vaast, to Archbishop Æthelgar (988x990)	<i>Memorials</i> , pp. 383–84
18	Fol. 159 <sup>r-v</sup>	Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin, to Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury (990) [no rubric]	<i>Memorials</i> , pp. 388–89
19	Fol. 160 <sup>f</sup>	Odbert to Æthelgar (988x990) [no rubric]	<i>Memorials</i> , pp. 384–85
20	Fols 160 <sup>v</sup> –162 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Calvinus; on Eanbald II’s troubles at York, etc. [no rubric]	Dümmmler no. 209
21	Fols 162 <sup>v</sup> –163 <sup>f</sup>	Alcuin to brothers of ‘Candida casa’ [no rubric]	Dümmmler no. 273
22	Fol. 163 <sup>r</sup>	Pope Paul I to Archbishop Ecgberht of York and King Eadberht [incomplete; no rubric]	H&S III, 394–95 <i>EHD</i> , pp. 830–31
23	Fol. 163 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Abbot Wulfhard [no rubric]	Dümmmler no. 70
<b>QUIRE 7</b>			
24	Fols 164 <sup>f</sup> –165 <sup>f</sup>	Alcuin to Dodo	Dümmmler no. 65 Chase pp. 17–20
25	Fol. 165 <sup>r-v</sup>	Bishop Arn of Salzburg to Cuculus	Dümmmler no. 66 Chase pp. 20–21
26	Fols 165 <sup>v</sup> –166 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Abbot Ethelbald of Wearmouth and Jarrow [no rubric]	Dümmmler no. 67 Chase pp. 22–24
27	Fols 166 <sup>v</sup> –167 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Colcu [no rubric]	Dümmmler no. 7 Chase pp. 24–26
28	Fols 167 <sup>v</sup> –168 <sup>f</sup>	Alcuin to Joseph [no rubric]	Dümmmler no. 8 Chase pp. 27–29
29	Fol. 168 <sup>r-v</sup>	Alcuin to Bishop Arn [runs on from previous letter; no rubric]	Dümmmler no. 10 Chase pp. 29–30
30	Fols 168 <sup>v</sup> –169 <sup>f</sup>	Alcuin — ‘get well’	Dümmmler no. 45 Chase pp. 30–31

ITEM	FOLIATION	DESCRIPTION	EDITION <sup>7</sup>
31	Fol. 169 <sup>f</sup>	Alcuin — 'arrived safely'	Dümmmler no. 46 Chase p. 31
32	Fol. 169 <sup>r-v</sup>	Alcuin — 'thanks and congratulations'	Dümmmler no. 256 Chase p. 32
33	Fol. 169 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin — 'introduction to a priest'	Dümmmler no. 274 Chase pp. 32–33
34	Fols 169 <sup>v</sup> –170 <sup>r</sup>	Alcuin — 'excuses and explanations'	Dümmmler no. 235 Chase p. 33
35	Fol. 170 <sup>f</sup>	Alcuin — 'acknowledgement of an archbishop's letter'	Dümmmler no. 292 Chase p. 34
36	Fol. 170 <sup>r-v</sup>	Alcuin — 'good wishes / advice to a priest'	Dümmmler no. 293 Chase pp. 34–35
37	Fol. 171 <sup>r</sup>	Alcuin — 'thank you to a lady'	Dümmmler no. 103 Chase p. 36
38	Fol. 171 <sup>r-v</sup>	Abbot Wido of Blandinium to Dunstan	<i>Memorials</i> , pp. 380–81
39	Fol. 171 <sup>v</sup>	Alcuin to Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia	Dümmmler no. 96
<b>QUIRE 8</b>			
40	Fols 172 <sup>f</sup> –173 <sup>r</sup>	Canons of the Council of Hertford, 672	H&S III, 118–21 [Bede, <i>HE</i> , IV.5]
41	Fol. 173 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De rapinis aeclesiasticarum rerum</i>	Cross, 'Atto of Vercelli', pp. 243–44
42	Fols 174 <sup>f</sup> –175 <sup>r</sup>	Pope Leo III to Coenwulf, king of Mercia	H&S III, 523–25 <i>EHD</i> , pp. 861–62
43	Fols 175 <sup>f</sup> –177 <sup>v</sup>	Oda's <i>Constitutiones</i>	<i>C&amp;S</i> I, 69–74
44	Fol. 177 <sup>v</sup>	<i>De activa vita et contemplativa</i>	Edited in the appendix to this essay
45	Fols 178 <sup>f</sup> –179 <sup>r</sup>	Wulfstan's 'letter of protest' to the papacy	<i>C&amp;S</i> I, 441–47
46	Fol. 179 <sup>r-v</sup>	Letter to Wulfstan while Bishop of London	Bethurum pp. 376–77

### Manuscript Structure

The eleventh-century portion of Vespasian A.xiv contains eight contiguous gatherings, from fol. 114 to fol. 179. The first five are quires of eights, written in two clear and spacious hands (which do not appear again in the book), with evidently later additions.<sup>8</sup> Quire 6 is a gathering of ten leaves, apparently written in a single hand, smaller

<sup>8</sup> The first 'Alcuin' scribe writes from fol. 114<sup>f</sup> to fol. 134<sup>v</sup>, line 12; the second scribe's stint picks up here and continues to fol. 148<sup>v</sup>, line 2. Wulfstan himself adds the *versus* on fol. 148<sup>v</sup>, then two scribes fill the rest of quire 5 with the canons of the Council of Chelsea.

and more idiosyncratic than that of quires 1–5. Quire 7 (consisting of eight folios) is written by another distinctive hand, not seen in previous quires, with what I argue to be two additions, one written by Wulfstan. Finally quire 8 (again in eight folios) is the most complex part of the book in both palaeographical and textual senses, with at least two hands which sometimes swap between folios. It is in quire 8 that Wulfstan's handwriting is seen forming the headings to texts, as well as adding to them.

Chase, who ignored the presence of quire 8 completely, argues that *Vespasian A.xiv* is composed of separately produced 'booklets' — and the manuscript evidence seems to support this.<sup>9</sup> What he does not emphasize is that the 'free-standing' quires are produced consciously within the context of the 'core' quires 1–5 and 7, and that it is possible to venture an argument for how the manuscript began and what it turned into. Aside from the differences of scribe, the clearest evidence for *Vespasian A.xiv*'s evolution is the variation in the provision of coloured incipits and initials across the quires. While quires 1–5 and 7 are coloured throughout, the colouring in quire 6 (which in any case differs from 1–5 and 7 because no colouring is used within texts) ceases at fol. 158<sup>r</sup>. Thereafter, gaps are left until the end of the quire where coloured initials should be. Thus the incipit for Alcuin's letter to Abbot Wulfhard on fol. 163<sup>v</sup> reads ' \_io patri uulfhardo [. . .]', lacking the initial 'P'. Apparently, then, quire 6 was produced independently of quires 1–5 and 7, even though it was intended to 'fit' — with the thirty-one ruled lines and one column of text that is the norm throughout the manuscript.

Quire 8 is more heterogeneous, in that it was clearly never intended to have coloured incipits or initials. There are no 'gaps', as in quire 6: initials are given in a larger form, but in the same ink as the texts they introduce. Quire 8, then, was not produced in tandem with the 'core', nor with quire 6. But stylistically, quire 8 was made to mesh with what goes before it; and there are also strong textual reasons, as will be argued, to imagine this section partially being born out of Wulfstan's reading of the rest of the manuscript.

However, the quire-distinctions are not always clear-cut. The two texts at the end of quire 5 — the *versus* to Wulfstan and the Chelsea canons — were evidently not part of the original 'core'. To reiterate: the poem is written in Wulfstan's hand, while 'Chelsea' is transmitted by two scribes, one of which is the same hand as that of *De rapinis* in quire 8. These links with what should be viewed as the latest part of *Vespasian A.xiv* are strengthened by the observation that the Chelsea *acta* display incipits

---

These last two scribes have been named 'C' and 'G' in Morrish Tunberg's discussion of the Worcester scriptorium: *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. by Cross and Morrish Tunberg, pp. 34–37 and 40–41. C and G contribute lengthy passages to Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S 1595 (4°); C also has a stint in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii. In *Vespasian A.xiv*, C writes most of the eleven Chelsea *acta*, finishing at fol. 153<sup>r</sup>, line 6; G completes the tenth canon and finishes the text. C also writes most of *De rapinis aeclesiasticarum rerum* in quire 8 (which Wulfstan himself begins and augments).

<sup>9</sup> Chase, p. 9: 'these seven quires [*recte* eight] form three [*recte* four] separate booklets, the first (quires 1 to 5) and the last [*recte* penultimate] forming miniature "artes dictaminis", independent of one another and of the intervening quire.'

in the same ink as the text — quire 8's trademark. Thus the *versus* and the Chelsea council's enactments should be associated with the last additions to the manuscript.

To summarize: *Vespasian A.xiv* began as two distinct Alcuinian sections — quires 1–5, which assemble Alcuin's thoughts on Viking invasion among other matters, and quire 7, which Chase suggests was intended for use in a school, because of its collection of epistolary formulae.<sup>10</sup> Quire 6, containing more Alcuin letters, together with four of the tenth century and one from an eighth-century pope, may then have been added. Finally, quire 8 was produced to append the volume, and additions were written into the blank space at the end of quire 5. Three distinct stages in *Vespasian A.xiv*'s development may be suggested: Wulfstan's commissioning of specific collections of Alcuin's letters; possibly followed by his addition of more Alcuinian material together with other sources; finally his branching out into the English canonical tradition and much else of the greatest interest besides. But while it is possible to give these broad outlines of the manuscript's development, there is no way of assigning it an exact chronological timetable. An insight into Wulfstan's evolving ideas and inspirations should be satisfaction enough.

### Quires 1–5: Alcuin – Inspiration and Exhortation for Desperate Times

The fact that Alcuin was York's most famous son was not the only factor that would have attracted Wulfstan to his works. Both men acted as counsellors to kings called Æthelred, and both sought to shore up the resolve of their homeland while it was under intense Viking pressure. Both viewed the sinful state of their country as the ultimate explanation for the punishments God saw fit to deliver. For Alcuin, the Viking raid on Lindisfarne in 793 represented the sum of evil that could be expected to befall a godless people. Wulfstan would have had every reason to believe history was repeating itself; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells of the ravaging of the south-west of England by the Danes in 1001, and in 1002 — the year Wulfstan was elevated from London to Worcester and York — a huge tribute of 24,000 pounds of silver was paid, while Æthelred II ordered the killing of all Danish men in England on St. Brice's Day, 13 November. Compounding this evil state of affairs, a great famine struck in 1005; the following year, the Danes returned to flatten Wessex. Chase's contention that 'Archbishop Wulfstan plainly found his collection of Alcuin letters congenial reading and a rich source of inspiration' rather understates the regard Wulfstan plainly had for Alcuin.<sup>11</sup> As Æthelred II's leading counsellor, and as Archbishop of a province settled by the sea-borne enemy that had laid waste to Lindisfarne, Wulfstan found in Alcuin a unique inspiration *quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos*.

Small wonder, then, that the ten letters that comprise the 'core' quires 1–5 are mostly exhortational pieces. Half refer at length to the Lindisfarne raid. Three are

---

<sup>10</sup> Chase, p. 3

<sup>11</sup> Chase, p. 8

addressed directly to Æthelred I, two give Eanbald II, archbishop of York, advice on his office, and the last letter of the series counsels a new Archbishop of Canterbury, Æthelhard. Wulfstan did not choose this selection for ‘congenial reading’ any more than Alcuin first composed the letters for leisured edification. They were responses to a dire moment and solutions for inexperience; for Wulfstan, two centuries later, a textbook on how to deal with a crisis. In short, the Vespasian transmission tells us almost as much about Wulfstan’s attitude — through what he found most important to collate from Alcuin’s wisdom — as that of *Albinus* himself.<sup>12</sup>

The opening letter, a decidedly frank admonition to Æthelred I, Osbald, and Osbert, concentrates on the rending of the social fabric in times of trouble.<sup>13</sup> The need to know one’s place in the world is an issue we know exercised Wulfstan — witness *Institutes of Polity* and the status tracts. Alcuin’s definitions of a ‘good king’ and of episcopal duty resonate with the same concerns:

Legimus quoque quod regis bonitas totius est gentis prosperitas, uictoria exercituum, aeris temperies, terre habundantia, filiorum benedictio, sanitas plebis. Magnum est totam regere gentem, a regendo uero rex dicitur, et qui bene regit subiectum sibi populum, bonum [MS *bonam*] habet a Deo retributionem, regnum scilicet celeste. Ualde feliciter regnat in terra qui de terreno regno merebitur celeste.<sup>14</sup>

Episcoporum est monasteria corrigere, seruorum Dei uitam disponere, populo Dei uerbum predicare. Laicorum est oboedientia predicationi. Sacerdotum est diligenter plebem erudire subiectam.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Wulfstan’s very considered selection of what he found most important from Alcuin’s work is a crucial point. He seems to have picked the Vespasian collection from a source book with the same structure as London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xv, as the order of Alcuin’s letters (in quires 1–5 and 7) follows that of Tiberius exactly. For a tabulation of the links, see Caroline Brett, ‘A Breton Pilgrim in England in the Reign of King Æthelstan’, in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Gillian Jondorf and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 43–70 (pp. 68–69). That Wulfstan evidently chose a small clutch of letters from a much larger letter-book only reinforces the perception of the Archbishop’s practical discrimination. Tiberius A.xv — euphemistically described as ‘unlucky’ by Stubbs (*Memorials*, p. liii) — was badly damaged in the 1731 fire; fortunately, Thomas Gale made a transcript of the manuscript sometime before 1700 (now Cambridge, Trinity College O.10.16).

<sup>13</sup> Wulfstan paid special attention to this letter, making emendations that tweak and clarify Alcuin’s meaning. See Ker, ‘Handwriting’, p. 326.

<sup>14</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fols 116<sup>v</sup>–117<sup>r</sup>. ‘We read that a good king means a prosperous nation, victorious in war, temperate in climate, rich in its soil, blessed with sons and a healthy people. It is a great thing to rule a whole nation. “Rex”, king, comes from “regere”, to rule, and he who rules his people well is well rewarded by God, with the kingdom of heaven. That earthly rule is truly successful which earns the heavenly rule.’ Wherever possible, translations of Alcuin’s letters are based on those by Stephen Allott, *Alcuin of York: His Life and Letters* (York, 1974), with my additions.

<sup>15</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 118<sup>v</sup>: ‘It is the duty of bishops to correct monasteries, to direct the lives of the servants of God, to preach the word of God to the people. The duty of the laity is to

By implication and outright statement ('Fear the blow which fell on the church of St Cuthbert'), only with such social order will God ever smile again on the kingdom.

The terrible events at Lindisfarne dominate the next letter, to the brothers of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Alcuin adopts Old Testament prophecy:

Uos maritima habitatis unde pestis primo ingruit. In nobis impletum est quod olim per prophetam predictum est, 'Ab aquilone inardescunt mala', et 'a Domino formidolosa laudatio ueniet'.<sup>16</sup>

Yet behind the recapitulation of divinely ordained destruction, there is a sense of hope, a necessity to learn from punishment — as we see in the letter to Bishop Higbald of Lindisfarne:

Tamen de ista miseria nolite mente consternari. Castigat Deus omnem filium quem recepit, et ideo forte uos plus castigauit quia plus dilexit. Hierusalem, ciuitas Deo dilecta, cum templo Dei Chaldea flamma periit.<sup>17</sup>

Similar optimism in adversity pervades the next letter, 'to Æthelred and all his nobles'. Amongst the asides on the folly of luxury, especially in dress, and criticism of the 'pagan' types of hairstyle and beard currently in vogue at the Northumbrian court, Old Testament exhortation is again employed:

Mementote quod Ezechias, rex iuste et pius, una prece impetrauit a Deo ut hostium centum LXXXV milia una nocte perimerentur ab angelo. Similiter idem ipse mortem imminentem sibi lacrimis profusis auertit et XV annos uite sue hac prece superaddi promeruit a Deo.<sup>18</sup>

---

obey their preaching. It is the duty of priests diligently to instruct those in their charge.' Wulfstan himself adds the reference to priests to clarify the distinction between lay and clerical duties.

<sup>16</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 121<sup>r</sup>: 'You live near the sea from which this danger first came. In us is fulfilled what once the prophet foretold: "From the north evil breaks forth", and "a terrible glory will come from the Lord."' The prophecy appears to be an amalgam of Jeremiah 1. 14 and Job 37. 22.

<sup>17</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 124<sup>r-v</sup>: 'Do not be dismayed by this disaster. God chastises every son whom he accepts, so perhaps he has chastised you more because he loves you more. Jerusalem, a city loved by God, was destroyed, with the Temple of God, in Babylonian flames.' The letter continues at this point to discuss Rome, 'devastated by the heathen' (*circumdata paganorum uastatione disrupta est*), despite its holy apostles and countless martyrs, but which has since flourished. The depredations of the 'Goths and Huns' (*Gothorum uel Hunorum*) are also mentioned, whose efforts to put Europe to fire and sword had no long-term effects in the broad sweep of Christian history.

<sup>18</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 128<sup>v</sup>: 'Remember that the good and just King Hezekiah obtained from God by a single prayer the destruction of a hundred and eighty-five thousand of the enemy by an angel in a single night. Similarly he averted imminent death by bitter tears and won fifteen years more of life from God by such a prayer.' The references are to Isaiah 37. 36 and 38. 5.

But only a good and just king could ever hope for Hezekiah-like salvation, as the next letter makes clear. Reprimanding Æthelred for his vice-filled life, Alcuin pulls no punches in demanding that ‘nobilitas regiæ dignitatis magna morum nobilitate honorificetur’.<sup>19</sup>

Alcuin’s explicit linking of the moral failings of leaders with the downfall of their people can be supposed to have struck a chord with Wulfstan. Such a connection not only provided an explanation for current woes, but also gave the hope of better times in tandem with leaders’ moral regeneration. And the role of counsellors in effecting this change was paramount. In his letter to the brothers of the church of York, Alcuin, ‘a son of the same holy mother’, draws attention to the beneficial effects of his links to Charlemagne: ‘Dei enim gratia faciente plurimis profuit amicitia, quam Deus mihi donauit cum illo.’<sup>20</sup> Such a declaration on the value of having the king’s ear can hardly have been lost on Wulfstan.

The last three letters relate Alcuin’s advice to archbishops. This section is of the highest importance because it seems likely that Wulfstan compiled *Vespasian A.xiv* in the earliest years of his archiepiscopate. Here, then, we are probably seeing a newly elected archbishop taking note of Alcuin’s advice, which the deacon himself had intended to last:

Hęc, rogo, cartula melius scribatur et tecum pergat, tecum maneat, et sepius uicę linguę paternę tecum loquatur, fili mi, fili karissime, et fili in Christo desiderantissime.<sup>21</sup>

In this first letter of the ‘archbishops’ group, Alcuin greets the election to York of Eanbald II — his former pupil, nicknamed ‘Simeon’ in most correspondence — in amicable terms. Exhortations to exemplary personal conduct mix with the need for a balance between correction and affection in an archbishop’s rule:

Habeas in manibus tuis mel et absinthium. Quicquid cui placeat ædat ex illis. Cui de pia predicatione uesci libeat, accipiat mel. Qui dura inuentione indigeat, bibat ex absinthio, ita tamen ut liceat ei mel uenire sperare, si rosea confusio penitentiae præcedat.<sup>22</sup>

The next epistle, again to Eanbald, details his pastoral role, recalling the Greek meaning of *episkopos* (‘overseer’). Importantly, too, Alcuin recommends continual

<sup>19</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 129<sup>v</sup>: ‘nobility of royalty may be distinguished by nobility of conduct’.

<sup>20</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 132<sup>r</sup>: ‘Many have been helped through God’s grace by the friendship (*amicitia*) God has given me with him.’

<sup>21</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fols 141<sup>v</sup>–142<sup>r</sup>: ‘I would like you to have this letter written out more neatly; take it with you, keep it by you; let it speak to you often for your father, my son, my dearest son, my best beloved son in Christ.’

<sup>22</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fols 137<sup>v</sup>–138<sup>r</sup>: ‘Offer honey and wormwood, and let each eat what he wishes: honey for him who accepts the nourishment of the Gospel, and wormwood for him who needs stern criticism, though he may hope for the honey of forgiveness if he show the first blush of penitence.’



reference to Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*: 'Et quocumque uadas, litteras sancti Gregorii pastoralis tecum habeas [*pergat* crossed out MS]. Sepius illum legas et relegas.'<sup>23</sup>

The letter to Æthelhard of Canterbury is an altogether more robust piece. The paternal affection lavished on 'Simeon' is hard to find here. Writing before the Kentish uprising of 796 which drove Æthelhard from his see, Alcuin (perhaps presaging trouble) demands resolve in the face of the secular power: 'Quid times hominem propter gladium qui clauem regni accepisti a Christo?'<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the position of the Bishop as law-giver is emphasized in uncompromising terms: 'Memor esto quod sacerdos angelus domini Dei est excelsi, et lex sancta ex ore eius requirenda est, iuxta quod in Malachia propheta legimus.'<sup>25</sup> One only has to recall Wulfstan's later career as the major legislator under both Æthelred II and Cnut to grasp the practical application of this sentiment.

Indeed, there are signs that Wulfstan took much of this last letter to heart. A well-known passage is underlined, possibly by the Archbishop himself:<sup>26</sup>

Patres itaque nostri, Deo dispensante, licet pagani hanc patriam bellica uirtute primum possiderant. Quam grande igitur obprobrium est ut nos Christiani perdamus quod illi pagani adquisierunt. Hoc dico propter flagellum quod nuper accidit partibus insule nostrae que prope trecentis XL annis a parentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildi, Britonum sapientissimi, quod idem ipsi Britones propter rapinas et auaritiam principum, propter inquietatem et iniustitiam iudicium, propter desidiam et pigritiam predicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi patriam perdiderunt. Caueamus hæc eadem nostris temporibus uitia inolescere quatenus benedictio

---

<sup>23</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 142<sup>v</sup>: 'Wherever you go, Saint Gregory's pastoral treatise should go with you. Read and re-read it again and again.' Interestingly, though perhaps unsurprisingly, the Worcester manuscript of Alfred's translation of the *Regula pastoralis* (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20) was annotated by Wulfstan. The Archbishop paid special attention to Alfred's preface: see *The Pastoral Care: King Alfred's Translation of Gregory's Regula Pastoralis*, ed. by N. R. Ker, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 6 (Copenhagen, 1956), pp. 24–25.

<sup>24</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 143<sup>v</sup>: 'Why fear men for their swords when you have received the key of the kingdom from Christ?'

<sup>25</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 145<sup>r</sup>: 'Remember that the priest is the envoy of the Lord God, and the holy law must be sought from his lips, as we read in the prophet Malachi.' The reference to priests, not bishops, maintains the theme of Malachi 2. 7, but the prophet's message was clearly intended by Alcuin to apply to bishops, in keeping with the general episcopal drift of this part of the letter.

<sup>26</sup> The certain attribution of underlining is of course impossible. But following the same logic that led Ker to identify Wulfstan's script, we should ask who *else* would have highlighted so consistently passages that we know to have been central to the Archbishop's concerns. The underlinings in question are in a uniform brown-orange ink; they also appear significantly in the text of Oda's *Constitutiones* and elsewhere, but *never* in any Wulfstanian texts.

diuina nobis patriam conseruet in prosperitate bona quam nobis in sua misericordia perdonare dignata est.<sup>27</sup>

Translated into Old English, this passage is pasted wholesale into the longest recension of Wulfstan's famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*.<sup>28</sup> The Latin passage itself occurs in three so-called 'commonplace book' manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> Few of Wulfstan's sources were adopted so readily or repeatedly. The Archbishop's interest in the historical woes of his land is clear from his use of Alcuin, and it is Alcuin's use of Gildas that takes a historical understanding of the Britons' plight to a new level. Wulfstan evidently found it fascinating (and comforting?) that two historical authorities, Alcuin and Gildas, had themselves stood against the moral backsliding that preoccupied him as Archbishop of York.

### Quire 7: Alcuin as Epistolary Model, with Wulfstan's Afterthoughts on Church Wealth

Chase suggests that quire 7, probably written simultaneously with quires 1–5, was intended for use in a school, 'as an aid to training students in the proper way to compose a Latin letter'. Wholly different to the morally didactic Alcuinian material of quires 1–5, the letters in quire 7 'have been reshaped and arranged in such a way as to make a very useful collection of epistolary formulae'.<sup>30</sup> The first two letters in the collection, Alcuin to Dodo and Bishop Arn's advice to Cuculus, are both dressings-down to erring students — and only strengthen the sense that this part of the letter-book had a direct, school room purpose.

Persuasive though Chase's arguments are, it is also clear that some of the letters in quire 7 are more than literary templates. Two letters are squeezed in as afterthoughts

---

<sup>27</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 146<sup>r</sup>: 'Our fathers, pagans though they were, first took this land, under providence, by their valour. What a disgrace it is then that we Christians should lose what they won as pagans. I say this because of the blow that has recently fallen on some parts of our island, which our ancestors have lived in for nearly 350 years. We read in the book of Gildas, most learned of the Britons, that the Britons themselves lost their fatherland because of the greedy pillaging of their leaders, the injustice of their judges, the slackness in preaching of their bishops and the luxury and wicked ways of the people. We must be on our guard that these same vices do not become established in our time, that the divine blessing may keep our country in the prosperity which it has in mercy given us.'

<sup>28</sup> *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London, 1963), pp. 65–66, lines 184–94.

<sup>29</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 (p. 173) and 265 (p. 7); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (p. 34). The entire letter appears in the Barlow manuscript.

<sup>30</sup> Chase, pp. 2–3. For a wide-ranging account of such 'models', see Carol Lanham, 'Freshman Composition in the Early Middle Ages: Epistolography and Rhetoric before the *Ars dictaminis*', *Viator*, 23 (1992), 115–34.

to the rest of the quire: one from Wido, abbot of Blandinium (981–86) to Dunstan, and another from Alcuin to Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia (787–802). This last letter to Paulinus is in Wulfstan's hand — and indeed is one of the largest sustained pieces of the Archbishop's autograph used by Ker in his identification.<sup>31</sup> This evidence is important, because from it we gather that Wulfstan himself directed the additions to the quire. Unlike most other manuscripts with originally empty, but later filled leaves, we can be sure that the same mind that directed the first collection was also behind its later augmentation — and it is only with this realization that it is possible to see Wulfstan being sufficiently stimulated by what was already in the collection to add to it apposite extracts. In short, we see his excerpting source-collation at work.

Let us first examine the contents of the quire before the additions. Alcuin's admonition to Dodo comes first, which is in many ways *Albinus* at his hortatory best: 'Quid in haec ardes, quae te in perpetuum ardere suadent?'<sup>32</sup> The lasting tenor of Alcuin's demands, noted by Chase in his 'school-book' argument, is declared by Alcuin himself: 'Et quotiescumque eam perleges, me loquentem in corde tuo agnosce, et si tibi sit mei cura praecepti, sepius eam perlegere non refuge.'<sup>33</sup> The second letter, from Bishop Arn, is a similarly strong list of advice to a certain Cuculus, ending with a neat *versus*, mirroring that of Alcuin to Dodo. Third is Alcuin to Abbot Ethelbald of Wearmouth and Jarrow: a note of congratulation on the Abbot's appointment, and Alcuin's request for his name to be written into the monastery's 'roll of blessing' as it was previously. The asides on pastoral duty in this letter are pronounced, and in at least one instance there is a strong echo of a passage in *Institutes of Polity* (hereafter *IP*).<sup>34</sup> In general tone, this epistle mirrors the sixth letter in quire 7, from Alcuin to Arn of Salzburg, who some eight years after its composition would be elevated to archbishop. Right dealings with his flock are enjoined above all:

Idcirco non segniter labora. Predica opportune, importune, idem uolenti et nolenti. Argue, obsecra, increpa, ut merearis a domino audire Deo tuo, 'Eugo, serue bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam. Intra in gaudium domini Dei tui.'<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Ker, 'Handwriting', p. 327

<sup>32</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 164<sup>r</sup>: 'Why do you burn for what will make you burn forever?'

<sup>33</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 165<sup>r</sup>: 'Every time you read it, recognize me speaking in your heart, and if you heed my instructions, do not shrink from reading it repeatedly.'

<sup>34</sup> *II Polity* 113: 'Ðeh ure hyrde hwylyc an sceap forgyme, we willað, þæt he hit forgylde' ('If any of our shepherds should neglect a single sheep, we desire that he should pay for it'); see *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, *Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten*, 47 (Bern, 1959), pp. 92–95.

<sup>35</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 168<sup>v</sup>: 'So do not be slack in your work; preach in season and out of season, willy-nilly; convince, beg, chide, to earn the reward of hearing your Lord say: "Well done, good and faithful servant; as you have been faithful in little, I shall put you over much; enter into the joy of your Lord."'

Relevant though these comments must have been for an archbishop, another issue raised by the letters in this quire evidently grabbed Wulfstan's attention. The fourth and fifth entries (Vespasian A.xiv items 27 and 28) are letters from Alcuin to Irishmen; to Colcu, a teacher from Clonmacnoise, and to Joseph, Alcuin's pupil. Both texts contain extended passages on what one might broadly call 'church wealth'; that is, discussions of the collection/distribution of money and/or goods for use in a specifically ecclesiastical environment. 'Colcu', besides detailing news of recent historical events that may not yet have reached Ireland, has a complicated list of alms for which Alcuin has clearly acted as a conduit:

Misi caritati tue aliquid de oleo, quod uix modo in Britannia inuenitur, ut dispensares per loca necessaria episcoporum ad utilitatem honoris Dei. Misi quoque L siclos fratribus de elemosina Karli regis — obsecro ut pro eo oretis — et de mea elemosina L siclos, et ad australes fratres Baldhuninga triginta siclos de elemosina regis et triginta de elemosina mea, et uiginti siclos de elemosina patris familie Areide et XX de elemosina mea, et per singulos anachoritas III siclos de de puro argento ut illi omnes orent pro me et pro domno rege Carolo, ut Deus illum conseruet ad tutelam sancte sue æclesie et ad laudem et gloriam sui nominis.<sup>36</sup>

'Joseph', by comparison, is composed just as Æthelred I's second reign begins and is a string of material, logistical instructions from Alcuin to his pupil:

Mittite quoque nobis necessaria ad mare, et Oduinus uolente Deo nobis deferat. V libras argenti uobiscum dimisi ad commutandum uel uendendum. Illarum pretium uel commutationem dirigite et alios V de nostro argento, et triplicia uestimenta caprina et lanea ad puerorum opus laicorum uel clericorum, et linea ad meum opus, et cappas nigras et rubicundas caprinas, si euenierit tibi inuenire, et pigmenta multa de sulfure, bene et coloribus [*coribus* MS] ad picturas.<sup>37</sup>

These references are more than extremely rare insights into the material culture of the late eighth century; they also show Alcuin in a more three-dimensional light, as

---

<sup>36</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 167<sup>r-v</sup>: 'I have sent you some oil, which is now almost unobtainable in Britain, for you to dispense it where the bishops need it for divine worship. I have also sent 50 shillings for the brothers as alms for King Charles — please pray for him — and 50 shillings as alms from myself; also 30 shillings as alms from the king and 30 from myself to the brothers of Baldon to the south, also 20 shillings as alms from Areida, the head of this house, and 20 of my own, and 3 shillings of pure silver for each of the anchorites, that they may all pray for me and for my lord King Charles, that God may preserve him for the protection of his holy church and the praise and glory of his name.'

<sup>37</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 167<sup>v</sup>: 'Also send our supplies to the coast; and let Odwin bring us, as God wills, the five pounds of silver which I sent with you for bartering or selling its equivalent or exchanging. Send another five also of my silver, and three-ply garments of goat-hair and wool for the use of the boys, both lay and clerical, and linen for my own use, and black and red goat-hair hoods if you can find any, and plenty of paints of fine sulphur and dyes for colouring.'

moral exhorter par excellence and as someone necessarily concerned with the financial backing and material augmentation of the church. Wulfstan evidently perceived this too, as we shall see.

Continuing in order through quire 7, we next encounter the series of epistolary formulae discussed above. These eight letters (Vespasian A.xiv, items 30–37) are rendered impersonal templates by the doctoring of their preambles, although occasional remaining specific details imply they were once sent. Where the recipient's name would have appeared, in all but two cases 'illi' appears instead — the Latinate method of writing 'Dear x'.<sup>38</sup> The wide variety of these letters (from a 'get well' note to an excuse letter) means there is no reason to depart from Chase's assessment of their didactic purpose. Their peculiar form, however, had a clear and significant influence on a text in quire 8.

The last of these formulae, at the end of quire 7, is a letter from Alcuin to his 'sweet sister'. Note his purpose for writing:

Acceptis caritatis uestre munusculis, faciens de uestris orationibus sicut petistis, et gratias agens uestre familiaritati qua me amicali dilectione haberi cognoui in memoriam.<sup>39</sup>

In essence, the letter details — just in passing — an important quid pro quo: Alcuin's unspecified prayers are in return for his correspondent's gifts. There is a whiff of simoniacal behaviour here, and Wulfstan caught it too, as the two later additions to the quire reveal. The first of these (Vespasian A.xiv, item 38) is a letter from Wido, abbot of Blandinium, to Dunstan and is (despite its flowery avoidance of the fiduciary point) a begging letter. Wido writes that he has been assured of Dunstan's kindness, or he would not write so soon after a certain Leofsine's embassy. His abbey's crops have failed, and he requests help, instructing the letter's bearers to ask the same of Leofsine if he is still with Dunstan. The same quid pro quo pervades the text; gifts, material support, in exchange for devoted goodwill.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, item 30 — Dilecto patri perpetuam salutem; 31 — Domino uenerando et uere dilecto illi, summo pontifici illi, fidelis seruulus uester aeternae prosperitatis in Christo salutem; 32 — Domino in Christi caritate dilectissimo illi, humilis leuita salutem; 33 — Carissimo in Christo patri illi, presbitero illi, in Domino salutem; 34 — [no salutation]; 35 — Venerando et amabili in caritate Christi patri et fratri illi, archiepiscopo illi, humilis leuita in Domino salutem; 36 — Karissimo filio illi, presbitero illi, salutem; 37 — Dulcissime sorori illi, Alcuinus salutem.

<sup>39</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 171<sup>r</sup>: 'I have received your loving presents, and have realised, in doing as you asked about your prayers and in thanking you for your kindness, how lovingly I am remembered.'

<sup>40</sup> For a fuller discussion of these and other such letters, see Philip Grierson, 'Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 23 (1941), 71–112; also James Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany in the Reign of Ethelred II: Some Comparisons and Connections', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 191–207.

Lastly in quire 7, squeezed into the last inches of parchment by Wulfstan himself (see fig. 9.1), is another letter entirely consonant with this theme of ecclesiastical gift giving. The note is from Alcuin to Patriarch Paulinus of Aquileia, and Alcuin writes that this letter is the third of three sent simultaneously to Paulinus: ‘one for my anxiety, a second for my present, and a third for my daughter Liutgard’. Charlemagne’s queen from 794–800, and ‘a religious woman dedicated to God’, Liutgard donates generously — and explicitly on Alcuin’s advice:

Nam illa sanctitati tuę duas direxit armillas auri obrizi, pensantes XXIII denarios minus de noua moneta regis quam libram pensam [*plenam* MS]; ut oretis [corr. to *orares* MS] pro ea cum sacerdotibus tuis, quatenus diuina clementia dies suos disposuisset in salutem animę suę et sanctę suę exaltationem ecclesię. Ego de tua indubius fide suasi, ut faceret. Tu vero, pater sancte, mei et illius memor ubique in Christi caritate, ualeto.<sup>41</sup>

There are thus cogent reasons for thinking more of quire 7 than the booklet of school texts posited by Chase. It may well have started out as such: the first five letters in the quire follow, significantly, the first five in the evidently prior textual tradition of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xv.<sup>42</sup> The ‘epistolary formulae’ are also all of a piece, composing letters 117 to 124 consecutively in the Tiberius layout. But the most interesting aspects of this quire are its changes after Wulfstan had digested its contents.<sup>43</sup> The references to the church’s need for material support in Alcuin’s letters to Colcu and to Joseph may have struck a chord with Wulfstan’s own experience. Certainly, the passing remark in the last ‘model letter’ to the symbiotic relationship between gifts and ecclesiastical favour spurred Wulfstan to add two more letters on the same broad theme — letters that are also in the exemplar of Tiberius A.xv.<sup>44</sup> What we see is a man whose interest in a topic is revealed by his search for, and recording of, information on the same theme. But we do not get Wulfstan’s own thoughts on the matter; quire 7, like most of the rest of the manuscript, was a source-collection.

<sup>41</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 171<sup>v</sup>: ‘She has sent your grace two armlets of gold, weighing 24 pennyweight (less than a full pound of the king’s new mint), that you and your priests should pray for her that divine mercy should dispose her days for the salvation of her soul and the advancement of the church. I urged her to do this, being certain of your faith. Remember her and me, holy father, everywhere in the love of Christ. Farewell.’ This letter to Paulinus appears in *Tiberius A.xv* at fol. 121<sup>r-v</sup>, implying that Wulfstan had access to the archetype of this larger corpus of Alcuin’s letters (if not the Tiberius manuscript itself) even after he had made his initial selections for *Vespasian A.xiv*.

<sup>42</sup> The links between *Tiberius A.xv* and *Vespasian A.xiv* are usefully discussed by Brett, ‘A Breton Pilgrim’, esp. pp. 50–57 for a discussion of the manuscripts and pp. 65–70 for appendix 2, detailing the links in tabular form.

<sup>43</sup> Here I depart from Brett, who maintains that ‘the reason for the addition of the last two letters in the quire — both on trivial personal matters — is unclear’: ‘A Breton Pilgrim’, p. 67.

<sup>44</sup> *Tiberius A.xv*, fol. 121<sup>r-v</sup> (Alcuin to Paulinus) and fols 156<sup>v</sup>–157<sup>r</sup> (Wido to Dunstan).

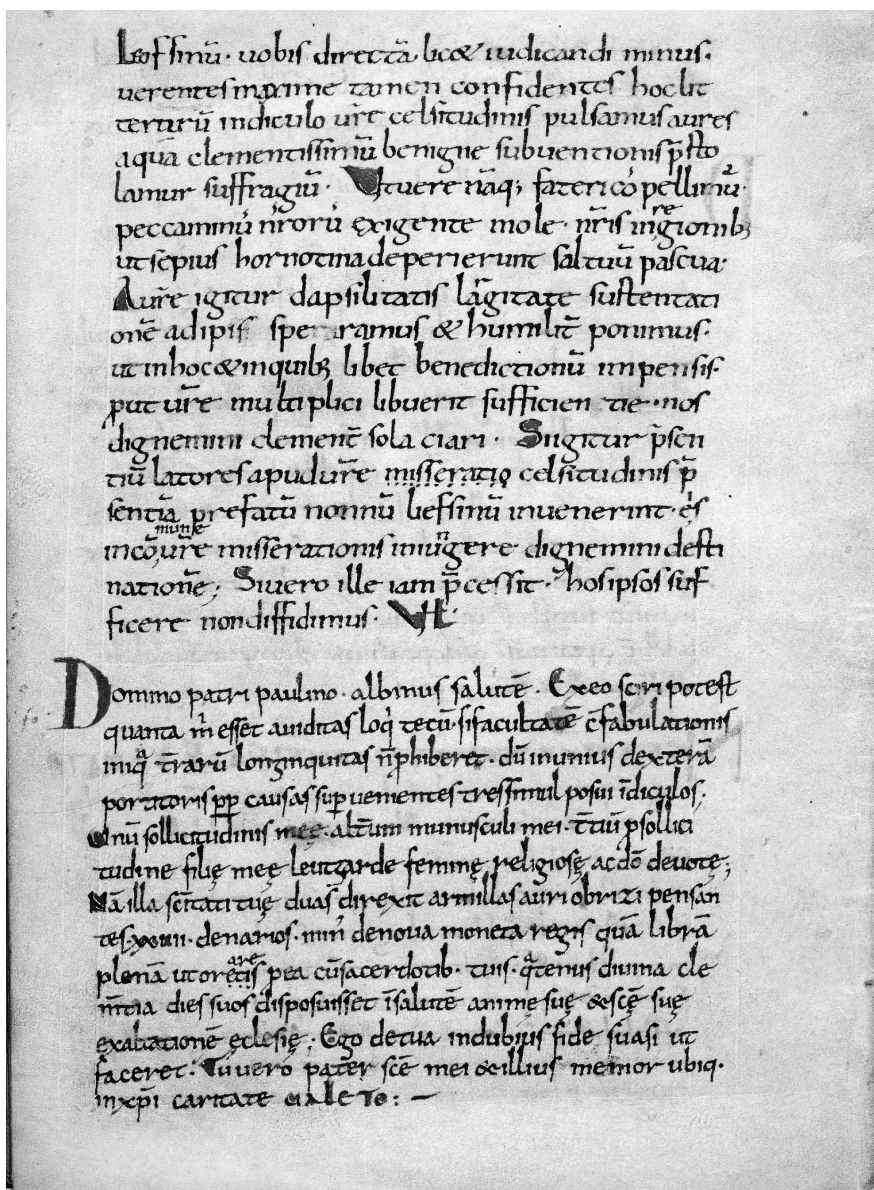


Figure 9.1. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 171<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the British Library). Two letters touching on the subject of church wealth are added to quire 7. This folio shows the end of Abbot Wido's begging letter to Dunstan together with a letter from Alcuin to Paulinus of Aquileia, beginning 'Domino patri paulino'. This last letter is in Wulfstan's hand.

## Quire 6: Archbishops, Begging Letters, and Papal Interference

Leaving for now the Alcuinian ‘core’ of Vespasian A.xiv, it is necessary to jump back in the manuscript’s present collation to quire 6. As previously argued, this quire differs from quires 1–5 and 7 in its scribal hand(s) and its dissimilar regularity of colouring in the text, with half of it not being coloured at all. Quire 6’s subject matter also represents a shift in tone and source-base, in that Alcuin wrote only half of the eleven letters it transmits. Moreover, though all of these letters come from the Tiberius A.xv exemplar, Wulfstan’s role in ordering the texts he chooses is clearer than ever. No longer is the ‘order of appearance’ identical in the Vespasian and Tiberius manuscripts. Wulfstan is tying together texts as he thinks apposite, linking themes that he thinks fit, a detail that must be borne in mind throughout this discussion.

Quire 6 opens with a pair of Alcuin’s letters to Æthelhard, on the dignities and duties of an Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>45</sup> The first epistle, somewhat gentler than the second, discusses the particular power resident in an archbishop, manifested by his right to the pallium. Alcuin goes on to mention certain valuable items, raising the same issue of church goods that becomes pervasive in quire 7. The ranging reference and the tone of mild exhortation is dropped in the next letter. Here, Alcuin strongly rebukes Æthelhard for fleeing Canterbury during a rising in Kent, led by Eadberht Praen, against Mercian overlordship (in the aftermath of Offa’s death in 796). Æthelhard could avoid the mob, but there was no escape from Alcuin’s sting:

Discernendum tamen est, de cuius temporis fuga vel de qua persecutione hoc dictum est, et de quibus iterum ipsa veritas dixisset: ‘Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis, mercennarius autem fugit.’ Quod optime in omeliis beati Gregorii pape, praedicatoris nostri, per te legens intellegere poteris.<sup>46</sup>

The Archbishop is recommended to do penance for his actions, as well as to convene a general synod (*in communi synodo*): ‘de iustis ordinationibus et predicationis

---

<sup>45</sup> The first letter to Æthelhard ends with a *versus* in his honour, at fols 154<sup>v</sup>–155<sup>v</sup>, beginning:  
PONTIFICALIS APEX PATER ÆTHELHARDE UALETO  
Omnipotens tribuat prospera cuncta tibi  
Sis decus ecclesie, Christi praecepta sequaris  
Clarus in officio, cautus in eloquio.

This couplet form is highly reminiscent of that which dedicates Vespasian A.xiv to Wulfstan, written in the Archbishop’s own hand. Recalling the manuscript’s structure, the Wulfstan *versus* is slotted in at the end of quire 5; Alcuin’s to Æthelhard is at the start of quire 6. Such a conscious mirroring alludes to two things: (1) that quire 6 took up its present position between ‘core’ quires 1–5 and 7 very early, and (2) that the additions to quire 5 (i.e. the *acta* of the Council of Chelsea and Wulfstan’s *versus*) were entered after the production of quire 6.

<sup>46</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 155<sup>v</sup>: ‘We must distinguish between the time of flight and the persecution referred to here and who it was of whom Christ said, “The good shepherd gives his life for his sheep, but the hiring flees.” [John 10. 12–13] This you can understand very well by reading for yourself the homilies of Pope Gregory, our evangelist.’



instantia et officiis aecclesiasticis et baptismi sanctitate et elemosinarum largitione et pauperum cura per singulas aecclesias atque parrochias.<sup>47</sup> And with resolve-instilling imagery, Alcuin declares: 'Saepe [*sepe* MS] miles uulneratus fortius pugnāt, sicut bos lassus fortius figit ungulam.'<sup>48</sup> These words had much to say to Wulfstan, in his front-line northern see. Yet besides the fiery encouragement to return to the fray, the letter also touches on important questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; more precisely, the main jurisdictional crisis before England was unified in the sense Wulfstan would recognize it. The passage in question can have interested Wulfstan no less than the image of the 'wounded soldier':

quae partim discissa est non rationabili, ut videtur, consideratione, [. . .] ut pacifice adunetur, et scissio resarciatur, bonum videtur esse cum consilio omnium sacerdotum Christi, et coepiscopi eboracensis aecclesiae. Ita tamen, ut pater pius pallio diebus suis non exuatur, licet ordinatio episcoporum ad sanctam et primam sedem recurat [. . .] ut caritatis concordia fiat inter primos pastores ecclesiarum Christi.<sup>49</sup>

Referring to the acrimony caused by Offa's vigorous pursuit of the Lichfield metropolitan, finally realized in 787 (only to be abolished at a council of *Clofesho* in 803), Alcuin raises the sensitive topic of church organization. It is rare to find the Archbishop of York mentioned in letters to Archbishops of Canterbury in this period, yet Alcuin perceives the divisions within the church sufficient to warrant joint action by the English metropolitans, if only to sideline the parvenu Higbert. More interesting still are Alcuin's comments on the outmanoeuvred Archbishop Higbert's pallium. His pallium is seen as a personal honour, inalienable in his lifetime, although the power it grants — to ordain bishops — must revert to Canterbury. Jurisdictional issues, and the importance of the pallium in particular, were as central to Wulfstan's concerns as to Alcuin's and Æthelhard's, and this topic surfaces even more strongly in quire 8.

The material in quire 6 now breaks off in an unexpected direction, with two letters relating in different degrees to Winchester. First (Vespasian A.xiv, item 15) is a letter (988x990) from 'B' to Archbishop Æthelgar (Dunstan's immediate successor), centring on the provision of intellectual nourishment by a good bishop. B's model in this regard is the recently deceased Bishop of Liège (*sanctę siquidem sedis Leodii praesulem*); but since his mentor's death, B has hungered for mental food. Searching

---

<sup>47</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 156<sup>r</sup>: 'concerning proper ordinations, regular preaching, church offices, holy baptism, almsgiving, and the care of the poor in each church and parish'.

<sup>48</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 156<sup>r</sup>: 'Often the wounded soldier fights more bravely, as the tired ox sets his foot down more strongly.'

<sup>49</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 156<sup>r</sup>: 'I think it well to deliberate with a council of all Christian priests and with your fellow archbishop of York [Eanbald II] to make good peacefully, if possible, the partial split in the unity of the church [. . .] but the good father [Archbishop Higbert of Lichfield] should not be stripped of the pallium in his lifetime, although the ordaining of bishops is restored to the first holy see [. . .] [to establish] loving harmony among the first pastors of Christ's church.'

for a new master, B places himself at Æthelgar's service, and the letter ends by informing the Archbishop that he is going to Winchester to read Aldhelm's *De virginitate*.<sup>50</sup> A Winchester link is upheld in the next letter, from Landferth to the brethren of the Old Minster — which is in fact the dedicatory epistle to Landferth's account of Swithun's miracles. The letter (?c. 980) emphasizes the spread of Swithun's cult throughout the English people and the religious duty of publicizing the saint's miracles.<sup>51</sup>

This may appear an odd excursus in a quire that began so unequivocally concerned with archbishops. But this is to ignore the essence of B's request to Æthelgar in the first letter: the writer is looking to an archbishop for spiritual sustenance, obliquely revealing another facet of the archiepiscopal role. Alcuin earlier showed archbishops as pastors, correctors, the overseers of overseers, but B's letter shows their potential as patrons, as spiritual models, and as magnets for *oratores*. The letter from Landferth that follows may be regarded as a way of showing why B was attracted to studying at Winchester. He would find more than copies of Aldhelm there. A thriving cult centre around Swithun, which spawned Latin and Old English literary memorials, and which drew pilgrims from across England and beyond, must have attracted him too. Essentially, then, Wulfstan did not include these letters for their references to Winchester. What must have interested him is B's clear faith in Æthelgar's ability to provide a spiritual berth. Linked to this — and typical of Wulfstan's theme-driven method — is Landferth's testimony that Winchester is a leading centre, perhaps the leading centre, of spiritual activity in the last quarter of the tenth century. An archbishop's position as a spiritual guide remains Wulfstan's focus.

Quire 6's textual tack then changes again. The next epistle is from Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Vaast, to Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury (Sigeric's predecessor and B's correspondent), followed by two letters by Abbot Odbert of Saint-Bertin, the first to Sigeric, then to the same Æthelgar. The tone and thrust of these letters are instantly familiar to us from Abbot Wido's request for help from Dunstan, included by Wulfstan at the end of quire 7. Fulrad's letter is a straightforward request for a gift. Interestingly, the 'order' of the begging letters from Odbert is reversed: the one addressed to Sigeric comes first and contains Odbert's suggestive comment that Archbishop Æthelgar had visited Saint-Bertin en route to Rome for his pallium. He apparently stopped off there twice, on his outward and homeward journeys, giving *largitus et elemosinę* ('alms and promises'). Odbert continues to turn the metaphorical screw by maintaining that Dunstan had been a friend to Saint-Bertin and Æthelgar a greater, and then begs

---

<sup>50</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 158<sup>r</sup>. Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim', argues that quire 6's 'jumbled' material has no 'chronological or thematic principle of its own' (p. 66), and that the quire may represent the first 'scraping together' (p. 70) of texts to be included in Tiberius A.xv. This may be rejoined by two observations: firstly, that the quire is based around issues of archiepiscopal power-holding, with particular reference to the threat of church wealth being leeches out into foreign lands; secondly, that the creation of a set of textual excerpts without an overarching theme or themes is absolutely alien to the *modus operandi* of Wulfstan and his scribes.

<sup>51</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 158<sup>v</sup>.

Sigeric to visit him.<sup>52</sup> We know from an absorbing letter in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.v (fols 23<sup>v</sup>–24<sup>r</sup>) that Sigeric certainly did not visit Saint-Bertin on his way home from Rome. He may have visited on the first leg of his travels, but as Stubbs points out, doing so ‘might have involved him in heavy expenses’.<sup>53</sup>

That Odbert's letter to Æthelgar comes after that to Sigeric in *Vespasian A.xiv* — that is, after the proof that Æthelgar had responded to Odbert's request — is noteworthy.<sup>54</sup> The style of the letters is virtually identical: Odbert asks the Archbishop's friendship,<sup>55</sup> and comments that he will soon have used up Æthelgar's alms.<sup>56</sup> Wulfstan's positioning of the letters might be deliberate. To have one letter showing that Odbert's persuasion worked, to the point that Æthelgar is perceived as more generous than Dunstan, and to follow this with the letter that apparently elicited Æthelgar's open-handedness is the sort of backward progression of evidence that one might expect of an accusatory dossier — which is exactly what this section of quire 6 is. Æthelgar had permitted a flow of English church wealth to the continent: not itself an offence in canon law, of course, but explicitly against what we know Wulfstan's views to have been on the maintenance of the local church at all costs.<sup>57</sup> James Campbell, in commenting on the wider corpus of such letters, mostly from *Tiberius A.xv* (the archetype of which provided Wulfstan with the *Wido*, *Fulrad*, and *Odbert* letters for *Vespasian A.xiv*) hits the point exactly: ‘the most striking thing about these letters is that they suggest not just gift-giving, but continued dependence on the gifts, which the abbots expect to keep coming’.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> See Campbell, ‘England, France, Flanders and Germany’, pp. 200–03: ‘On Sigeric's following Æthelgar as archbishop, Odbert wrote straight away. Dunstan, says he, had been a great friend, Æthelgar a greater yet; the implication of what it was up to Sigeric to be is unmistakable.’ See also Veronica Ortenberg, ‘Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 197–246.

<sup>53</sup> *Memorials*, p. 389, n. 2. The most recent edition of this text is given in the facsimile of the manuscript: *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany*, ed. by P. McGurk, D. N. Dumville, M. R. Godden, and A. Knock, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 21 (Copenhagen, 1983), pp. 74–75.

<sup>54</sup> The letter to Æthelgar also comes after that to Sigeric in the *Tiberius A.xv* transmission, but there the texts are fifteen folios apart.

<sup>55</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 160<sup>r</sup>: ‘Gratualmur etiam non modice uestre benignissime sponsionis relevati magnificentia quia nos immeritos uestra uoluit pietas intra numerum aggregare deuote uobis famulantium, uosque nobis fore perseverantem patronum eotenus ut unanimiter uestris insistente commodis unum inter uos et uestram paternitatem fieret nolle, unum uelle.’

<sup>56</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 160<sup>r</sup>: ‘Ælemosine uero uestre, quod mihi imposuistis negotium, ita, deo cooperante, me confido mox peregissem per clericum nostrum communem.’

<sup>57</sup> On what might be called the ‘institutional security’ of the church, see *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, *Anglo-Saxon Texts*, 1 (Cambridge, 1999), Rec. B 25 and 26 — both are excerpts from Ansgisus's *Capitularium collectio*, arguing that tithes are inalienable from the churches to which they are assigned.

<sup>58</sup> Campbell, ‘England, France, Flanders and Germany’, pp. 203–04.

There can be little doubt that Wulfstan saw the danger in this trend just as clearly. In quire 6, he follows the pair of letters from Odbert with one from Alcuin to Calvinus, in which Eanbald II's dealings outside his York archdiocese are discussed, as is the need to forswear worldly things. In this letter is the following passage that represents an apt comment on the preceding begging letters:

Plurimi [*plures* MS] sunt impugnatores ecclesie Christi, qui cotidie aliquid tibi pace uel uiolentia rapere gestiunt; et non sunt nisi uerbotenus amici, factis uero inimici.<sup>59</sup>

'In peace or by force': impoverishment of the church was the same whether committed by opportunist theft, local *fiat*, or flattering begging letter. This, at any rate, was surely Wulfstan's interpretation, revealed by his careful placing of the Alcuin-Calvinus letter, providing a text-tied commentary on what Wulfstan probably saw as Odbert's crypto-extortion. Quire 8 has a text that supports this argument, discussed below.

The last item of real interest in quire 6 is its penultimate text, a letter from Pope Paul I to Archbishop Ecgberht of York and his brother, King Eadberht.<sup>60</sup> Although Ecgberht is addressed in the salutation, the letter is mainly concerned to chastise Eadberht for his taking by force of three monasteries in the oversight of an Abbot Forthred. The letter ends:

Itaque veniens ad limina protectorum vestrorum beatorum principum apostolorum, Petri ac Pauli, praesens Forthredus religiosus abbas retulit nobis, inquires: Quod tria monasteria illi concessa fuissent a quadam abbatisa, id est, monasteria, quae Stanin-gagrove seu Cuchawalda et Donemuthe dicuntur. Quae uidelicet monasteria per vim ab eo tua abstulit excellentia, et cuidam patricio, fratri eius, Moll nomine, tribuit. De qua re nimis tristes effecti sumus, excellentissime fili, quoniam extra praeceptum Dei hoc omnino egisti. Et liquet profecto, quod ad excidium anime tue [pertinet].<sup>61</sup>

Now this extract stands for two themes which inform Vespasian A.xiv's final stage of development. First, it testifies to Alcuin's criticism of depredation of the church

<sup>59</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 161<sup>r</sup>: 'There are many who attack the church of Christ through their desire for daily gain in peace or by force, so-called friends who are really enemies.'

<sup>60</sup> The text is incomplete in Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 163<sup>r</sup>, though an early modern hand has completed it at the foot of the folio. The complete letter is found in Tiberius A.xv, fols 52<sup>r</sup>–53<sup>v</sup>, but it is now barely legible. It should be noted, though, that the Vespasian A.xiv excerpt has all the major points; it only misses the explicit papal demand for the monasteries' restitution and for Eadberht and other laymen to desist from interfering in religious places — all obvious conclusions from the first half of the letter.

<sup>61</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 163<sup>r</sup>: 'The religious Abbot Forthred, arriving at the thresholds of your protectors the blessed chiefs of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, at once reported to us that three monasteries had been granted to him by a certain abbess, namely the monasteries which are called Stonegrave and Coxwold and *Donaemuthe*; and that your excellency took these monasteries from him by force and gave them to a certain "patrician", his brother, Moll by name. We were greatly saddened by this affair, O most excellent son, since you have done this entirely against the precept of God. And surely it is obvious that it pertains to the ruin of your soul.'

'by force', just as the begging letters reveal attack 'by favour'. Secondly, the letter maintains a papal right to interfere in exclusively 'English' affairs. No matter that the English polity of Ecgberht's day was markedly different under his successor Wulfstan, the point of the letter — a papal order to a king and archbishop — overrode its historical context.<sup>62</sup> These two issues, material exploitation of the church and an over-powerful papacy, are the leitmotifs of the next section, quire 8 — completing Vespasian A.xiv as we know it.

### Quire 8: 'Alia'

Quire 8 is undoubtedly the most problematic and overlooked section of the entire manuscript, because it is only here that we see Wulfstan's mind move up a gear in source-assimilation — and take a step further still, into text-creation. It is here that Stubbs's 'theological scraps' become most difficult to trace, and because quire 8 contains almost no Alcuin, its very existence is brushed over by Chase.<sup>63</sup> The quire also posed exegetical problems for Richard James, who as Sir Robert Cotton's librarian wrote a contents page for the entire manuscript.<sup>64</sup> He ran into severe difficulties after item 16 on his list, the letter of Paul I to Ecgberht and Eadberht. James then links the whole of quire 7 to the letter from Pope Leo III in quire 8 to form item 17: 'Aliae Alcuini epistolae inter quas epistola Leonis papa missa ad Coenulphum regem merciorum.' Item 18 turns out to be the last text in quire 8, a letter concerning the translation into Latin of certain texts, written to Wulfstan as Bishop of London, while item 19 — the last in James's list — jumps back in the quire to Oda's canon collection. It is a slapdash cataloguing effort, as at least one scholar working after James perceived: a different hand after item 19 in James's list wrote 'Alia'. Exactly what these other things are, and what they are doing in a quire intended to round off Vespasian A.xiv, has never been adequately or coherently addressed.<sup>65</sup> Two crucial texts in quire 8 will be treated in detail here.

---

<sup>62</sup> Wilhelm Levison used this letter to illustrate the 'routine intercourse' between the papacy and England: see his 'England and the Church of Rome' in his *England and the Continent*, pp. 15–44.

<sup>63</sup> Chase, pp. 8–11

<sup>64</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 1\*<sup>r</sup>–v.

<sup>65</sup> Quire 8 betrays clear signs of 'work in progress': space is left at the end of each text in the quire. The canons of Hertford leave a gap of five lines; *De rapinis* leaves four lines (only to have the space filled later by Wulfstan); Leo III's letter, twelve lines; Oda's *Constitutiones*, two lines; *De activa vita et contemplativa*, two lines; the 'letter of protest', three lines. By not placing texts back-to-back, as is the case in the rest of the manuscript, we can infer details about how quire 8 was constructed. While the material in the other quires of Vespasian A.xiv came from one source book, the Tiberius A.xv exemplar, the more eclectic range of texts in quire 8 could not be so conveniently copied from one collection. At least two scribes are

### 1) Atto of Vercelli and ecclesiastical impoverishment

Following the canons of the Council of Hertford in quire 8 is a text entitled *De rapinis aeclesiasticarum rerum* (see fig. 9.2). The title itself is in Wulfstan's hand (with his characteristic spelling of 'ēclesia'), as are certain additions at the foot of fol. 173<sup>v</sup>. This text on the alienation of church property consists of fifteen extracts, of which the first eleven are taken from book III of Atto of Vercelli's *De pressuris ecclesiasticis* (*DPE*).<sup>66</sup>

A chronology of Atto's career is difficult to impose. He began his episcopate in 924 and died some time before Otto I's conquest of 961. He probably wrote *DPE* in the 940s; later, Atto composed the *Polipticum* (in which he addresses problems of lordship in his locality) and a capitulary, which shows ample acquaintance with Carolingian sources, including pseudo-Isidore. Such a concern to address political questions separately from church law may be compared to Wulfstan's *IP*; but there is no indication that Wulfstan had a copy of the *Polipticum* as well as *DPE*. What is certain is *DPE*'s low-level dissemination. Only one contemporary manuscript copy of the complete *DPE* survives.<sup>67</sup> Book I was copied into a Vercelli manuscript of the *Dionysio-Hadriana*,<sup>68</sup> and the whole text apparently existed before the French Revolution in a manuscript at the monastery of Rebais. Joachim Bauer has re-edited *DPE*, finding that some of the text was recycled and excerpted many miles from Vercelli — in England.<sup>69</sup> Bauer was not in a position to make the connection with Wulfstan, but J. E. Cross picked up his threads and edited the *De rapinis*-related sections of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 (pp. 156–57) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (fol. 35<sup>r-v</sup>); he also clarified the links between the Vespasian A.xiv text and

---

involved in writing the quire, as well as Wulfstan himself, and this collective way of working — of gathering, augmenting, and creating texts — may have led to a greater sense of the provisionality of quire 8's contents. Space was deliberately left to augment texts (as is the case with *De rapinis*) or to add new texts on similar themes. The letter to Wulfstan while he was Bishop of London, the last text in quire 8, may be an indirect result of such relaxed scribal habits. The letter does not fit at all with the broad themes of the quire as a whole: it adds nothing to matters of church wealth or papal interference. It is possible that the letter was added to Vespasian A.xiv because it was addressed to Wulfstan, as a way of memorializing texts related to the Archbishop, perhaps after he had died. This might explain why Wulfstan's name is written in the letter in eye-catching majuscule letters (fol. 179<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>66</sup> Atto of Vercelli, *Opera omnia*, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1844–55), vol. CXXXIV, cols 27–900. For an overview of Atto's career and writings, see S. F. Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli: Church, State and Christian Society in Tenth-Century Italy*, Temi e Testi, 24 (Rome, 1979).

<sup>67</sup> Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4322 (s. x<sup>1</sup>), fols 83<sup>r</sup>–106<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare LXXVI (46), (s. ix), fols 292<sup>v</sup>–294<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> J. Bauer, 'Die Schrift *De pressuris ecclesiasticis* des Bischofs Atto von Vercelli: Untersuchung und Edition' (doctoral dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1975). Bauer concentrated on adaptations from *DPE* in Corpus 190.

**DE RAPINIS ECCLESIASTICARUM RERUM:**  
**I**nnimicus enim xpi efficitur. Omnes qui ecclesiasticas res  
 usurpare inuolunt conat. Omnia igitur que ecclesie sunt xpi ee.  
 plantantur. & q; ab eis auferuntur. xpo procul dubio tolluntur.  
 Dignu & enim e. ut qui ecclesiasticas res. di siquidem hereditate  
 contaminare presumunt. a propria qua iuste pfrui poterant  
 excludantur. Unde bene psalmista ait. Qui dixerunt here-  
 ditate possideamus sciamu di. ds m' pone illos utroq; & sicut  
 stipula ante facie uenti; It' psalmista. Inimici uero dñi mor-  
 ut horticati fuerint & exaltati. deficientes que ad modu sum  
 deficient; Quid g iuuat eos ee xpianos. qui xpi lacerant etiam.  
 S' dicit Aliquis. Quia us eni res ecclesiasticas amo deueniunt.  
 liquet quia plura beneficia exipsis p me ministrantur qua  
 si ab eis ecclesiasticis de merentur. S' errat Hieremias ait.  
 Omnes qui deuon' ea delinquent. mala uenient super eos dicit  
 dñs. It' hieremias; haec dicit dñs Aduersu omnes iucinos  
 meos pessimos. Qui tangunt hereditate mea. ecce ego euellu  
 eos de terra sua; Omnes enim qui ecclesia di exspoliat. & eius  
 predia. ut donaria inuadit. sacrilegi reus existit. & sicut  
 sacrilegus iudicet. Diuine eni res. non hominu possessiones  
 ee. noscunt. nec licet seculariu dignitati inde fieri additamentu.  
 qm ecclesiasticoru sunt. & pauperu preparata. adusu; Dece nq;  
 ut scia ecclesia. inconcussa. atque inoffensa. Ab omnib; obseruet.  
 xpianis. nec maliquo dehonestetur ab ipsis; Sponsa enim  
 xpi e. & omnium domina; It qui ea uiolare nititur. uel  
 rapere que sua sunt. iudicatur ds; Gregorius enim ait.  
 Siquis ecclesia xpi denudauerit. Anathema sit; Ad quod  
 respondentes omnes dixerunt; Amen etc.;  
 Agustinus. Siquis receperit qd deo dedit. a suo gradu mouen-  
 dus. & ab ecclesia dei danandus est. Quantomagis quidom  
 alterius. pum ab ecclesia di diripit.  
**P**ecunia ecclesiastica rapta & furata reddat' & dupli-  
 cat'.

Figure 9.2. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 173<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the British Library). The text originally ended with the ornamented 'AMEN', five lines from the bottom of the folio. Wulfstan himself adds the last four lines, beginning 'Agustinus', as well as writing the majuscule title to the piece.

the longer item beginning ‘Ecclesia sponsa’ in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 (pp. 96–97).<sup>70</sup> It is clear that, less than fifty years after Atto’s death, the Archbishop of York was busy reconstructing extracts of *DPE* for his own purposes.

It is in *Vespasian A.xiv* that this reshaping begins. In the eleven extracts Wulfstan chooses, he ends up with a concentrated rejection of the alienation of church goods — starting with a simple statement that such behaviour acts against Christ,<sup>71</sup> and ending with a longer statement to the effect that the church shares Christ’s lordship and has a right to earthly things which are given by God.<sup>72</sup> Thereafter, four clauses are added to reiterate the argument, all from different sources. The first of these, interestingly, is from Alcuin’s letter to Æthelred — the item with which the entire manuscript begins.<sup>73</sup> Here we see Wulfstan using *Vespasian A.xiv* as a source book to compose a canonical pastiche for quire 8. The same is true of the next extract, clearly from Oda’s *Constitutiones* (which itself is entered into the quire after *De rapinis*, at fols 175<sup>r</sup>–177<sup>v</sup>):

Gregorius enim ait: ‘Si quis ecclesiam Christi denudauerit anathema sit’; ad quod respondentes omnes dixerunt: ‘Amen’.<sup>74</sup>

Cross views this addition as ‘probably from the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, bk XLII. 3a’.<sup>75</sup> But this variant must come from Oda, because of the reading ‘ecclesiam Christi’ — not the ‘ecclesiam Dei’ referred to in the *Hibernensis*. This mistake shows the danger of treating *Vespasian A.xiv* as a mass of discrete texts, and not as a coherent book.

*De rapinis* seems at first to have ended here; a majuscule, ornamented AMEN forms an explicit. But Wulfstan later adds in his own hand two extra clauses.<sup>76</sup> First, attributed to Augustine, an extract on the consequences of taking what is given to God:

<sup>70</sup> Cross, ‘Atto of Vercelli’: an edition of *De rapinis* is at pp. 243–44.

<sup>71</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 173<sup>v</sup>: ‘Inimicus enim Christi efficitur omnis qui ecclesiasticas res usurpare < id est presumere > iniuste conatur.’

<sup>72</sup> As Cross, ‘Atto of Vercelli’, p. 244, item 11.

<sup>73</sup> Alcuin to Æthelred, *Vespasian A.xiv*, item 1, fol. 117<sup>r</sup>: ‘Ecclesia enim sponsa est christi, et qui eam uiolare nititur, uel rapere que sua sunt, uindicat in eum Deus Christus, sponsus sanctę suę ecclesię.’ Cf. *De rapinis*, item 41, fol. 173<sup>v</sup>: ‘Et qui eam uiolare nititur, uel rapere que sua sunt, uindicat Deus.’ In choosing the title for his composite text, Wulfstan seems to be giving a deliberate nod in the direction of Alcuin’s reference to *rapere*.

<sup>74</sup> The extract comes from Oda’s first *capitulo*, a general discussion of the rights and freedoms of the church: *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 175<sup>v</sup>. Note the erasure of ‘Dei’ for ‘Christi’. Interestingly, Wulfstan omits the qualification of the anathema: ‘si non satisfactione emendauerit’. This excerpt clearly held Wulfstan’s attention: his *De cristianitate* (Bethurum Xb, lines 41–43) expands on the theme, as does I Polity 114 [II Polity 219] (‘And egeslice spræc sanctus Gregorius be þam eac, þa ða he þus cwæð’: *Institutes of Polity*, ed. by Jost, p. 150).

<sup>75</sup> Cross, ‘Atto of Vercelli’, p. 244; also p. 238, n. 14.

<sup>76</sup> Ker, ‘Handwriting’, p. 327.



Agustinus: Si quis retraxerit quod Deo dedit a suo gradu mouendus et ab ecclesia Dei damnandus est. Quanto magis qui donum alterius per uim ab ecclesia Dei diripit.<sup>77</sup>

As with several other pieces attributed by Wulfstan to Augustine, the source here is unidentified. But the second of Wulfstan's additions is a well-known extract from the Carolingian manual of canon law known as *Quadripartitus*: 'Pecunia ecclesiastica rapta uel furata reddatur quadruplum popularia dupliciter.'<sup>78</sup>

Enjoining the fourfold restitution of stolen church goods, whereas the ordinary people only get double, enforces in practical terms the 'double seriousness' of theft from the church — the theme of *De rapinis* throughout. Importantly, too, these last two extracts entered by Wulfstan turn up separately in other works by the Archbishop. The 'Augustine' text, verbatim, finds itself sandwiched between two *DPE* extracts in Corpus 190's 'Ecclesia sponsa' piece. And the *Quadripartitus* clause on fourfold restitution becomes a canon in Wulfstan's collection, where in both recensions it is usually described as an Irish canon.<sup>79</sup>

Thus *De rapinis* should be regarded as one of Wulfstan's first attempts to distil canonical material on one of his most pressing concerns: the institutional support of the church, enabling it to withstand external assaults. Using Atto of Vercelli above all, and coupling to snippets of *DPE* extracts from Alcuin and Oda found at other points within Vespasian A.xiv, Wulfstan then returned to *De rapinis* with yet more injunctions against alienating church property. This was no transient issue. Wulfstan evidently used what he had compiled in Vespasian A.xiv to create his homilies Bethurum Xb and Xc, parts of *IP*, and his canon collection. *De rapinis* was even turned into a more fluent version of itself in the 'Ecclesia sponsa' text in Corpus 190. Few subjects held Wulfstan's attention so consistently, and few Wulfstanian texts were so used, augmented, and rearranged as *De rapinis*.

## 2) The 'letter of protest'

Wulfstan's letter to the papacy, protesting against the convention that archbishops travel to Rome to collect the pallium, has spawned a somewhat twisted historiography. Misreading 'H' as Pope Leo, previous editors assumed that the letter followed

<sup>77</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 173<sup>v</sup>: 'Augustine: Whoever takes back what he has given to God must be removed from their post and condemned by God's church. And how much more [must this apply to] he who snatches away by force the gift of another from the church of God.'

<sup>78</sup> 'Church money stolen or carried off is to be repaid fourfold, that of ordinary people twice over': *Quadripartitus* IV. 119. Books II–IV of this collection are found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718, a manuscript representing the exemplar used by Wulfstan. See Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 216–18, 223. See also F. Kerff, *Der Quadripartitus: Ein Handbuch der karolingischen Kirchenreform*, Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter, 1 (Sigmaringen, 1982), esp. pp. 102–14.

<sup>79</sup> *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, Rec. A. 43; B. 81.

on quite naturally from Leo III's letter to Coenwulf which precedes it. Stubbs dated the letter to 805. It was Levison who first argued that the addressee should actually read 'illi' — the equivalent of 'dear x', as has been shown above — and that the letter should probably be assigned to the eleventh century.<sup>80</sup> Bethurum joined the dots to argue that Wulfstan himself was the most likely compiler of this text, for stylistic and textual reasons, but overwhelmingly because the letter is entered in a tangibly Wulfstanian manuscript.<sup>81</sup>

Even before any examination of the letter's contents, its stylistic relation to other letters in *Vespasian A.xiv* is clear. As in the 'epistolary formulae' of quire 7, 'illi' is employed to render the letter a template. Moreover, the letter plunges headlong into its argument, without the preamble it must have had if it was ever sent. In this respect it is reminiscent of the 'excuses' note of quire 7, which also cuts immediately to its main point.<sup>82</sup> Depersonalizing letters in this way might reveal useful formulae that could be taught and used, but it equally has the effect of making the letter's arguments generally applicable, without the specific personalities and chronologies that could mitigate its point. It is this last effect that comes across strongly in the 'letter of protest': it stands as Wulfstan's boiling-down of sources on archiepiscopal-papal relations without any distracting specifics.<sup>83</sup>

Levison remarked in passing that this depersonalized form of letter was already well represented in *Vespasian A.xiv*.<sup>84</sup> Wulfstan evidently drew the potential of 'illi' to generalize his argument from the Alcuin letters of quire 7. Just like the connections between Oda's *Constitutiones* and Wulfstan's amalgam of *De rapinis*, it is clear that sources in *Vespasian A.xiv* had a formative effect on what Wulfstan himself composed for the manuscript. The conscious coherence of *Vespasian A.xiv* cannot be overstated; and this extends to the form of texts as well as their content.

---

<sup>80</sup> Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 241–42.

<sup>81</sup> Bethurum, 'A Letter of Protest'; also edited and discussed in *C&S* I, 441–47, n. 61.

<sup>82</sup> See Whitelock in *C&S* I, 442: 'The letter can hardly be complete. It plunges abruptly into its business, after the address, with none of the usual compliments, and it lacks a suitable conclusion.' Whitelock does not see that the letter, without head or tail, corresponds to the 'formulae' of quire 7. The 'completeness' or otherwise of the letter is hardly the important point. It may never have been intended for a pope's eyes, acting instead as a cogent rehash of sources for an English clerical audience. A coherent general discussion of pallium-granting is José Martí Bonet, *Roma y las Iglesias Particulares en la Concesión del Palio a los Obispos y Arzobispos de Occidente: Año 513–1143* (Madrid, 1976), esp. pp. 161–65.

<sup>83</sup> A comparative point here is that Wulfstan's Old English law-code VI Æthelred (a translation of the Latin V Æthelred) omits references to the king for 'a more general application' after Æthelred II's fall. See Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 331–32.

<sup>84</sup> Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 246–47: '[H] may be a misreading for *ill(i)*, as it was substituted for a name in some other texts of the same manuscript (the letters ll crossed by a line).'

The letter's argument is framed around extensive citation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and a sweeping paraphrase of one of Alcuin's letters to Offa.<sup>85</sup> Its main purpose is to prove that in the early church, archbishops were not required to fetch their pallia. We know from other sources that it had become the norm in the tenth century for archbishops to go to Rome in person, though Archbishops of York went less often. Using Bede, Wulfstan seeks to undermine the rationale for what was a relatively recent fashion. He would have noted the references to pallium-sending — by Gregory to Augustine, and by Hadrian to Higerbert — in Leo III's letter to Coenwulf, entered four folios beforehand. In the 'letter of protest', Wulfstan emphasizes the self-sufficiency of the early Archbishops of Canterbury in ordaining their successors to office, following Peter's apostolic example: 'Augustine was succeeded in the archbishopric by Laurence, whom he had consecrated in his own lifetime (*adhuc uiuens ordinauit*), following the precedent (*exemplum sequens*) set by the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, who is said to have consecrated Clement as his successor.'<sup>86</sup>

Wulfstan's argument then develops with a discussion of what rights the pallium actually donates. Citing Boniface, whose missionary work required the authority to ordain bishops, he cuts away the fat of the issue to leave episcopal ordination as the only important privilege granted by the pallium.<sup>87</sup> The two threads — archiepiscopal succession and a 'right' to ordain — are then joined. He examines how his first predecessor to the see of York, Paulinus, was ordained by Iustus of Canterbury and, more importantly, how Paulinus himself was then able to ordain Archbishop Honorius of Canterbury. In both cases, Pope Honorius sent the pallium.<sup>88</sup>

This letter sent by the pope to his archiepiscopal namesake is then cited at length, which makes Wulfstan's point for him: it makes sense that the surviving archbishop, of Canterbury or York, should ordain his new colleague, investing him with the powers of his office.<sup>89</sup> Moving then to paraphrase Alcuin, the leitmotif of the whole letter is summarized in a single sentence: 'that the [new] archbishop should always be ordained by the [remaining] archbishop (*quod archiepiscopus semper ab archi-*

---

<sup>85</sup> This Alcuin letter is not in Dümmler's edition, but is edited in Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 245–46. Wulfstan refers in the 'letter of protest' to Bede as *historiographo et laudabile doctore nostro* and to Alcuin as *albinos uel alquinus maximus librarius*.

<sup>86</sup> Paraphrasing parts of Bede, *HE*, II.4.

<sup>87</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 178<sup>r</sup>: 'Pallium perlatores presentium fraternitati tue benignitatis studiis invitati direximus, concedentes etiam tibi ordinationes episcoporum, exigente opportunitate, Domini preveniente misericordia, celebrare.'

<sup>88</sup> Paulinus: 'et Honorius papa misit pallium ipsi Paulino' (Bede, *HE*, II.17). Iustus: 'cui etiam prefatus papa Honorius misit pallium et litteras' (Bede, *HE*, II.18).

<sup>89</sup> *Vespasian A.xiv*, fol. 178<sup>v</sup>: 'ut quando unum ex vobis divina ad se iusserit gratia evocari, is, qui superstes fuerit, alterum in loco defuncti debeat episcopum ordinare; pro qua etiam re singula vestre dilectioni pallia pro eadem ordinatione celebranda direximus, ut per nostre preceptionis auctoritatem possitis Deo placitam ordinationem efficere'.

*episcopo debeat ordinari*), and the pallium sent to him from the lord pope (*et pallium ei debet mitti a domno apostolico*).<sup>90</sup>

Having set out his case with historical and textual support, Wulfstan ends the letter with polemic. Citing Matthew's 'freely ye have received; freely give' and recalling the account in Acts of Simon Magus's attempts to purchase the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Wulfstan gives an insight into how the popes were abusing their pallium-granting power by the early eleventh century.<sup>91</sup>

Thus financial concerns lie behind Wulfstan's complaint. Dorothy Bethurum first noted the physical and ideational proximity of the *De rapinis* text and the 'letter of protest': one stood against the asset-stripping of the church, the latter revealed a like-minded wish to avert a perceived ecclesiastical swindle — 'it is clear that [Wulfstan] felt that the requirement that English metropolitans go to Rome, always bearing gifts, to receive the pallium was dictated by papal greed'.<sup>92</sup> But papal greed was not the

---

<sup>90</sup> Of course, Alcuin was referring to the metropolitans of Lichfield and Canterbury, but the point of a continual chain of archiepiscopal succession remains. As is clear from items 14 (Alcuin to Æthelhard) and 42 (Leo III to Coenwulf), Wulfstan's interest in the 'Lichfield' issue was not merely a historical one — important jurisdictional questions could be applied from this case to York. Constraints of space prevent a full discussion here of Leo III's letter, which survives uniquely in the Vespasian manuscript; but it should be noted that its details correspond in many ways with other texts in quire 8, especially the 'letter of protest'. Leo cites Celestinus's instruction that 'those who are bishops obey by episcopal custom those who have the pallium', providing Wulfstan with another commentary on how papal influence had affected English ecclesiastical history. Twice Leo refers to pallia being sent to new archbishops — and his letter is rounded off with a plea for Coenwulf to be as generous to 'the blessed Peter', Rome, as Offa had been. A quid pro quo of papal influence in exchange for English (Mercian) money informs the entire text. An early modern hand in the right-hand margin of fol. 175<sup>v</sup> has written *avaritia* — and we may suppose that Wulfstan felt just as strongly on the matter.

<sup>91</sup> Vespasian A.xiv, fols 178<sup>v</sup>–179<sup>r</sup>: 'Tunc temporis impleverunt sancti et apostolici viri illud laudabile preceptum Salvatoris nostri, dicentis: "Gratis accepistis, gratis date." Tunc sine viribus elanguit simoniaca hereses [corr. to *heresis* MS], quia non pecunia emebatur donum Dei, sed gratis, sicut ipse iusserat, donabatur. Timendum est tamen vendentibus gratiam Dei hoc quod Petrus apostolus Simoni dicebat: "Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione; non est tibi pars, neque sors in sermone hoc."'

<sup>92</sup> Bethurum, 'A Letter of Protest', pp. 99–104. The links between the *De rapinis* text and the 'letter of protest' are made a little clearer by the fact that Atto of Vercelli's *DPE* is heavily concerned with simony, and makes use of Acts 8. 20, 'Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditione'. Corpus 190 (one of the so-called 'commonplace books' linked to Wulfstan) has at p. 105 a text called *De eadem re* (following a short excerpt on the election of the unworthy to office); it is a pithy rejection of venality in the priesthood, based on Atto's *DPE* and tweaked in one place to refer specifically to bishops rather than priests. The text leads up to 'pecunia tua', just as the 'letter of protest' uses that quotation as its rhetorical focus. See Cross, 'Atto of Vercelli', p. 241. All this is by way of saying that the 'theological scraps' in quire 8 are subtly interdependent, and that the *De rapinis* text and the 'letter of protest' come from the same stable.

whole story, as is evident by looking at the manuscript as a whole. The letter from Wido added to quire 7 and the Odbert begging letters from quire 6 draw attention to new levels of expense to which a pallium-collecting archbishop would be exposed. I argued above that the reversal of the order of Odbert's letters (to Sigeric first, then to Æthelgar) had the flavour of an accusatory dossier; the 'letter of protest' is the effective result of such source-collation. Pallium-collecting was an intolerable burden in Wulfstan's eyes, and not just because of the simoniacal exactions of the papacy.<sup>93</sup>

## Conclusion

Vespasian A.xiv reeks of the concerns of a newly installed Archbishop of York. The book centres around a large selection of letters from Alcuin, York's most gifted export to the Carolingian court, which are carefully chosen to give advice on the fundamentals of the archiepiscopal office and words of exhortation in dire times of Scandinavian invasion. To Wulfstan, the letters' relevance stood undiminished two centuries later. From these compendious beginnings, Vespasian A.xiv grew and its texts became more varied as Wulfstan's canonical sophistication developed. Sources then tended to be gathered to highlight particular points, ecclesiastical impoverishment and the demands of the papacy above all. This idea of the 'development' of Wulfstan's Alcuin manuscript relies on the fact that its quires were produced separately. This *modus operandi* has been accepted as a well-attested aspect of late Anglo-Saxon book production.<sup>94</sup> What is evident and fascinating about the manuscript is that its later accretions, and quire 8 in particular, stem from Wulfstan's

---

<sup>93</sup> A point of comparison is found in the 'York Gospels': York, Minster Library, Additional 1, fol. 159<sup>v</sup>. In the discussion of tithes in Wulfstan's tract *Be cristendome*, the scribe originally wrote that he who refused to pay Peter's Pence (*romfeoh*) should take (*bringe*) his payment to Rome. Wulfstan glosses this with *uel sende*, thereby offering, as Keynes suggests, 'an easier alternative' — and perhaps showing his awareness of the sapping costs involved in travelling to Rome for any pilgrim, not just a new archbishop. See Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London, 1986), pp. 81–99 (p. 94).

<sup>94</sup> See P. R. Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), 231–39. Other Wulfstan books were clearly constructed from free-standing parts — notably London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i (*A Wulfstan Manuscript Containing Institutes, Laws and Homilies* (*British Museum Cotton Nero A.I.*), ed. by Henry R. Loyn, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 17 (Copenhagen, 1971)) and Copenhagen 1595 (*The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. by Cross and Morrish Tunberg). The insertion of a gathering into the York Gospels, bearing tangibly Wulfstanian texts and the Archbishop's handwriting, is another instance of the later addition of material in a separate quire. See Keynes, 'Additions', and also T. A. Heslop, this volume.

reading of the rest of the book.<sup>95</sup> In short, *Vespasian A.xiv* is a gem because it tells the story of its own development.

Where did Wulfstan obtain his sources to construct *Vespasian A.xiv*? In warp and weft, the book has obvious links to Canterbury. In its reliance on the *Tiberius A.xv* transmission, and in the metropolitan flavour of its later canonical texts (Wulfred's Council of Chelsea and Oda's *Constitutiones*), the input and resources of the Archbishop of Canterbury may have been pivotal. Wulfstan may have turned to his fellow metropolitan — who could draw on the mighty resources of Christ Church — to provide canonical texts, recent and ancient.<sup>96</sup> In this context, it is important that *Tiberius A.xv* has been argued to be a Christ Church manuscript of the early eleventh century, representing an archetype that must have been available to Wulfstan.<sup>97</sup> It transmits all the Alcuin letters copied into *Vespasian A.xiv*, as well as the tenth-century begging letters and the pair concerning Winchester. It even provides the one text in *Vespasian A.xiv* with a specifically northern focus: Paul I's letter to Ecgerht and his brother.<sup>98</sup> Overwhelmingly, Wulfstan's book appears as a Southumbrian product created for use in a Northumbrian context.

Thus *Vespasian A.xiv* gives insights into the Archbishop's methods as well as his concerns. Casting about for new sources, at what was probably an early stage in his archiepiscopal career, Wulfstan was driven to assemble a collection with a specific

---

<sup>95</sup> Development within the manuscript has also been perceived on a palaeographical level. Morrish Tunberg detects changes in the English Caroline script of her 'Scribe C' across different quires: 'his English Caroline in *Vespasian A.XIV*, fols 149–153 [the Chelsea *acta*] may have been written [...] before his English Caroline on fol. 173<sup>v</sup> [*De rapinis*] of *Vespasian A.XIV* and in [the Copenhagen manuscript]': *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. by Cross and Morrish Tunberg, p. 36.

<sup>96</sup> This supposition is bolstered by his close relationship with Archbishop Ælfric, for whose will Wulfstan acts as co-executor. Ælfric leaves him a pectoral cross, a ring, and a psalter. See *EHD* I, no. 126. Note too the papal letter to Archbishop Ælfric in the set of penitential letters found in manuscripts associated with Wulfstan: Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 23 (Bern, 1950), pp. 16–21; also Bethurum, pp. 374–76. Whitelock suspected a Southumbrian *locus* for much of *Vespasian A.xiv*'s contents; see *Sermo Lupi*, p. 33.

<sup>97</sup> See David N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, AD 950–1030*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 6 (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 107, n. 125. Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001), p. 68, sees *Tiberius A.xv*'s origin as 'prob. Canterbury, Christ Church', as does Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim', pp. 53–54, but this is refuted by Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), p. 381.

<sup>98</sup> Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim', p. 70, posits an interplay between the compiler of *Tiberius A.xv* and the construction by Wulfstan and his scribes of *Vespasian A.xiv*: 'one might even envisage an exchange of sources, with Wulfstan bringing single letters or small collections preserved, say, at York down to the compilers at Canterbury or Glastonbury in exchange for the chance to copy some of the letters which they had gathered'.

relevance. Rather than being satisfied with the cache of Alcuin's letters exemplified by Tiberius A.xv, Wulfstan excerpted from it and may have kept that larger collection close to hand to augment his smaller, more focused version. To this material, originating from a single source book, Wulfstan added new and eclectic texts; and he was evidently inspired to do this partially from his reading of the 'core' of Alcuinian and tenth-century letters. As Wulfstan digested these new texts, *Vespasian A.xiv* took shape as we recognize it, with the thorny issue of church wealth catching Wulfstan's eye, spurring him to add material along the same lines, and blurring into a polemical attack on the simoniacal demands of the papacy. *Vespasian A.xiv* developed from an Alcuin source book to a manual imbued with pointedly Wulfstanian concerns. Patrick Wormald has called Wulfstan the 'apprentice welder of an English canonical tradition', and it is in *Vespasian A.xiv*, of all Wulfstan's books, that the Archbishop's apprenticeship is most compellingly presented.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', p. 246.

## APPENDIX

*The Text De activa vita et contemplativa*

At fol. 177<sup>v</sup> in quire 8 of Vespasian A.xiv (see fig. 9.3) is a text headed *DE ACTIUA VITA ET CONTEMPLATIUA* (hereafter *AVC*), ‘Concerning the active and contemplative life’. It is set between Oda’s *Constitutiones* and Wulfstan’s ‘letter of protest’ to the papacy, but these texts are not tightly ‘back to back’ in the same way that the main blocks of Alcuin letters are presented in earlier quires of the manuscript. As suggested above, quire 8 gives a sense of ‘work in progress’, with space left between texts, perhaps to allow for addition and augmentation as needed. Two lines are left blank before and after *AVC*.

Wulfstan himself wrote the heading and the first three words of the text. It is a nice example of the close control he evidently exercised over his scribes. The same technique is clear in *De rapinis aeclesiasticarum rerum*, at fol. 173<sup>v</sup>, also in quire 8: Wulfstan writes the heading here, too, and he later fills the space left at the end of the text with other extracts on the same theme of the alienation of church property (see above).<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> This technique (of writing headings for texts that Wulfstan’s scribes would copy, or of writing these headings in the gaps left by other scribes) is well attested in other books associated with the Archbishop. Copenhagen 1595 is particularly important in this respect: at fols 65<sup>v</sup>–66<sup>r</sup> is a catena based on Isaiah, headed by Wulfstan *DE UISIONE*, and also concluded by him, *hec dicit dominus et reliqua*. But it is in the last section of the Copenhagen manuscript that Wulfstan’s labelling hand is most apparent (‘Section VII’ according to Cross and Morrish Tunberg (quires 9 and 10); see *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, pp. 22–23). The Archbishop writes the headings to every major text in the section: Ælfric’s first Latin letter to Wulfstan is entitled *SERMO EPISCOPI AD CLER[ICORUM]* (fol. 67<sup>r</sup>, in right margin), while Ælfric’s second Latin letter to him is *ITEM SERMO AD SACERDOTES* (fol. 74<sup>r</sup>). Bethurum VIIIa is called here *INCIPIT DE BAPTISMO* (fol. 78<sup>r</sup>), while *DE OFFICIO MISSAE* (fol. 79<sup>v</sup>) heads a set of excerpts on mass regulations taken from, among others, Hrabanus Maurus and Theodulf of Orléans. The Copenhagen manuscript ends with descriptions of three ecclesiastical offices, headed by Wulfstan *DE SACERDOTIBUS* (fol. 80<sup>r</sup>, with a marginal heading *ITEM DE SACERDOTIBUS* on fol. 80<sup>v</sup>), *DE HOSTARIIS* (fol. 82<sup>v</sup>), and *DE LECTORIBUS* (fol. 82<sup>r</sup>), texts which, without such headings by Wulfstan or anyone else, appear earlier in the manuscript’s present collation, though apparently *not* from the same exemplar. Nero A.i provides evidence of a slightly different *modus operandi*: at fol. 100<sup>v</sup>, the so-called ‘Admonition to the bishops’ begins with just over three lines in Wulfstan’s hand, and the text finishes at fol. 102<sup>r</sup> with six words written by him. There is no heading here, but we obtain a powerful sense of Wulfstan’s careful oversight of his scribes, or at least some of them, with such textual ‘topping and tailing’. Wulfstan finishes off a section of *IP* (*Be ðeodwitan*, fol. 109<sup>v</sup>), and ‘tails’ the text called *Uerba exechielis prophete* with an extended stint of thirty-nine words (fol. 125<sup>v</sup>). The Archbishop also writes headings in Nero A.i: another section of *IP* is headed by him *BE SACERDAN* (fol. 102<sup>r</sup>), and in the heading for homily Bethurum XXI, *HER IS GYT RIHTLIC WARNUNG 7 SODLIC MYNGUNG DEODE TO DEARFE, GYME SE ðE PILLE* (fol. 115<sup>v</sup>), the first and last four words are in Wulfstan’s



My transcription and translation of the text are as follows:

DE ACTIUA UITA ET CONTEMPLATIUA:-

Actiua uita est studiosum Christi famulum iustis insistere laboribus, et prius quidem seipsum ab hoc seculo immaculatum custodire, mentem, manum, linguam, ac membra corporis cetera ab omni inquinamento culpe temptantis continere, ac divinis perpetuo subiugare servitiis. Deinde etiam proximi necessitatibus iuxta uires concurrere, esurienti cibum, sitiendi potum, argenti uestitum. Ministrando egenos uagosque in domum recipiendo, eripiendo inopem de manu fortioris [*fortiorum* MS] eius, egenum et pauperum [*paupere* MS] a rapientibus eum; sed et erranti uiam ueritatis ostendendo, ac ceteris fraterne dilectionis obsequiis se mancipando et usque ad mortem pro iustitia certando. Contemplatiua uita est, fratres cum longo quis bonę actionis exercitio doctus, diuine orationis dulcedine instructus, crebra lacrimarum conpunctione assuefactus, a cunctis mundi negotiis uacare, et in sola Christi dilectione oculos mentis intendere didicerit, gaudium etiam perpetue beatitudinis quod in futuro [*futura* MS] percepturus est, uita etiam in presenti ceperit ardentem desiderando gustare;<sup>101</sup>

CONCERNING THE ACTIVE LIFE AND THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

The active life is for the zealous servant of Christ to occupy himself with good works, but before that for him to preserve himself unspotted from this world,<sup>102</sup> to keep mind, hand, tongue, and the other parts of the body from every impurity of tempting sin,<sup>103</sup> and to make them always subject to the service of the divine. Then, to come to the aid of the needs of his neighbour within the limits of his powers, [giving] food to the person who hungers, drink to the person who thirsts, clothing to the person who is cold. [And] by providing for the needy, and welcoming wanderers into his home, by snatching the powerless man from the hand of the stronger, and the needy man and the poor man away from those who are plundering him;<sup>104</sup> but also by showing the road of truth to the man who is going astray,<sup>105</sup> and by surrendering himself to the other duties of brotherly love and by fighting for justice even to death. The contemplative life is, brethren, when a man, schooled by long practice of doing good, made ready by the sweetness of divine prayer, made accustomed by the frequent pain of tears, has learned to be free from all the business of the world, and to keep the eyes of his mind fixed only in the love of Christ, and has begun even in this

---

hand. In short, then, texts generated under the Archbishop's auspices were subject to an editor who would control how they began and ended, what these texts were called, and how they were augmented — possibly some time after they were initially written.

<sup>101</sup> The text is ended with a *punctus versus* (:), equivalent to a modern full stop.

<sup>102</sup> James 1. 27.

<sup>103</sup> II Corinthians 7. 1.

<sup>104</sup> Psalm 35. 10.

<sup>105</sup> James 5. 19–20.

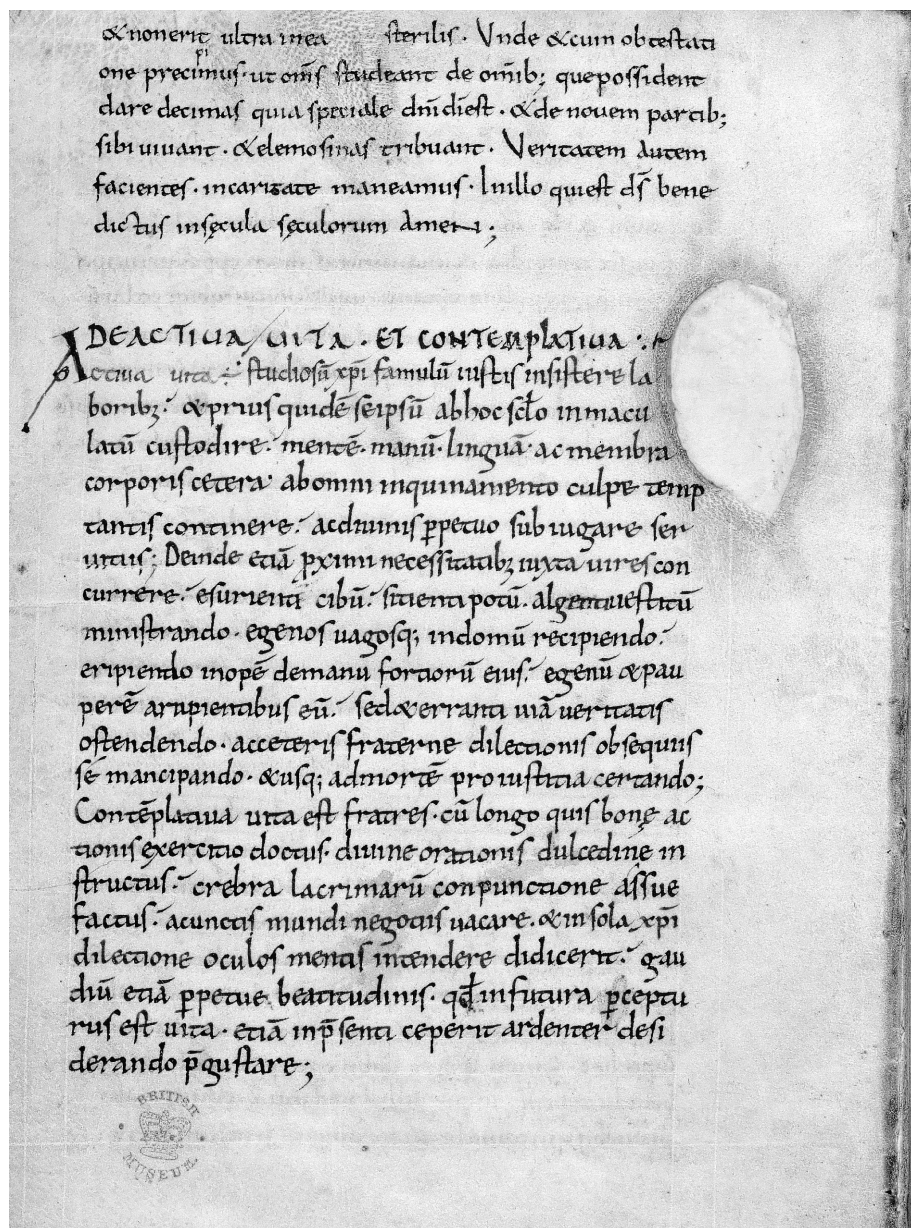


Figure 9.3. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fol. 177<sup>v</sup> (by permission of the British Library). Wulfstan writes the text's heading and the first words 'Actiua uita est'. Note the gaps left on the folio both before and after the text is entered.

present life to taste beforehand, by desiring it ardently, the joy of the everlasting blessedness which he will obtain in the future.

The ultimate source for Wulfstan's text is Bede's Gospel homily I. 9, on the Feast of St John the Evangelist.<sup>106</sup> Taken as a whole, the homily is a nuanced and layered piece, wholly typical of Bede's concern to provide a base of interpretation for those who had to explain the Scriptures; importantly, too, it avoids the intricate complexities on which Bede gives himself free rein in his Gospel commentaries. Bede's homilies are by no means simplistic, but they do display a thematic consistency that makes them excellent sources.<sup>107</sup> Wulfstan's source is no exception.

The homily is built around a pericope from the very end of St John's Gospel (John 21. 19–24), when we see Christ steadying the resolve of his disciples and spelling out to them what it means literally to follow him. The implications of the command *sequere me* pervade the text, and we obtain a sense of Christ treating his followers separately, even in the context of Peter's betrayal. The pericope is immediately preceded by Christ's resurrection and appearance to the fishermen, together with Peter's declarations on the Galilee shore ('Thou knowest that I love Thee')

Bede's treatment of the scene is intriguing. Building up to the discussion of the active and contemplative lives that Wulfstan would excerpt centuries later, he emphasizes the contrast between John the Evangelist (whose testimony provides the basis for the homily) and the other disciples. Bede finds it important that John *virgo in ævum permansit* ('remained forever a virgin'), that Christ called John away from his marriage ceremony, only to reward his disciple with greater love to compensate for the forswearing of *carnali voluptate* ('fleshly concupiscence'). John, in short, is presented as a different type of disciple, with an incorrupt heart *and* an incorrupt body, while the other disciples (exemplified by Peter) were men of the world. It is therefore no surprise, Bede suggests, that John *perpauca de humanis scribens actibus, potius se exponendis divinæ naturæ indidit arcanis* ('wrote very little about human acts, and instead applied himself to explaining the hidden mysteries of his divine nature').

John the Evangelist's unworldliness has an important exemplifying function for Bede. Repeatedly using the last part of the Gospel on which the homily is hung, when Christ orders *Sic eum volo manere donec venio* (John 21. 23; 'I wish him [John] to remain thus until I come'), Bede interprets that John's remaining did not

---

<sup>106</sup> The Latin text is found in *Patrologia Latina*, XCIV (Beda V), cols 44D–49D (*In die natalis sanctae iohannis baptistae*), at cols 47D–48A. For a full English translation, see *Homilies on the Gospels*, ed. by Lawrence L. Martin and David Hurst, Cistercian Studies Series, 110 (Kalamazoo, 1991), pp. 85–95.

<sup>107</sup> See Joyce Hill, *Bede and the Benedictine Reform* (Jarrow Lecture, 1998), for an overview of the use of Bede's homiletic corpus in the Carolingian period and beyond.

mean that the Evangelist would be victorious without struggle — rather, that John would pass over from the world without the pain of suffering.<sup>108</sup>

The discussion of the active and contemplative lives then follows, and virtually the same text was excerpted, three centuries after Bede composed it, into Vespasian A.xiv. However, this was not a straightforward case of Wulfstan distilling what he found most useful from the homily — or at least it was not just that.

Bede's views on the *vita activa et contemplativa* interested at least one other writer between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Haymo (c. 778–853), friend of Hrabanus Maurus, student of Alcuin, and from 840/41 Bishop of Halberstadt, was a prolific writer in the mould of the Carolingian reforms.<sup>109</sup> He wrote a complete scheme of homilies for the church year and commentaries on (inter alia) the Psalms, the canticles, and the epistles of Paul; and he extracted from Rufinus's Latin translation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* to produce his *Historiae sacrae epitome*. Haymo's talent for excerpting from others' texts is also revealed in his *De varietate librorum, sive de amore coelestis patriae* ('Concerning Diverse Books, or The Love for the Heavenly Country'). In three books, this text is a wide-ranging, ascetic account of spirituality — and it is here, in book two, that Bede's discussion also surfaces.<sup>110</sup> However, Haymo is not unthinking in his pasting of Bede's prose into his account of the active and contemplative lives. He follows Bede closely (but not exactly) on the *vita activa*, but Haymo's definition of the contemplative life comes entirely from elsewhere. Wulfstan, as we have seen, follows Bede closely (but, again, not exactly) on both the active and contemplative lives, and yet also appears to take account of variations in Haymo's version.

---

<sup>108</sup> Immediately before the extract of the homily from which Wulfstan's *AVC* derives, Bede ties up the implications of this view: 'Possumus autem mystice in his quæ Petro et Joanni a Domino prædicta atque in eis sunt gesta, duas Ecclesiæ vitas quibus in præsentī exercetur, activam scilicet et contemplativam, designatas accipere, quarum activa communis populo Dei via vivendi est. Ad contemplativam vero perpauca, et in hoc sublimiores quique post perfectionem piæ actionis ascendunt' ('However, mystically speaking we can take these things which were predicted by the Lord to Peter and John, and which [later] took place, as designating the two ways of life in the church which are carried out in the present, namely the active and the contemplative. Of these, the active is the way of living common to [all] the people of God. Very few ascend to the contemplative, and these more sublime ones [do so] after [achieving] perfection in good deeds').

<sup>109</sup> The figure in question was *not* Haymo of Auxerre (died 865/66), whom Ælfric mentions as the sixth of his authorities in the preface to his first series of *Catholic Homilies* ('et aliquando Hægmonem'). On the erroneous conflation of the two Haymos, see H. Barré, *Les Homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre*, Studi e Testi, 225 (Vatican City, 1962), pp. 33–42. Cyril L. Smetana's 'Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt', *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 457–96, actually concerns Haymo of Auxerre.

<sup>110</sup> *Patrologia Latina*, CXVIII, cols 875A–958D, at col. 920 B and C: bk II, chs 53 (*De activa vita*) and 54 (*De contemplativa vita*).

This is a complicated situation, and one that is best expressed in directly comparative form:<sup>111</sup>

<b>Bede, Gospel Homily I. 9</b>	<b>Haymo of Halberstadt, <i>De varietate librorum, sive de amore coelestis patriae</i></b>	<b>Wulfstan, <i>De activa vita et contemplativa</i></b>
Deinde etiam proximi necessitatibus iuxta vires <b>occurrere,</b>  ministrando egenos vagosque in domum recipiendo, infirmum visitando, mortuum sepeliendo,  eripiendo inopem de manu fortioris eius, egenum et pauperum a rapientibus eum; sed et erranti viam veritatis ostendendo, ac cæteris se mancipando fraternæ dilectionis obsequiis, insuper et usque ad mortem pro iustitia certando	Deinde etiam proximi necessitatibus iuxta vires <b>succurrere,</b>  <b>esurienti cibum, potum sitienti, argenti vestitum.</b> Ministrando egenis vagosque in domum recipiendo, <b>infirmum visitando, mortuum sepeliendo,</b>  eripiendo inopem de manu fortioris eius. Egenum et pauperem a rapientibus eum <b>eruyendo,</b> erranti viam veritatis ostendendo, ac cæteris se mancipando fraternæ dilectionis obsequiis, insuper et usque ad mortem pro iustitia certando	Deinde etiam proximi necessitatibus iuxta vires <b>concurrere,</b>  <b>esurienti cibum, sitienti potum, argenti vestitum.</b> Ministrando egenos vagosque in domum recipiendo,  eripiendo inopem de manu fortioris eius, egenum et pauperum a rapientibus eum; sed et erranti viam veritatis ostendendo, ac ceteris fraterne dilectionis obsequiis, <b>se mancipando et usque ad mortem pro iustitia certando</b>
Contemplativa autem vita est, cum longo quis bonæ actionis exercitio edoctus [. . .]	Contemplativa vita est charitatem quidem et proximi tota mente retinere [. . .] [Haymo's discussion of the contemplative life is not from Bede I. 9]	Contemplativa vita est, <b>fratres</b> cum longo quis bonæ actionis exercitio doctus [. . .]
[. . .] et in sola dilectione oculum mentis intendere didicerit, gaudiumque perpetuæ beatitudinis quod in futuro percepturus est [. . .]	[No parallel]	[. . .] et in sola <b>Christi</b> dilectione oculos mentis intendere didicerit, gaudium etiam perpetue beatitudinis quod in futura [sic] percepturus est [. . .]

<sup>111</sup> Text in bold highlights important differences from the other versions of the text, to aid cross-comparison.

Ascertaining the sources used by Anglo-Saxon writers is a notoriously difficult business. As Pope said of Ælfric and his contemporaries, 'the authors are all borrowers, and some are little else'.<sup>112</sup> These borrowings rarely have an absolutely clear origin, and while we may be able to point to a source's ultimate provenance, the immediate context in which the Anglo-Saxon author found the source is frequently lost to us. The work of Joyce Hill has been crucial in this area: her perception of a 'patristic bias in source study'<sup>113</sup> and her readiness to concentrate on the collections which transmitted *excerpted* patristic texts as well as those texts in their full incarnations have shifted our perception of the resources and working methods of writers such as Ælfric. The danger of tracing sources back to their original — or *perceived* original — texts, Hill argues, is that we presume that Ælfric and others had libraries filled with complete versions of patristic homilies and commentaries.

Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* allowed some circumvention of patristic *opera omnia*. Assembled under Charlemagne's instructions, it was a prodigious anthology of nearly 250 complete items — of what the Carolingian reform movement saw as the most important of the Fathers' (pseudo-)homiletic output.<sup>114</sup> The *Homiliary* enjoyed relative popularity in late Anglo-Saxon England, as the extant manuscripts of the period attest. We know, too, that Ælfric used its resources intensively. It is no surprise that Bede's homily I. 9, whence came *AVC*, is one of the fifty-six Bedan items in Paul the Deacon's scheme.<sup>115</sup>

Cyril Smetana revealed Ælfric's tendency to 'balance' two or more sources for a catena, spreading the responsibility of authority.<sup>116</sup> Referring to Ælfric's 'art of concatenation', Smetana revealed how Ælfric would pick apart variants and create textual amalgams. Excerption works most effectively with several extracts. Precisely such a balancing act may have taken place in Wulfstan's excerpting of *AVC*. Haymo's references (not in Bede) to giving out food, drink, and clothing are carried over into Wulfstan's text, while the exhortations to visit the sick and bury the dead (in both Bede and Haymo) are omitted. Yet Haymo's account of the contemplative life is not

<sup>112</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, 2 vols, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 259–60 (London, 1967–68), I (1967), 155.

<sup>113</sup> Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 203–37 (p. 205).

<sup>114</sup> Friedrich Wiegand attempted a reconstruction of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary*: *Das Homilium Karls des Grossen auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt hin untersucht*, Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, 1.2 (Leipzig, 1897). Cyril L. Smetana bases his discussion on Wiegand's analysis: 'Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary', *Traditio*, 15 (1959), 163–204. *Patrologia Latina*, vol. XCV, reprints the text of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary* as it appears in the edition by Eucharius Cervicornus (1539). See now Réginald Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: analyse des manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali, 12 (Spoleto, 1980), pp. 423–79.

<sup>115</sup> Bede's Gospel homily I. 9, the ultimate source for *AVC*, stands at position 33 of 244 in the Wiegand/Smetana reconstruction.

<sup>116</sup> Smetana, 'Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary', esp. pp. 199–204.

used, and Wulfstan's version is subtly augmented with the audience-tag 'brethren', together with the specific reference to keeping one's mind on the love of Christ.

However, it is highly likely that the pieces to this puzzle have not yet been fully assembled. Wulfstan's text is sufficiently different from *both* Bede's and Haymo's versions to suggest that we are dealing with a lost intermediate source. Wulfstan's use of the verb *concurrere* — as opposed to Bede's *occurrere* and Haymo's *succurrere*, and all three rough synonyms — are difficult to explain away as a scribal slip. Indeed, the parallels with Haymo may credibly result from Haymo's use of a text of Bede (from a version of Paul the Deacon's anthology, perhaps?) that had undergone those changes, while Wulfstan used a similar text around two centuries later. The Archbishop of York need never have heard of Haymo of Halberstadt or encountered *De varietate librorum* (or extracts from it) to produce a text that bears some of its hallmarks. As ever, we are at the mercy of texts that have happened to survive, and at the mercy of Migne and other editors with an imperative to provide a single, coherent text out of many texts. All we can say with certainty is that Wulfstan used a version of part of Bede's Gospel homily I. 9 (whether the Archbishop recognized it as such or not) to provide a discussion of the active and contemplative lives that would find its way into Vespasian A.xiv, and that in all probability he had access to a version of Paul the Deacon's *Homiliary*, in which this text appeared.

Bede's ideas, by whichever medium or media they reached Wulfstan, can be supposed to have had a special relevance for the Archbishop. In some respects this is an otiose point: the existence of *AVC* in Vespasian A.xiv, framed by Wulfstan's handwriting, is evidence enough that he found the extract particularly important. Yet we have only to think of his career to see that Wulfstan himself embodied the potential conflicts between the life of action and that of contemplation. We know that he was a lawmaker to kings and that he was a landlord; charter evidence gives us some hints of his involvement in the affairs of the kingdom. Yet how was he to 'preserve himself unspotted from this world' while he was a pivotal part of its government? How far should he 'fight for justice' without compromising his status as a man of the church? These were perennial concerns, in no way restricted to Wulfstan, but it is rare, especially in this period, that we can see the extent of an ecclesiastic's secular involvement at the same time as having his own codified accounts of what officers of the church should be doing. Self-awareness in this context should not surprise us; but insights into it are intriguing, especially those written into a manuscript that seems to represent something of the Archbishop's feet-finding.

To Wulfstan, the outside world could be corrupt, and corrupting. These were not novel concerns for a prelate, and his works breathe an almost Augustinian suspicion of the *saeculum*. Wulfstan's canon law collection is particularly telling here. Take, for example, a canon entitled *De secularibus curis*:

Episcopus aut presbiter uel diaconus nequaquam seculares curas adsumat; sin aliter, deponatur. Et in unica ecclesia, episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se reuocet, sed lectioni et orationi et uerbi Dei predicationi tantum uacet, et uilem suppellectilem

ac uictum pauperum habeat, et dignitatis suę auctoritatem fide et per uite meritum querat, et cum apostolis penuriam patienter sustineat.<sup>117</sup>

In other canons, ‘Episcopi nullatenus secularibus negotiis plus quam Dei seruitis [...] subditi existant’ (‘bishops are in no way to live subjected more to worldly affairs than to the service of God’);<sup>118</sup> ‘Non debet clericus indui monachico habitu nec laicorum uestibus uti’ (‘a cleric ought not to put on a monk’s habit or use laymen’s clothes’);<sup>119</sup> and ‘non est liber a laqueis diaboli, qui se militie mundane uoluerit implicare’ (a priest ‘who has wished to involve himself in worldly military service is not free from the snares of the Devil’).<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, the ‘B’ recension of the canon collection makes extended use of Ghaerbald of Liège’s first capitulary, which, though only a short text, is shot through with the requirement of a cleric’s detachment from the society he serves. Unsurprisingly, simony is outlawed, but so is a priest’s use of secular law courts. He cannot stand bail. Nor is he to carry weapons for fighting, still less to foment trouble with neighbours. Correct dress for priests is rigorously enforced, and any clerical carousing in taverns is banned. In canon legal terms, at least, Wulfstan demanded a strict delimiting of his priests from their flocks, for the good of all society.

Yet Wulfstan’s suspicions are not confined to the worldly life. The *vita contemplativa* has its dangers, too, as the Archbishop’s section on monks in his *IP* makes plain:

Riht is þæt munecas dæges and nihtes inweardre heortan á to Gode þencan and geornlice clypian and mid eallum eadmedum regollice libban and hy symle asyndrian fram woruldbyseگان, swa hi geornost magan, and don, swa heom ðearf is: carian æfre, hu hi swyðost magan Gode gecwemdan and eall þæt gelæstan, þæt þæt hi behetan, þa hi had underfengon. Fylian heora bocum and gebedum georne, leornian and læran, swa hi geornost magon, and æghwylce wlence and idele rence and syndrige æhte and unnytte dæde and untidspræce forhogian mid ealle. Swa gebyrð munecum. Ac hit is yfel soð, swa hit þincan mæg, þæt sume synd to wlance and ealles to rance and to widscriþole and to unnytte and ealles to idele ælcere goddæde and to mandæde on

<sup>117</sup> Recension A. 17: *Wulfstan’s Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, pp. 73–74:

‘Concerning worldly responsibilities. A bishop, priest or deacon must by no means take on worldly responsibilities; but if he behaves otherwise, let him be removed from office. And a bishop is not to bring on himself any responsibility for domestic affairs in a single church, but he is to be free to attend only to reading and prayer and the preaching of the word of God; and he is to have cheap household goods and poor food, and he is to seek to acquire the authority of his rank by faith, and through the merit of his life, and he is patiently to endure poverty with the apostles.’ The canon is given its title in Corpus 265 and in Barlow 37.

<sup>118</sup> Recension A. 30, *Canon episcoporum: Wulfstan’s Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, p. 78.

<sup>119</sup> Recension A. 76, given a generic *Item*, from Ælfric, *Brief 2: Wulfstan’s Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, p. 98.

<sup>120</sup> Recension B. 159, also *Item* and also (partially) from Ælfric, *Brief 2: Wulfstan’s Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, p. 167.



dyrnlican galscyppe; inne aidlode and ute awildode. And sume syn apóstatan þe sceoldan, gyf hi woldan, wesan Godes cempa innan heora mynstran. Þæt synd þa earman þe hadas awurpan and on woruldþingan wuniað mid synnan. Eall hit færeð yfele ealles to wide. Swa swyðe hit wyrsað wide mid mannum, þæt þæs hades men, þe þurh Godes ege hwylcum wæron nyttoste and geswincfulleste on godcundan þeowdome and on boccræfte, þa syndon nu wel forð unnyttaste gewelhwær and ne swincap a swiðe ymbe ænige þearfe for Gode ne for worulde, ac maciað eall be luste and be eþnesse and lufiað oferwiste and idele blisse, woriað and wandriað and ealne dæg fleardiað, spelliað and spiliað and nænige note dreogað. Þæt is laðlic lif, þæt hi swa maciað; eac hit is þe wyrse, þe ealdras hit ne betað, ne sylfne swa wel farað sumes, swa hi sceoldan. Ac we agan néode þæt we hit gebetan, swa we geornost magan, and weorðian anmode to gemænelicre þearfe for Gode and for worulde.<sup>121</sup>

Monks must 'separate themselves from worldly concerns', yet Wulfstan chides them in the same breath for being 'too profitless, and all too empty of every good deed'. The contradiction here is plain: monks are criticized for being too worldly, and at the same time for not working to address the problems of their society. 'Those in orders', who had apparently once been 'most laborious in divine ministry and in scholarship', now 'never labour much at any needful matter on behalf of God nor on behalf of the world'. To Wulfstan, then, the contemplative life should not always be lived in hermetic separation from the world around the *oratores*. The world had to be kept at a distance, indeed; but this was not to be used as an apologetic to retreat from the difficulties that beset society. *Eall hit færeð yfele ealles to wide* — and a crucial reason for these

---

<sup>121</sup> 'Institutes of Polity', ed. by Jost, pp. 123–27. This is the longest version of *Be muncum*, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, fols 18<sup>v</sup>–19<sup>r</sup>: 'It is right that monks always think on God by day and night in the inward heart and earnestly call on him, and live according to rule with all humility, and always separate themselves from worldly concerns as carefully as they can, and do what is their duty: always care how they can best propitiate God and practise all that which they promised when they received orders; to attend diligently to their books and prayers, to learn and teach as best they can, and completely scorn every pride and empty vanity and separate property and profitless action and unreasonable talk. So it befits monks. But as may be supposed, it is truly an evil that some are proud and all too vain, and too given to wandering, and too profitless, and all too empty of every good deed, and too wicked in secret lustfulness: inwardly worthless and outwardly indignant. And some who should, if they would, be champions of God within their monasteries are apostates. That is, those wretches who have cast off orders and dwell in sin among worldly affairs. All too widely is everything going badly. So much is it worsening widely among men, that those in orders who through fear of God were at one time the most profitable and most laborious in divine ministry and in scholarship, are now everywhere well nigh the most useless, and never labour much at any needful matter on behalf of God nor on behalf of the world, but do all for pleasure and for ease, and love gluttony and vain joy, stroll about and wander and play the fool all day, chatter and sport and do nothing of any use. It is a detestable life that they live thus; it is the worse that any superiors do not amend it, moreover; nor do some of them conduct themselves as well as they should. But we need to amend it as earnestly as we can, and to be steadfast for the common good in the sight of God and the world.'

bad circumstances is that those who could help, the monks, are content to lead sensuous existences of self-fulfilment. Quite simply, as Wulfstan concludes his chain of monastic failings, they ‘do nothing of any use’ (*nænige note dreogað*).

*AVC* has a clear relevance here. As the excerpted text in Vespasian A.xiv states, the contemplative life is accessible only to those ‘schooled by long practice of doing good’. In other words, one can only proceed to contemplation after knowing what it is to perform good works: the *vita contemplativa* is the perfection of the *vita activa*. The two modes of life are, in fact, not contradictory, but necessarily interrelated. Wulfstan’s status as a man of action as well as study has provoked the disbelief of modern commentators — most notably Christopher Hohler, who maintained that ‘the man who asked Ælfric for his Pastoral Letters can hardly himself have been a canonist; and most of his life must in any case have been spent not in a library, but in the saddle. He could easily have whiled away the time on horseback putting into rhythmical prose matter fed to him by a secretary.’<sup>122</sup> Wulfstan studies have now moved on to a point where commentators do not feel it necessary to impose a tension between the Archbishop’s different roles. Indeed, we may suppose that, in having *AVC* copied into Vespasian A.xiv — with his own scribal assistance — Wulfstan was stimulated by Bede’s idea that the contemplative life is not removed from the active, but is rather the ultimate result of it.

---

<sup>122</sup> Christopher Hohler, ‘Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church’, in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. by David Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 60–83, 217–27 (p. 225 n. 59).

# Art and the Man: Archbishop Wulfstan and the York Gospelbook\*

T. A. HESLOP

## *Introduction*

The York Gospelbook (York, Minster Library, Additional 1, often referred to as the York Gospels) is one of about twenty lavishly illuminated manuscripts made in England during the last third of the tenth and the first third of the eleventh century. Such evidence as we have suggests that they were made by members of monastic communities, but it is characteristic of the group as a whole that few of the books seem to have remained for long at the place of their manufacture, and this seems especially to be true of the gospelbooks among them. I proposed in an article in 1990 that a potential explanation, which finds some support in contemporaneous textual sources, is that these books were made to be distributed as gifts by Cnut, king of England 1016–35, and his queen, Emma.<sup>1</sup> At the time I was concerned with that general proposition and was not able to treat any of the manuscripts in particular detail. The occasion of the Wulfstan conference has given me the opportunity to return to the subject and focus on one of these books which, as we shall see, was early in Wulfstan's possession — indeed he was quite probably its first owner. My purpose is to develop my earlier position by means of this case study, and to argue that

---

\* I would like to thank Patrick McGurk and Jane Rosenthal for their helpful comments on a draft of this paper, and the staff of York Minster Library for facilitating my research on the manuscript. Although much of the paper remains as given at the Wulfstan conference in July 2002, the emphasis on the interpretation of 'ownership' was developed for the presentation given to World Art Studies Research Seminar at the University of East Anglia in the following September. I am also grateful to Natasha Hutcheson for reading and improving a late draft.

<sup>1</sup> T. A. Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 151–95.

the York Gospelbook tells us something about Wulfstan and the way he was perceived by contemporaries. Far from being generalized 'treasure', the York Gospelbook (and by implication several of the others) was tailored to its intended recipient.<sup>2</sup>

In this essay, then, I explore a composite hypothesis: that the York Gospelbook was made for Archbishop Wulfstan, and that our understanding of both Wulfstan and the illumination of the manuscript can be enhanced if we interpret it in the light of his ownership. In order to set up this examination I will consider three kinds of evidence: first for Wulfstan's ownership of the Gospelbook, second for the manuscript being a unitary production made at the height of Wulfstan's career, and finally that the Evangelist portraits are consistent with Wulfstan's tastes and outlook. Accordingly the body of my text is divided into three sections. The first two of these involve relatively straightforward argument based on empirical observation. The third part is more complex partly because discussions of taste are beyond the reach of material analysis. For that reason I will introduce some of the issues for the third section at the outset and return to them in conclusion.

It is a recurrent theme in the study of artistic patronage that it constitutes a 'statement' of some kind. Put at its simplest, patronage tells us something about the patron, his or her interests and priorities. The object of patronage to be read in this way may be a specific building, a whole category of 'collectibles' such as antiquities, or indeed a particular person, such as an artist, and his or her work. Interpreting a patron's motivation can involve analysing content or subject matter, questions of 'style' (for example a commitment to plainness or elaboration), or indeed a mixture of content, form, and function. In general patronal objectives are seen to range from concerns with expressing political, family, or religious affiliation to an interest in intellectual, domestic, or outdoor pursuits. But whatever the 'aim' attributed to patronage, it is quite properly presented as locked into a context of social relations and 'discourse'.

Accordingly, there is an understandable tendency both to interpret objects in the light of a patron's other known interests, and conversely to factor an interpretation of the object into an understanding of the patron. If we agree, for example, that Odo of Bayeux was in some sense the patron of the Bayeux Tapestry, we may read it through other information about Odo's career and character but also add it to our resources of evidence about his career and character.<sup>3</sup> There is a clear danger of circular argument here, so for these procedures to have much persuasive power we need to be as clear as possible about the patron's connection with the object. An important issue might seem to be how far a patron is involved in deciding what the object should look like. But even for periods far less remote than the eleventh century, we rarely have access to robust evidence; we nearly always have to work by inference.

---

<sup>2</sup> A full facsimile edition is available: *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London, 1986). The accompanying essays on various aspects of the manuscript are referred to in subsequent notes.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Suzanne Lewis, *The Rhetoric of Power in the Bayeux Tapestry* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. ch. 4.

This is not as disadvantageous as it may seem at first. For, to stay with the example of the Bayeux Tapestry, even if Odo had no part in commissioning it (which is the sense in which I have used 'patron' thus far), we may infer that he owned it since that is the most likely explanation for its ending up in his cathedral in Bayeux. As far as Bayeux was concerned, the perception of Odo's patronage may have been focused on the donation of the Tapestry (secondary patronage) rather the act of commissioning per se (primary patronage) which impacts far more directly on the makers of the object. It follows from this distinction that the character of patronage varies depending on standpoint: commissioners, artists, and recipients may have different views of the object and the 'transactions' in which it is involved. In such a formulation, it is a significant issue whether an object is made to be kept, or whether it is to be a 'gift'. For in the latter case the commissioner's perception of the recipient may help determine, or at least 'colour', the character of the artefact. So, we have to discriminate between the patron as owner and the patron as giver, and whether the object may be more (or less) informative about the commissioner, the maker, or the envisaged recipient, or indeed about their relationships.

In addition to the bonds between people, a distinction between public display and private consumption may well be important. The extent to which one is seen to own an object, and how much one flaunts that ownership, may be taken as a part of the presentation of a public persona. Closet ownership is another matter. We may choose to possess things but conceal them for fear of embarrassment (soft toys or pornography) if they are not how we wish to be thought of. We may be given something by a friend, relative, or patron, which we know we have to keep, but which we do not especially want to be seen with. Concealment of either of these kinds is not equivalent to disowning; it may be more like our inner clothing or hidden self. So we need to be alert to the extent to which ownership is acknowledged and publicly active.

But how relevant are such considerations to the study of the York Gospelbook, or for that matter any other manuscript from a thousand years ago? The short answer is that a number of studies have exploited this possibility and contributed to our understanding not just of the manuscripts themselves, but of the people who commissioned, owned, or used them. An outstanding example is the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, brilliantly explored over three decades by the late Robert Deshman.<sup>4</sup> He argued compellingly that the character of the imagery in that manuscript resulted from and thus sheds light upon the personality and politics of the owner for whom it was made, Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester. It is a very showy production containing both secular and ecclesiastical 'propaganda' of a quite sophisticated kind. By contrast, a drawing in another manuscript, 'St Dunstan's Classbook', in which Dunstan's own hand has been discerned, appears to distinguish his humble piety from

---

<sup>4</sup> London, British Library, Additional 49598. Deshman's doctoral dissertation, 'The Iconography of the Full-Page Miniatures of the *Benedictional of Æthelwold*' was submitted in 1970 at Princeton. His work culminated in *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, 1995); for the relationship between owner/patron and product, see e.g. the latter, pp. 252–54.

Æthelwold's political grandiloquence and serves thereby to 'constitute' a very different persona.<sup>5</sup>

However caution is necessary. For one thing, the presence of what has been plausibly identified as Dunstan's handwriting in the Classbook leaves no doubt that he treated the manuscript as his personal property.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, we know that the Benedictional was ordered by Æthelwold and that he apparently specified aspects of its design, but it is not certain how he used it, or even that he did use it.<sup>7</sup> In other ways too the manuscripts are not directly comparable. The elaborately painted and gilded Benedictional is a service book, potentially on public display at great church festivals,<sup>8</sup> whereas Dunstan's Classbook was a scholarly compilation for private or schoolroom use. Notions of functional appropriateness clearly need to be factored in to our interpretation of what the object tells us about its recipient or user. I will return to these larger issues at the end, but now we must turn from the conceptual problems connected with patronage and ownership to the more prosaic, concrete codicological evidence of the object in question: the York Gospelbook.

### *Wulfstan's Ownership of the York Gospelbook*

In 1020, or very soon after, a gathering of two vellum bifolios was inserted at the back of the York Gospelbook (fig. 10.1). It contains on its first four pages three texts generally agreed to have been composed by Archbishop Wulfstan. They are headed, respectively, *Sermo Lupi*, *Be hæðendome*, and *Be cristendome*.<sup>9</sup> In the form in

---

<sup>5</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F.4.32, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Mildred Budny, "'St Dunstan's Classbook'" and its Frontispiece', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 103–42. See further Jane Rosenthal, 'The Pontifical of St Dunstan', in *St Dunstan*, ed. by Ramsay, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, pp. 143–63, for the relationship between Dunstan and the drawings in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 943.

<sup>6</sup> Budny, "'St Dunstan's Classbook'", e.g. p. 122.

<sup>7</sup> The opening inscription (Francis Wormald, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold* (London, 1959), pp. 7–8) makes much of Æthelwold's role in commissioning the manuscript, but there is no evidence confirming his subsequent use of it.

<sup>8</sup> In the final miniature in the Benedictional, a book is shown prominently between the Bishop and a mixed congregation of ecclesiastics and laypeople: Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, pl. 35 and pp. 139–46. This presumably envisages how the Benedictional will be 'displayed'.

<sup>9</sup> *Wulfstan: Sammlungen der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, 4 (Berlin, 1883), nos LIX, LX, and LXI. On the character of these works, see *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 38–39, and Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, pp. 81–99 (pp. 92–95).

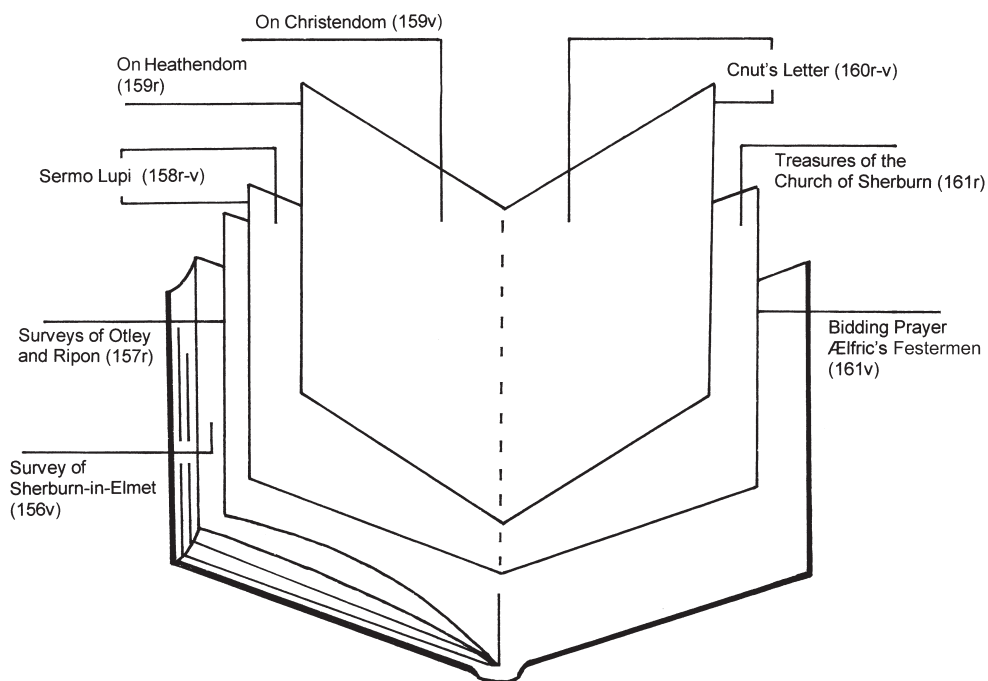


Figure 10.1. The final pages of the York Gospelbook (York, Minster Library, Additional 1) and the '1020' gathering, showing the positioning of 'Wulfstan's' additions.

which we have them in the manuscript they are unique, and furthermore include a few corrections made apparently in Wulfstan's own hand, features together indicative that the book was his to customize. They are immediately followed by a letter from Cnut addressed to his archbishop(s), bishops, Earl Thorkell, and all his earls, and it may be that each person in these categories received a copy.<sup>10</sup>

Cnut's letter represents in part a text he sent from Denmark in the winter of 1019–20. However, it has been cogently argued that the latter part of it, sections 14 to 20, is actually composed by Wulfstan and that this supplement was devised only after the letter was received in England.<sup>11</sup> The Archbishop was not in Denmark with the King, and so on almost any interpretation Wulfstan is speaking for Cnut without the latter's knowledge. Wulfstan was certainly not beyond putting words into kings' mouths; it is in effect what his law-codes are doing. As the York Gospelbook's version of the letter is the unique surviving record of this important document we are in no position to know whether its wider reception included Wulfstan's additions or not. But the letter as we have it demonstrates as eloquently as any of his other works the extent to which Wulfstan involved himself in the governance of England.

The gathering with all this material must have been made for the York Gospelbook at a date after the receipt of the letter, and most probably in 1020. There are several good reasons for suggesting this. The letter is written in the same hand as Wulfstan's tracts, and neither the ink colour nor the red highlighting of the initials suggests different campaigns of work. The tracts are deliberately fitted onto four pages and could thus have been accommodated on a single bifolium, but the gathering was provided from the outset with a second bifolium. It thus seems likely that the inclusion of the letter was envisaged from the point at which the gathering was prepared, for without the letter the second bifolium would have been surplus to requirements. Though the written area is somewhat larger, its proportions match those of the bulk of the codex quite well. It is also important to note that the original sewing stations, still discernible in the valley on the central bifolium, are those of the Gospelbook proper, which means the gathering was never sewn into any other codex. Furthermore, clearly visible, especially on the last sheet, is a rust stain, half way up the pages and 40 mm in from the fore edge. This must mark the position of the nail which originally secured the book clasp, on the back cover, which held the whole manuscript closed when it was not in use. Indeed on the final sheet, the rust stain fringes a substantial hole, which suggests that for a long period in its history (probably well over two hundred years) this two-bifolium gathering remained the only addition to the structure of the book and that its final sheet was hard up against

---

<sup>10</sup> Text and translation in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1, AD 871–1066, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), 1, 435–41.

<sup>11</sup> Keynes, 'Additions', pp. 95–96.



the end board.<sup>12</sup> The implication of this early, added matter, or at least my inference from it, is that around 1020 the Gospelbook was regarded as Wulfstan's property, rather than, for example, belonging to York Minster.<sup>13</sup>

The other, shorter texts written into the manuscript during Wulfstan's lifetime do not contradict such a proposition. Foremost among them, in that they are on the final gathering of the Gospels themselves rather than on the two added bifolios, are the lists of lands pertaining to three estates, at Sherburn-in-Elmet, Ripon, and Otley. Many, perhaps all, of the villas listed had belonged to the archbishopric in the tenth century but had been lost. How far the estate lists demonstrate success in reclaiming these lands, and how far they are a memorandum of 'repatriation' still in progress at the time of writing, is a matter discussed elsewhere in this volume by Stephen Baxter. However, their insertion presumably precedes the addition of the '1020' gathering, which would otherwise have been the obvious place to put them, and which was subsequently used for the inventory of the church treasures at Sherburn. The date of the estate lists is thus likely to be a reliable guide to the date by which Wulfstan had acquired the book. It should be noted that there is nothing of any interest here to a Bishop of Worcester. It may even be that Wulfstan's close interest in his Yorkshire territories was enhanced by the loss of revenues from his Worcester lands, which occurred in 1016 when Leofsige, abbot of Thorney, was appointed Bishop of Worcester in his place.

### *The Production of the York Gospelbook*

In order to sustain the suggestion that the York Gospelbook was produced for Wulfstan and represents his tastes, it is necessary to establish when it was made and that it is homogeneous. This is not a straightforward matter. In common with several other *de luxe* manuscripts of the period, our understanding of the date of production of

---

<sup>12</sup> At the date (mid-eleventh century) at which the bidding prayer was written on this sheet, the membrane was still undamaged since the scribe made no attempt to avoid this part of the page. Subsequent additions were made to the back of the book in the late thirteenth century, at which point the 'Wulfstan' gathering ceased to be hard up against the back cover. For these additions, see Bernard Barr, 'The History of the Volume', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, pp. 101–17 (p. 107).

<sup>13</sup> This appears to be borne out by the latest addition to the gathering, a list of the 'fester-men of Ælfric'; see Keynes, 'Additions', pp. 98–99. The list includes more than seventy names of men who were in some sense pledged to or supporters of Ælfric. Although the word 'fester-man' implies someone who stands surety, it can perhaps also have been used in the sense of liegeman. In either meaning, given the number of men listed, the Ælfric in question is most likely to be Wulfstan's successor as archbishop, Ælfric Puttoc. If correct, that too suggests that the York Gospelbook is very much the archbishops' book, descending from Wulfstan to Ælfric, perhaps as part of his *capella*. See also Christopher Norton, this volume.

York has been a subject of disagreement and discussion. Three interpretations of the evidence have been proposed, all of which depend to some extent on fol. 23<sup>v</sup>, the second page of Matthew's Gospel (fig. 10.2). This is written in the well-known and distinctive minuscule of the scribe Eadwig Basan. It sits rather uncomfortably opposite the work on the facing page, 24<sup>r</sup> (fig. 10.3). The discrepancy visible on this opening is twofold. The more generous spacing of the text on 23<sup>v</sup> suggests that Eadwig was trying to spin it out in order to arrive at the point at which the following page had been started. Furthermore, his script is regarded as more advanced, and thus later in date, than that which follows it on the next page. One interpretation, asserted apparently in opposition to the evidence, is that Eadwig was the master scribe, establishing the format of the text layout, which was then imperfectly followed by a more old-fashioned contemporary.<sup>14</sup> A second view has been that the Gospels were completed except for this page, which remained blank for perhaps as much as a quarter of a century before Eadwig was asked to fill in the missing text.<sup>15</sup> The third view, my own, is that Eadwig's page did indeed make good a lacuna, but that there was no hiatus in production.<sup>16</sup> What happened in this book, and in several others, was that a scribe was at work on the bulk of the Gospel text while the opening page was reserved for decoration by a 'specialist'.

Fundamental to this reading of the data is the identification of the 'specialist' with Eadwig himself. I suggested back in 1990 that the display majuscules on 23<sup>r</sup> were also Eadwig's work (fig. 10.4).<sup>17</sup> They bear close comparison with the range of capital letters he used in other manuscripts which were entirely his own work: the 'Eadwig' Gospels and the 'Eadwig' Psalter.<sup>18</sup> If the attribution is correct, and if Eadwig was working decades later than the main text was written, then not only the first page of minuscules in Matthew's Gospel but also the opening display page would have remained substantially unfinished for a long time. Only the illuminated initial 'L', by the painter of the Evangelist portraits, might have been accomplished in this putative early phase.

<sup>14</sup> T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part 2', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 2 (1955), 185–91 (p. 186).

<sup>15</sup> N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 469 (no. 402).

<sup>16</sup> For this 'third way', see also Michelle Brown's review of *The York Gospels*, ed. by Nicolas Barker in *The Book Collector*, 38 (1989), 551–55, and Richard Gameson, 'Manuscript Art at Christ Church Canterbury in the Generation after St Dunstan', in *St Dunstan*, ed. by Ramsay, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, pp. 187–220 (pp. 200–01 n. 57).

<sup>17</sup> Heslop. 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts', p. 166.

<sup>18</sup> Respectively, Hanover, Kestner-Museum W.M.XXIa.36 and London, British Library, Arundel 155: Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (London, 1976), nos 67 and 66. For the display capitals in Arundel 155 see illus 216–18. There are no reproductions of the Hannover display pages illustrated in Temple: I know them from the microfilm of the manuscript kindly lent to me by Patrick McGurk.

The display page of Matthew's Gospel is on the first folio in a gathering, and conjoint with the last in the same gathering (fol. 30). This final leaf is clearly written by the main scribe, rather than by Eadwig, and in sequence since there are no signs of the script being cramped or spun out in order to fill the available space. There are two simple explanations. Either by the time the scribe had written the intervening twelve pages this bifolium was back in his hands, or the whole gathering had been written except for its opening before being sent to Eadwig. Whichever was the case, I argued that there was no compelling reason to suggest a great distance in time or space between the work of the two men; they were, so to speak, within a day or two of each other. But although this explanation tallies with the visual evidence, it seems such an odd way to go about things that without additional support it would seem very unlikely. So is there additional evidence?

An obvious place to look for some is the beginning of each Gospel. Mark's has no display page proper, only two lines of monumental capitals at the top of the page, again written by Eadwig, while rustic capitals and minuscule script are those of the main scribe. Even a glance at the layout is enough to suggest that the main text was written before the illuminator provided the initial (fig. 10.5). It looks as though the scribe was making allowances for an initial 'I' which encroached far more to the right at the top than that which was actually provided. Had the initial been there first, why would the scribe not have written his line of rustic capitals up against it? There are indeed other indications that the painted letter is later than the minuscule script, for example the curl of acanthus is discontinuous where the 't' of *factum* was already in the way. On this evidence, we have to envisage the minuscule writing as complete before the main painted initial was begun. However, there is an anomaly which needs to be indicated even if it cannot be accounted for.

Folio 61<sup>r</sup> carries the opening of Mark and its verso has twenty-seven lines of text as against the twenty-eight lines standard throughout the rest of the four Gospels. The only other pages with twenty-seven lines are the recto and verso of fol. 56, which is the conjoint leaf of fol. 61. Folio 56 comes towards the end of Matthew's Gospel and, like fol. 61, looks as though it was written in sequence. By this I mean there is no indication that the text is being cramped or abbreviated to fit a reduction in space which was unexpected. Given that the minuscule script preceded the illuminated initial and the script was written uninterruptedly, it thus seems certain that the scribe had first access not just to this bifolium, but to the whole gathering, anomalous bifolium included. Nonetheless, the consistent misruling of one bifolium implies that it was in some way treated separately from the rest of the book at an early stage in its production. The only possibility I have been able to envisage is that it was first given to Eadwig to paint his two lines of capitals and he misruled it. It was subsequently given to the scribe who wrote on the number of lines provided. This suggestion lacks direct supporting evidence, though there is indirect evidence to which we shall come shortly.

Fortunately, the beginning of Luke's Gospel is much easier to understand. Here the main scribe wrote on twenty-eight lines, and again without over-spacing or compression of the text. There was however a price to pay, and it is here that the principal

esrom · E srom autem · genuit arum · A ram autem ·  
 genuit aminadab · A minadab autem · genuit naaſon ·  
 Naason autem · genuit ſalmon · S Almon autem · genuit booz  
 derachab · B ooz autem · genuit obed exruth · O bed autē ·  
 genuit ieſſe · I eſſe autem · genuit dauid regem ·  
 Dauid autem rex genuit ſalomonem · ex ea quae fuit uriae ·  
 Salomon autem · genuit roboam · Roboam autem · genuit  
 abiam · A bia autem · genuit aſa · A ſa autem · genuit  
 ioſaphat · I oſaphat autem · genuit ioram · I oram autē ·  
 genuit oziam · O ziaſ autem · genuit ioacham ·  
 Ioacham autem · genuit achaz · A chaz autem · genuit  
 ezechiam · E zechiaſ autem · genuit manaſſen ·  
 Manaſſeſ autem · genuit amon · A mon autem · genuit  
 ioſiam · I oſiaſ autem · genuit iechoniam & fratres eius ·  
 In tunc ſignatione babilonis · I ſalathiel ·  
 Et poſt tunc ſignationem babilonis · iechonias genuit  
 Salathiel autem · Genuit zorobabel ·  
 Z orobabel autem · Genuit Abiud ·  
 A biud autem · Genuit eliachim ·  
 Eliachim autem · Genuit Azor ·  
 A zor autem · Genuit ſadoch ·  
 S adoch autem · Genuit Achim ·  
 A chim autem · Genuit Eliud ·  
 Eliud autem · Genuit Eleazar ·  
 Eleazar autem · Genuit mathan ·  
 Mathan autem · Genuit iacob ·  
 I acob autem · Genuit Joſeph uirum mariae ·  
 De qua natus eſt ihc · qui uocatur xpi ·

Figure 10.2. The York Gospelbook, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>  
 (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

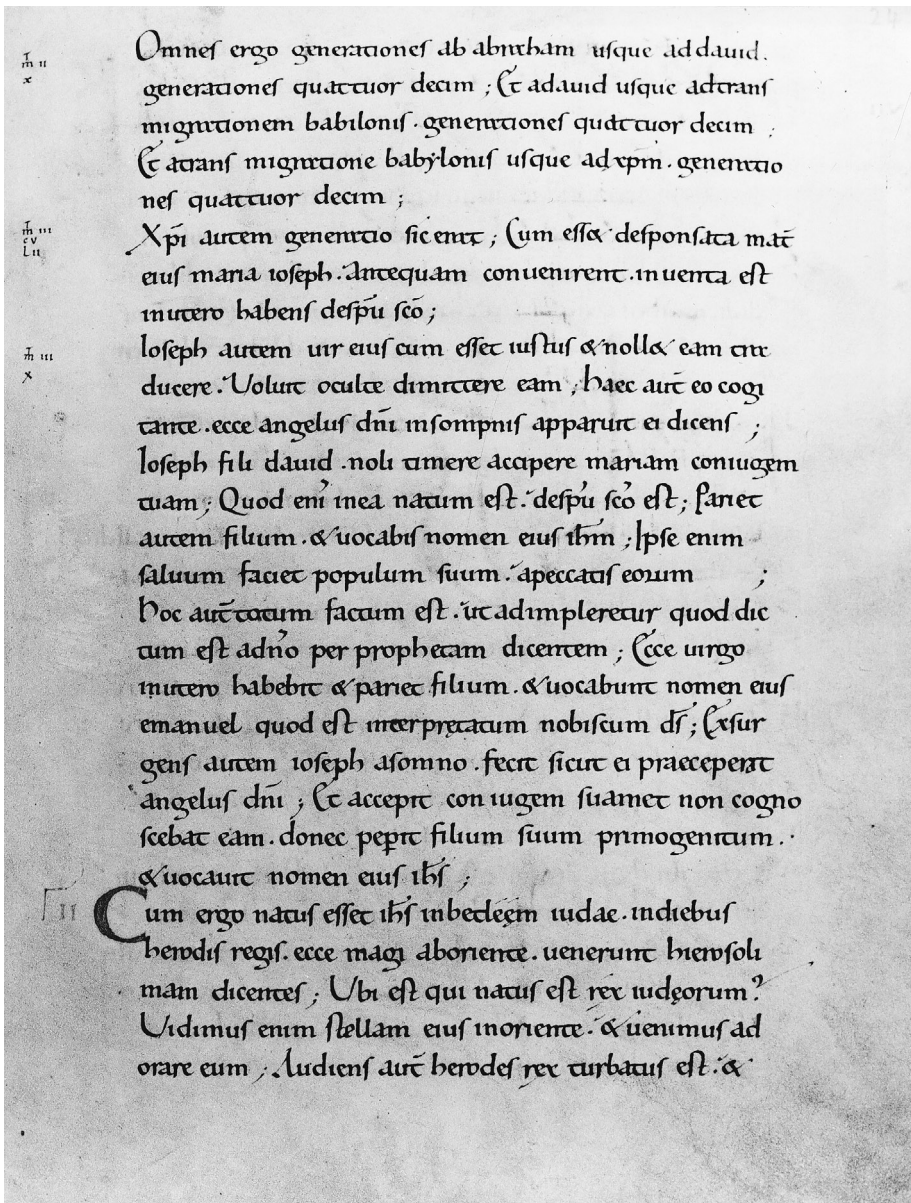


Figure 10.3. The York Gospelbook, fol. 24<sup>r</sup>  
 (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

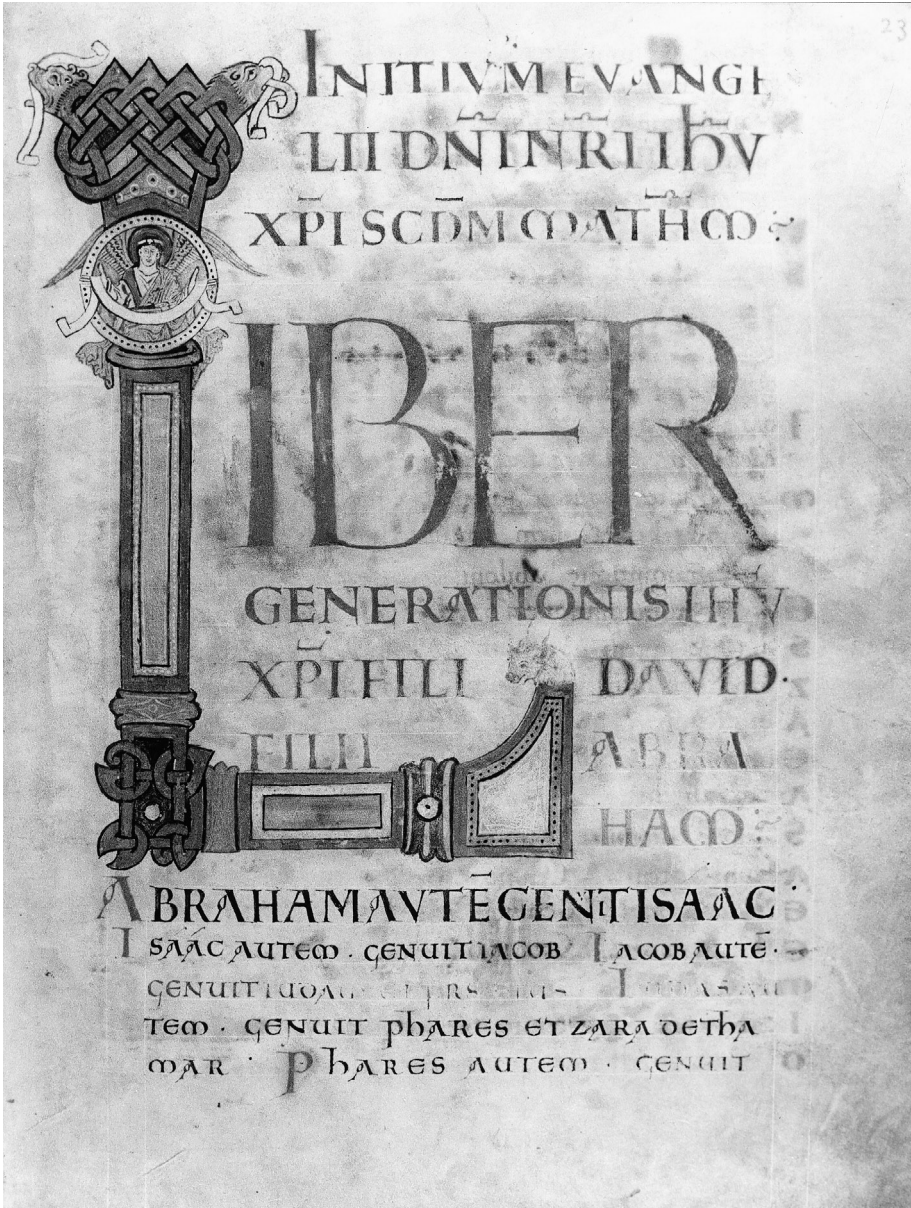


Figure 10.4. The York Gospelbook, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>  
(by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

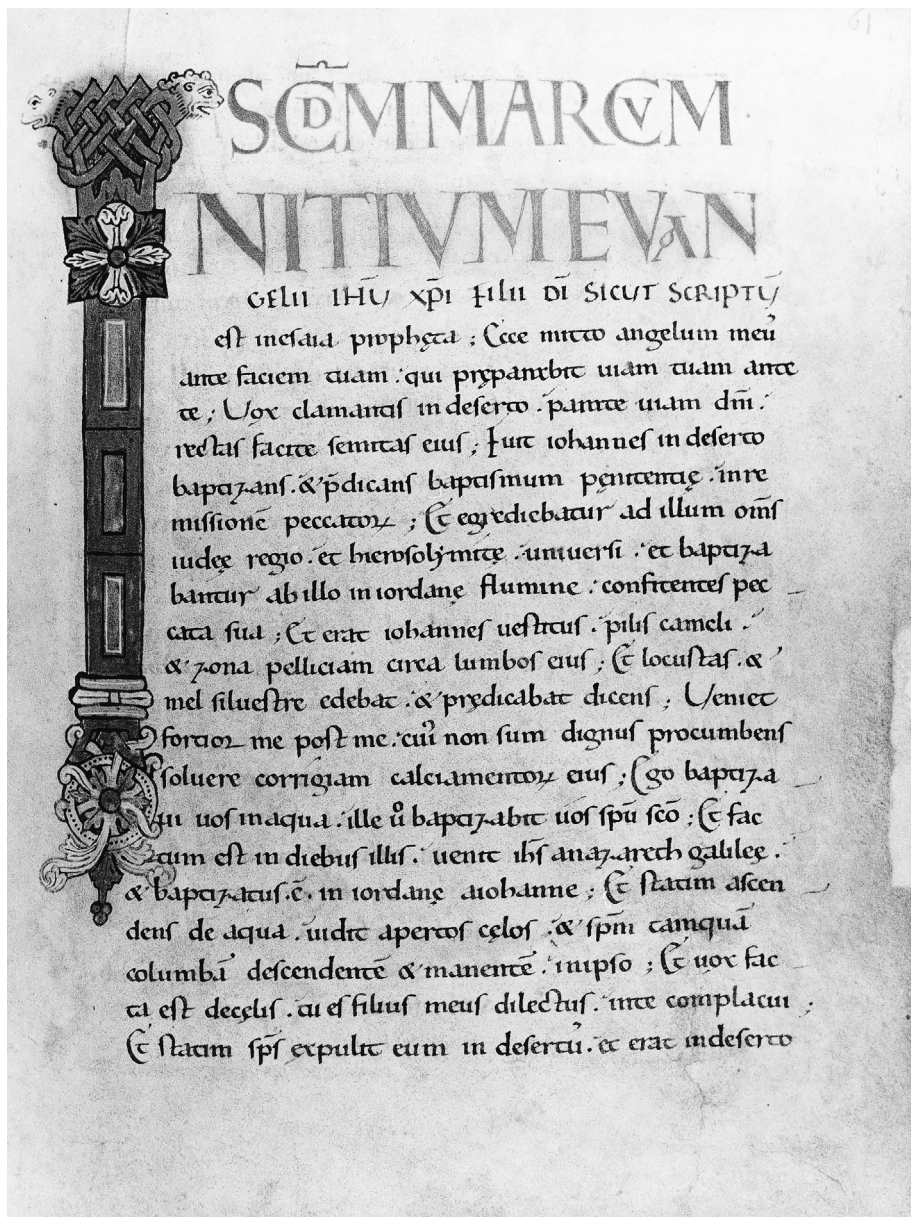


Figure 10.5. The York Gospelbook, fol. 61<sup>r</sup>  
(by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

glories of the book, the Evangelist portraits, enter into the reckoning. The portrait of Luke on 85<sup>v</sup> was painted after the main scribe had written 85<sup>f</sup>. The consequence of applying paint on the verso of the sheet was to raise the moisture content of the membrane, with the result that the script on the recto bled and feathered to an alarming degree (fig. 10.6). It is the most extreme case I have yet encountered of the disadvantage of painting one side of a folio after the other side has been written.

Apparently all this does is to confirm the priority of the main scribe over the illuminator (and Eadwig). However, it is surely significant that the same phenomenon does not occur on the recto of the leaf carrying Mark's portrait (60<sup>f</sup>), where the writing remains immaculately crisp (fig. 10.7). Logic suggests, therefore, that here the painting preceded the writing. If that is correct, the inevitable conclusion is that the painter and the main scribe were contemporaries working in close physical proximity. Otherwise how could it be that in some places (around the initial) the scribe worked prior to the illuminator and in another (the Evangelist's portrait) it was vice versa?

But where (and when) does that leave Eadwig? It is worth noting that, at least to the naked eye, the pigments used for the portraits are the same as those used for the display capitals. Thus four of the colours used for the Matthew display capitals, plus gold, match the predominant colours of his facing portrait and the initial letter provided by the illuminator. The only one of the colours not used by Eadwig for the capitals is the pale blue, which would not have been easily legible if used for text as it is very similar in tone to the vellum. It is far easier to suppose that the 'pots of paint' employed in the main illumination were still available to Eadwig than to suppose his having to mix and match them. Well, if Eadwig and the illuminator used the same batches of paint and the illuminator painted the Mark portrait before the scribe wrote the recto of the leaf, it is perfectly possible that Eadwig wrote the capitals on the anomalous bifolium before the scribe wrote it.

It would simplify the story a great deal if it could be claimed that the illuminator was none other than Eadwig himself, but that cannot be claimed. Eadwig was a very accomplished illuminator, providing the figural imagery in the two books for which he was solely responsible (the Hanover Gospels and the Arundel Psalter).<sup>19</sup> His style as established in these books is nothing like that of the York Gospelbook's artist. What Eadwig did contribute to the pictures in York was the captions naming the Evangelists, which are written in his very distinctive uncials, and in gold.<sup>20</sup>

In thinking through what we can deduce from what happened in the production of the York Gospelbook, it is also necessary to consider what did not happen. Why, for example, did neither the painter nor the scribe, both of whom had access to the

---

<sup>19</sup> As well as a drawing in one other book in which he wrote nothing except the text on the image itself, the Homilies in Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.34, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, illus. 241.

<sup>20</sup> That raises the possibility that the other areas of gold (on the illuminated initials and the portraits: on haloes, books, pens, and the collars and cuffs of the Evangelists' tunics) are also his contribution.



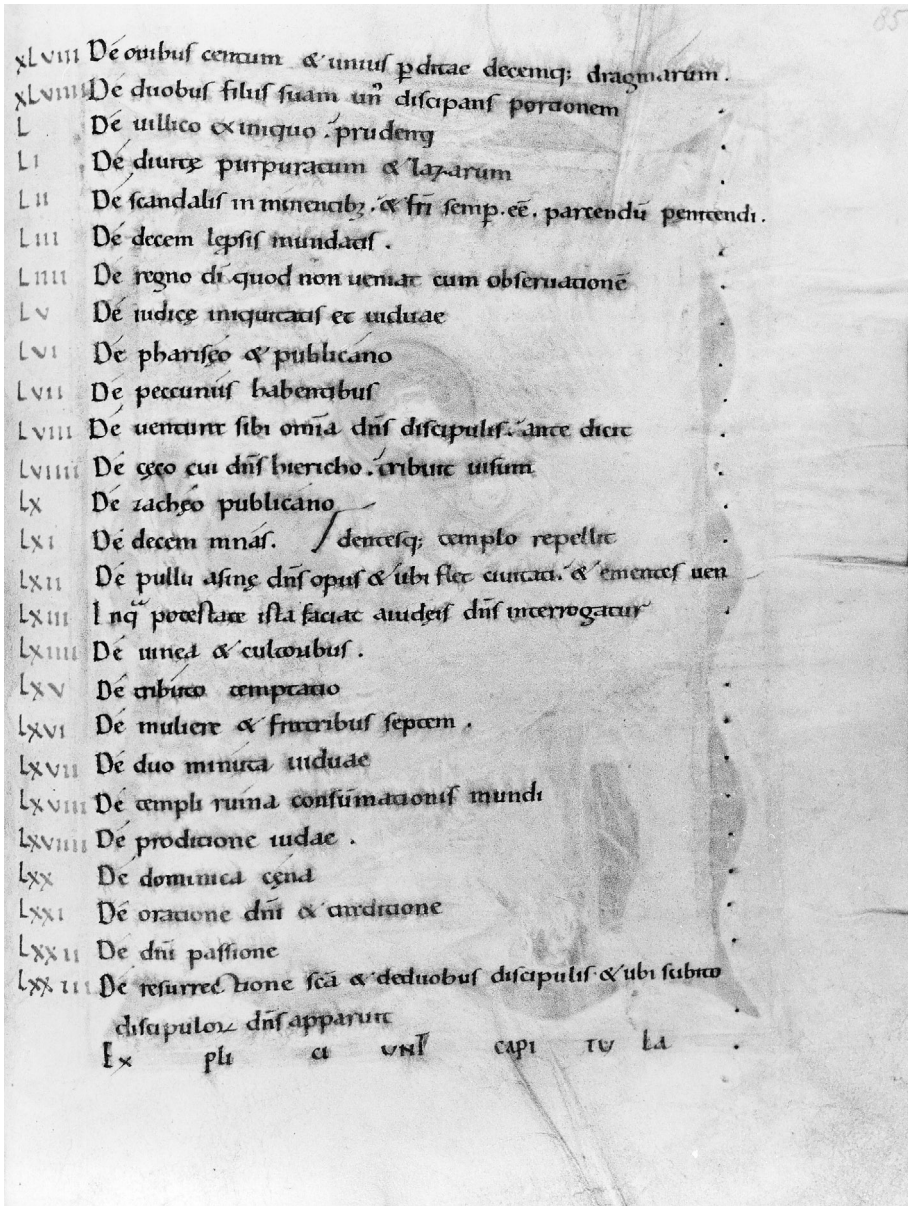


Figure 10.6. The York Gospelbook, fol. 85<sup>r</sup>  
 (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

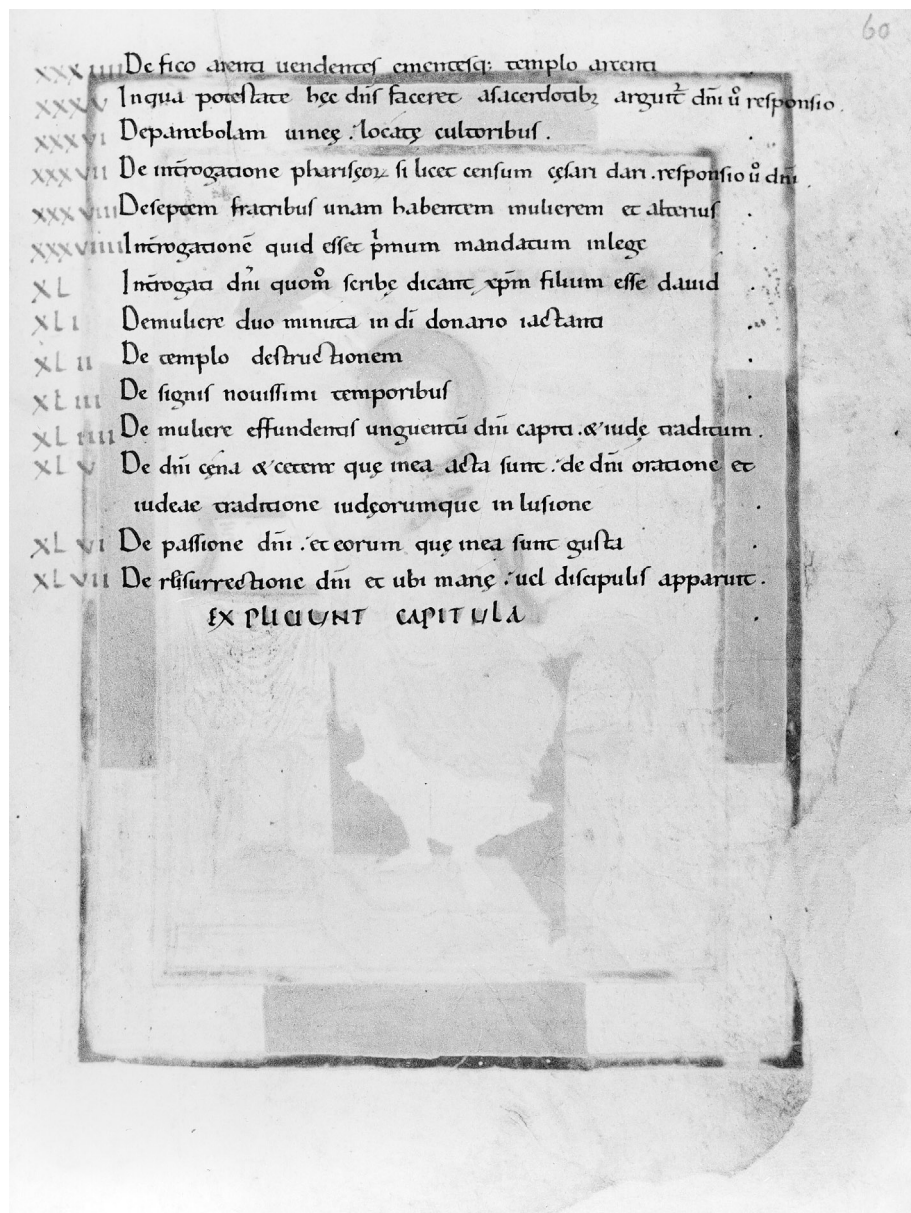


Figure 10.7. The York Gospelbook, fol. 60<sup>r</sup>  
 (by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

pigments, and the latter of whom at least certainly had the skill, provide the display capitals opening each of the Gospels, which were, in the event, provided by Eadwig? I hope I have shown how unlikely it is that there was a long hiatus in production, during which the original workforce resisted the temptation to fill in the missing elements of the book, but what is the alternative? The only serious possibility seems to be that Eadwig was indeed the 'master' in the scriptorium, that he divided the work between the members of the team, and that he reserved the main display capitals to himself. The implication is that the division of labour, perhaps imperfectly coordinated, was nonetheless calculated. This manuscript was produced by a number of specialists, but they were working together.

That Eadwig was the guiding spirit is perhaps indicated by the writing of the opening section of the book, the prefaces. Here the display page for *Beatissimo papae Damaso* (fig. 10.8) is modelled on Eadwig's opening to Matthew's Gospel (fig. 10.4). The sequence and style of monumental capitals descending into uncials is very similar, and it is quite possible that Eadwig himself wrote the largest letters, the BEATIS. That may explain why they are not kept within the boundaries established by the ruling and are thus out of register to the right with the remainder of the capitals. Their elegance of proportion is consistent with his work (although none of the forms is distinctive enough to allow certainty on the matter).<sup>21</sup> Further down the page the letter forms are thicker and not so well controlled and are certainly by a different hand, but the form of uncial A closely follows Eadwig's design.<sup>22</sup> The minuscule script of the prefaces constitutes the main reason that York has been dated early. The style of the script here is so-called 'square minuscule' which had been fashionable for even quite pretentious manuscripts up until the final decade of the tenth century. But if we look at the manuscript as a whole, it is noticeable that Eadwig's personal contributions are directly proportional to the importance of the text. He wrote the opening folio of Matthew (figs 10.2 and 10.4), the display capitals of each of the other Gospels, and the names of the Evangelists on their portraits. He may also have written the first six letters of the preface. These are arguably the key sites in the book. The scribe whose minuscule was, after Eadwig's, the most 'up-to-date' has been characterized as writing 'Caroline with some square minuscule features', and he was allocated the remainder of the Gospel texts.<sup>23</sup> Hierarchically, it was the least important set of texts, the prefaces, that were given to the scribe writing 'square minuscule', and we may infer that he was, by the time of writing, regarded as the

---

<sup>21</sup> A comparable case of Eadwig's producing only the main line of display capitals on a page can be found at the beginning of the Gospel Lectionary in Florence (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut.xvii.20, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>), Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, illus. 232.

<sup>22</sup> The minuscule on the verso of this leaf shows distinct signs of bleeding, implying that the display capitals on the recto were executed after the verso had been written

<sup>23</sup> For discussion of the scribes, see Patrick McGurk, 'Palaeography', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, pp. 37–42. The characterization cited above is on p. 38.

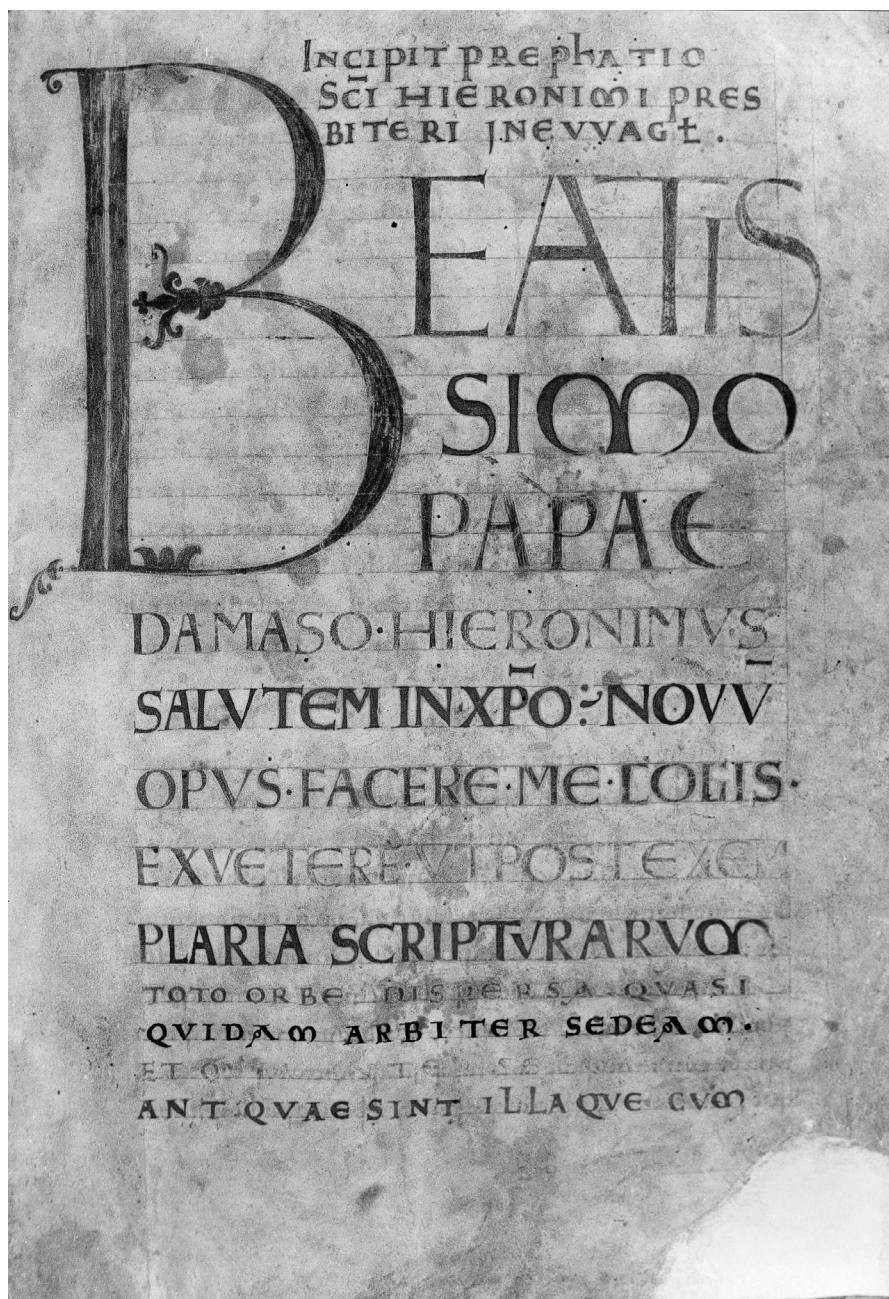


Figure 10.8. The York Gospelbook, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>  
(by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

least presentable of the team. It would be dangerous to assume that this perception of scribal 'values' was universal when York was written. What is likely to matter most is that these were the values of the person in charge of the 'scriptorium' where York was made who doubtless wrote a 'modern' Caroline, in fact someone like Eadwig. We may also surmise that had Eadwig Basan been in charge for very long he would have retrained his scribes or found replacement personnel.<sup>24</sup>

The 'scriptorium' in question was almost certainly based in Canterbury. That is Eadwig's only known centre of operation. It is also where the artist of the Evangelist portraits seems to have been based, as he contributed to the illustration in a copy of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* apparently made there.<sup>25</sup> The style of the capital letters not written by Eadwig is also consistent with Canterbury production. This much is generally acknowledged. What is less obvious is just how ambitious the York Gospelbook is in a Canterbury context before 1020. We are used to lavishly illuminated books from late-tenth-century England, but they are all 'Winchester School', or, more accurately, they are all from places associated with Æthelwoldan reform. Canterbury books before 1020 eschewed figural painting, what imagery they contained being drawn in outline. Gold was also a rarity. What Eadwig seems to have brought to Canterbury was the (at first) halting introduction of Æthelwoldan glitz. But even so, in the York Gospelbook the effect is very different: no acanthus frames and a colour scheme quite distinct from the 'Winchester School'. In other words, it is not just the script of York which seems to hover between two worlds (Eadwig's Caroline and Canterbury square minuscule) but the illumination as well.

We do not know where Eadwig came from or where he was trained as an artist/scribe. His minuscule and majuscule scripts are unlike those of Canterbury, but also distinct from those found at Winchester.<sup>26</sup> The earliest evidence for Eadwig's

---

<sup>24</sup> The implications of two texts which I quoted in 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts', pp. 159–60 and 177 (from William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani* and the Colloquies of Ælfric Bata) is that, at least in monastic contexts, schoolmasters could be professional scribes and that boys were trained by a resident master. The former of these relates to Peterborough and the other to Canterbury in the early to mid-eleventh century. If Eadwig was in this position, it would follow that it might be several years before he could replace scribes taught under a previous regime with those he had trained. Even then, the older scribes might continue to practice older methods.

<sup>25</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C.viii, fols 4<sup>v</sup> to upper 7<sup>v</sup>. For reproductions of the work of the three artists in the Prudentius, see Gameson, 'Manuscript Art at Christ Church Canterbury', pl. 25 a, b, and c (the York Gospels artist is pl. 25b), and see pp. 200–01 for discussion of the Canterbury origin of the manuscript.

<sup>26</sup> Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* manuscripts', pp. 176–77. Unlike Winchester, but like 'Scribe B' at Peterborough, Eadwig uses a medium thickness horizontal crossbar to monumental A and H. However, unlike 'Scribe B', Eadwig's central V of monumental M descends only half way, and the bowls of his P and B curve up to the stem. Both of these characteristics can be seen in the display capitals of the Boulogne Gospels (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, illus. 148.)

activity cannot certainly be dated any earlier than 1018, by which time he was already based at Canterbury and writing texts of charters and a writ relating to a public ceremony staged there by King Cnut in that year.<sup>27</sup> His work on the York Gospelbook could easily be contemporary with his writing of these documents. Stylistically, it seems earlier than his other gospelbooks (Grimbald<sup>28</sup> and Hanover) and than the Eadwig Psalter, apparently written by the time of St Ælfheah's translation to Canterbury in 1023.<sup>29</sup> In the past I have argued that gospelbooks such as York and Grimbald are a phenomenon of Cnut's reign and patronage, that they were paid for by the King (and Queen) and given to major individuals and institutions in England and abroad. I have no reason to change my mind, but I think it is desirable to go beyond the notion that these manuscripts are generalized products and consider whether they are made with a specific recipient in mind. What I wish to do now is look at the possibility that the York Gospelbook was designed with Wulfstan as its envisaged recipient.

### *The Evangelist Portraits and the Conception of Authorship*

The Evangelist portraits in York are remarkable from a number of points of view, but especially in what can be regarded as their simplicity. In his commentary on them, Jonathan Alexander drew attention to two unusual characteristics: the lack of Evangelist symbols and the presence of the Hand of God (fig. 10.9).<sup>30</sup> In seeking parallels for these phenomena he ranged widely across portraits in both Latin and Greek books, but was unable to find anything which looked like a probable prototype. Another characteristic, though not one he discussed, was the absence of curtains.

---

<sup>27</sup> 1018 is the date of a charter of Cnut, granting an estate to Archbishop Lyfing/Ælfstan, and probably of a writ of Cnut, confirming the privileges of the cathedral of Canterbury, copied by Eadwig into a gospelbook, now London, British Library, Royal 1.D.ix. These are, respectively, P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968), nos 950 and 985. The latter is datable 1017x20, but for the likelihood of 1018 being the actual date of this and other scribal activity by Eadwig for Canterbury, see Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 288–90.

<sup>28</sup> London, British Library, Additional 34890: Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 68.

<sup>29</sup> The dating of the Psalter depends on its calendar, printed by Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars before 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 72 (London, 1933), pp. 169–81, and discussed by Richard W. Pfaff, 'Eadui Basan: Scriptorum Princeps?', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 267–83 (pp. 273–76).

<sup>30</sup> J. J. G. Alexander, 'The Illumination of the Gospels', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, pp. 65–77. In York, the Matthew symbol is removed to the stem of the initial L on the facing page, see below.



Figure 10.9. The York Gospelbook, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>  
(by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster).

Although it is always dangerous to identify a formula as 'typical', a claim could be substantiated statistically that it was 'normal' in Anglo-Saxon England to show the authors of the Gospels with their symbols, which function as notional intermediaries between the human and the divine (fig. 10.9). In some cases Matthew, for example, can be seen receiving text in the form of a scroll from the winged man or angel. In others, the symbol may be seen inspiring the Evangelist, coming close to him and, as it were, whispering the heavenly words which he then commits to paper. The symbols also have a typological role, alluding to Ezechiel's vision of the four beasts (Ezechiel 1. 4–14), and to their recurrence in the Book of Revelation (Revelation 4. 6–9). The symbols thus serve to emphasize the continuity of visions of the numinous from the Old Testament to the Last Things and to place the writing of the Gospels within a continuum. Another element in this iconography is the idea that the obscure allusions of old dispensation are made patent under the new. This is communicated by juxtaposing the visionary, winged creatures with the humanity of the Evangelists: what was expressed before in shadows is now explained and resolved through human flesh.

The role of the curtains is similar. The allusion here is to the parting of the veil of the Temple to reveal the contents of the holy of holies (e.g. Matthew 27. 51, and compare Hebrews 9. 1–12). What had been kept away from human understanding was now made visible; God incarnate had been present among us to be acknowledged by all true believers. Most images of the Evangelists in Anglo-Saxon England combine the parting of the veil with the presence of the mediating and typological Evangelist symbols. It is only towards the middle of the eleventh century that the symbols become less common, though a curtain remains the norm. We could try to explain the York Gospelbook's Evangelists as an early instance of this phenomenon, but I am uncomfortable with this approach both because it would be an argument made with benefit of hindsight, and because it does nothing to account for the absent curtain and the manifest Hand of God. Time was when art historians confronted with such a problem would have referred to a lost model with the characteristics that they are seeking to account for. This tactic, of course, served merely to defer the necessity of finding a contemporaneous explanation and to deny the artist/designer or patron any reasons for choosing this particular model.

Fortunately in the case of York the evidence is reasonably good that the model did not lack at least an Evangelist symbol. To begin with we may note the very considerable space between the Hand of God at the top of the page and Matthew himself. If it is thought that this is merely a matter of decorum, we have only to look at the Mark and Luke pages to see that once the artist adjusted to the symbol-less representation, he closed up the gap between the Hand of God and the human author. Furthermore, when we look at one of the other gospelbooks made at Canterbury, Grimbold, we see what is likely to have been the original format. The pose of the figure in the Grimbold St John portrait is very like York's Matthew, and in Grimbold what is left as blank space in York is occupied by the Evangelist's symbol (compare



figs 10.9 and 10.10).<sup>31</sup> I conclude that the omission of the symbols from York's portraits is both deliberate and a sufficiently novel move for the artist to have failed to adjust to it on his first attempt by closing the gap left by its removal.

Well, if the artist deliberately excludes symbol and curtain from the portraits, consistency suggests that the inclusion of the Hand of God is also purposeful, and so the question arises 'what is the point?' The basic message seems to me to be clear: that contact between God and the author is direct and unmediated. It presents a claim about the authorship of the Gospels as directly inspired by the deity. Old Testament prophecy is not consequential, and the strange composite creatures which so much resemble the idols of paganism are to be left out as a potential distraction.<sup>32</sup> God directly inspires men to write, and under the new dispensation references to Old Testament types are superfluous and potentially misleading. They are not entirely absent however, for Matthew's winged man appears in the illuminated initial 'L', on the facing page, and the terminals of the 'L' support the heads of the other three symbols. The effect of this composition is to indicate the harmony of the four Gospels and the sense that this 'L' is the opening letter of all four Gospels, not just Matthew's.<sup>33</sup> It was quite probably this conception that led to the opening of Matthew's Gospel receiving a whole page of display script.

Whose view of authorship is this? One possibility that has to be taken seriously is that it is Wulfstan's. Both in his law-codes and his homilies, Wulfstan's approach focuses on essentials. Thus we have views of those who have studied Wulfstan's writing, such as Dorothy Bethurum: 'there is something anti-poetic in Wulfstan's temperament and interests [. . .]. He has an aversion to the picturesque concrete detail used for its own sake and again and again omits it in favour of a direct concentrated appeal.'<sup>34</sup> And here is Milton Gatch's version: 'Wulfstan made it a point to avoid theological subtlety, to drop exempla and most traces of allegorical interpretation [. . .] the symbolic or typological framework is often sidestepped.'<sup>35</sup> So, a possible

---

<sup>31</sup> Alexander, 'The Illumination of the Gospels', p. 67, makes the comparison but does not draw the same conclusion as I do here. York is probably earlier than Grimbald, but there is no reason to suppose that the four gospelbooks from early-eleventh-century Canterbury which survive were the only ones ever made, so I suggest the model is like Grimbald rather than necessarily Grimbald itself.

<sup>32</sup> For Wulfstan's concerns about the 'pagan', see note 36 below.

<sup>33</sup> I would like to thank my colleague John Mitchell for insisting that I pay due attention to the Matthew initial. Alexander, 'The Illumination of the Gospels', p. 75, notes the two lions' heads on the Mark initial 'no doubt referring to the symbol of St Mark'. If this was the artist's intention it is not clear why he would have provided two lions' heads and why he avoided references to the ox and eagle in the Luke and John initials.

<sup>34</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 48.

<sup>35</sup> Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 20 and 21.

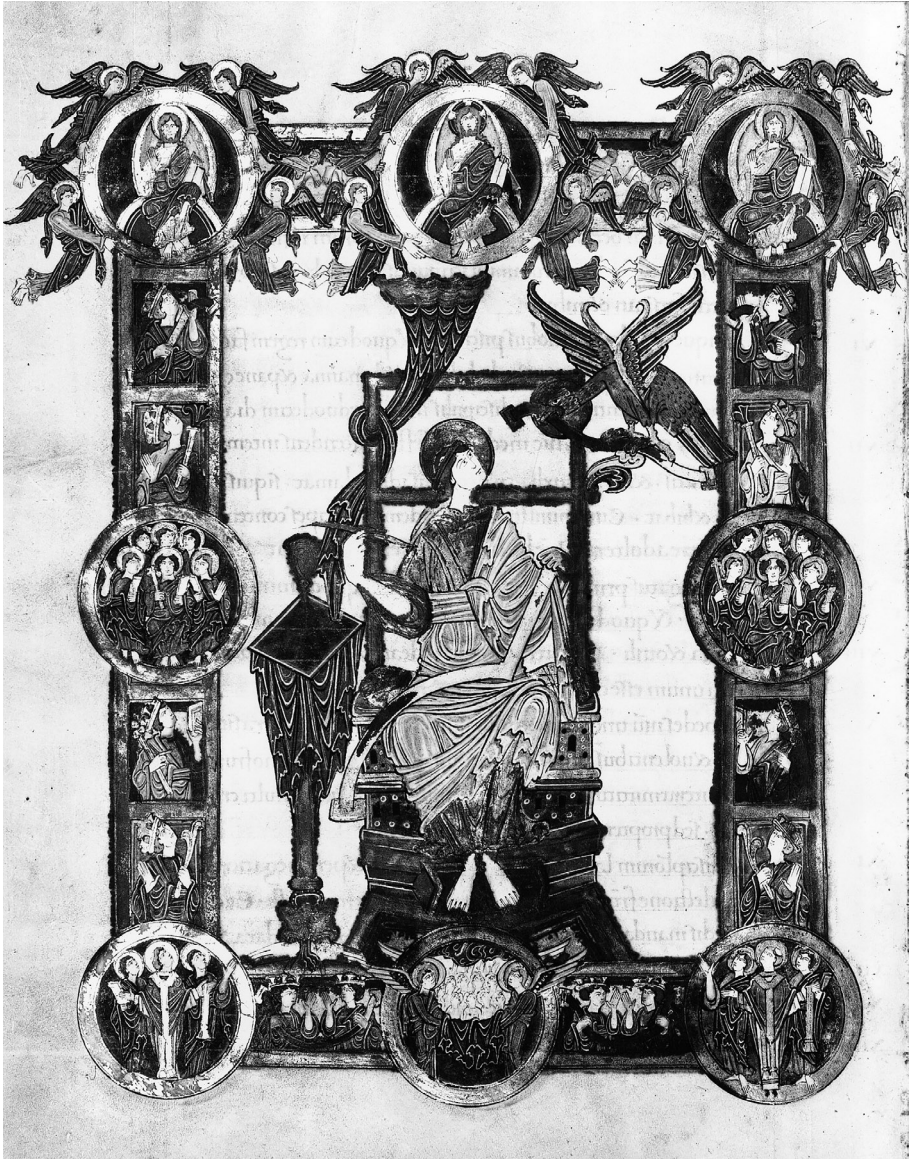


Figure 10.10. London, British Library, Additional 34890, fol. 114<sup>v</sup>  
(by permission of the British Library).

explanation for the very distinctive, even unique, depiction of directly and divinely prompted authorship shown in the manuscript is that the York Gospelbook was made specifically for Wulfstan.

If this is correct, the images of the Evangelists can be interpreted as the visual equivalent of the 'back to basics' approach which he brought to writing law-codes and homilies. They cut through the accretions of typology and symbolism, endemic in Anglo-Saxon art of the period, to the essentials: the Gospels are the Word of God. Whether or not they give us insight into Wulfstan's image of himself as a writer, struggling to enforce the operation of divine dispensation in an imperfect world, they seem very appropriate to the man. We could go further and bring the Matthew initial into the story, for the unity of the four Gospels which it implies could just as well stand for the consistency of Wulfstan's own writings. For although scholarship has traditionally distinguished Wulfstan's homilies from his law-codes, they are remarkably consonant in many ways. Wulfstan contrives to write law-codes laden with Christian morality while producing homilies which aim at social engineering. Wulfstan's message as much as his style seems to have been remarkably consistent, the perceptible differences between his writings being apparently less important to him than their underlying singleness of purpose.<sup>36</sup> The Matthew initial in the York Gospelbook implies a comparable unity. It may be just an accident that he became the first owner of this distinctive statement, but perhaps it is simpler to suppose the Evangelist portraits and the Matthew initial provide a premeditated pictorial complement to his very particular world view and perhaps specifically his own attitude to authorship.

---

<sup>36</sup> Compare e.g. Wulfstan's 'Laws of Cnut': 'Hæðenscipe byð þæt man idola weorðige hæðene godas 7 sunnan oððe monan, fyr oððe flod, wæterwyllas oððe stanas oððe æniges cynnes wudutreowa' ('It is heathen practice if one worships idols, namely if one worships heathen gods and the sun or the moon, fire or flood, wells or stones or any kind of forest trees'; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brook, I, 468–506 (p. 489)) with this from his 'Sermon on False Gods': 'Hi namon eac him þa þæt to wisdomes þurh deofles lare þæt hy wurðedon him for godas þa sunnan 7 ðone monan for heora scinendan beorhtnesse 7 him lac þa æt nyhstan [. . .] offrodon [. . .] Sume men eac sæðan be ðam scinendum steorrum þæt hi godas wæron [. . .] 7 sume hy gelyfdon eac on fyr for his færlicum bryne, sume eac on wæter, 7 sume hy gelyfdon on ða eorðan forðan þe heo ealle þing fedeð' ('through the teaching of the Devil, they [mankind after the Flood] took it for wisdom to worship the sun and the moon as gods on account of their shining brightness; and then at last [. . .] offered them sacrifices [. . .]. Some men also said that the shining stars were gods [. . .] and some believed in fire on account of its sudden heat, some also in water, and some believed in earth because it nourished all things'; *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 221–24 (p. 221), and *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, trans. by Michael Swanton (London, 1975), pp. 122–25 (p. 123)). On the coherence of Wulfstan's work, see Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in his *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51, and in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by David A. E. Pelteret (New York, 1999), pp. 191–224.

But how did this come about? It could have happened for any one of the reasons set out in my Introduction. Wulfstan may have been an active commissioner who had a direct involvement in stipulating their design, or he may have been a passive recipient whose tastes were sufficiently well understood by the donor-patron or the artist to be taken into account. There are also several possible positions between these extremes. In order to think through which of the options is the most plausible, I shall briefly focus on the implications of the manuscript being made at Canterbury.

Had Wulfstan placed the order for it himself, it might well have been produced by his own secretariat at Worcester or York where he had control, at Ely where he was buried and remembered as a benefactor,<sup>37</sup> or at Peterborough,<sup>38</sup> rather than Canterbury. We noticed above that books commissioned by Æthelwold and Dunstan were produced at Winchester for the former and Canterbury for the latter,<sup>39</sup> and we might expect Wulfstan to have behaved in a similar way if he was ordering a book for himself. On the other hand, one can see why patron donors, such as King Cnut and Queen Emma, would want to present people with 'exotic' gifts. It showed the royal power to command beyond the circle of the recipient. An alternative which cannot be ruled out is that the York Gospelbook was made for Wulfstan but commissioned by someone who was based at Canterbury. A candidate with the right credentials is Archbishop Ælfric who, in his will, bequeathed a psalter to Wulfstan, and who was thus, apparently, a good friend. The most serious problem with this suggestion is that Ælfric died some fifteen years before Eadwig Basan's earliest certainly datable work. An alternative donor, who is perhaps too late in date, is Archbishop Æthelnoth, consecrated by Wulfstan on 13 November 1020.<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, the place of production,

---

<sup>37</sup> As recorded in *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by E. O. Blake, Camden Society, 3rd series, 92 (London, 1962), pp. 156–57, 290, and 293. See now Simon Keynes, 'Ely Abbey 672–1109', in *A History of Ely Cathedral*, ed. by Peter Meadows and Nigel Ramsay (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 3–58 (pp. 34–35).

<sup>38</sup> Hugh Candidus claimed that it was to Peterborough that Wulfstan bequeathed his possessions and body: *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough*, ed. by W. T. Mellows (London, 1949), p. 73. I have argued that Peterborough was a major centre of luxury book production in the second and third decades of the eleventh century, at least the equal of Canterbury and Winchester (Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts'). There is other possible evidence of Wulfstan's support for Peterborough and its energetic abbot, Ælfsige. In 1020, Edmund, in some sense a monk of Peterborough, according to Symeon of Durham was consecrated by Wulfstan as Bishop of Durham after a vacancy.

<sup>39</sup> Notes 4 and 5 above.

<sup>40</sup> William Noel, *The Harley Psalter* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1–6, discusses Ælfric's bequest to Wulfstan. Lesser problems are that the materials added to York do not indicate that they come from so early a period in Wulfstan's career and that there is no evidence that senior churchmen commissioned *de luxe* manuscripts specifically to give to each other. On Æthelnoth's consecration, see Florence Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), no. 27, esp. pp. 182–83, 448–49. November 1020 is 'too late' if Cnut's letter on the added bifolium of York was copied soon after being received, i.e. during the previous winter.

Canterbury, suggests that the York Gospelbook is likely to have been conceived as a gift for Wulfstan rather than being commissioned by him for his own use.

Although the process of donation or 'alienation' is different in each case, it is for example notable that at Christ Church Canterbury itself during the period that concerns us, none of the gospelbooks in use there seems to have been made locally.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, copies of the Gospels made at Canterbury, such as the Arenberg, Eadwig, and Grimbald Gospels as well as York itself were all used elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> Grimbald is a telling example because it became the property of the New Minster at Winchester, which at the same date was able to produce imagery of comparable sophistication, such as Ælfwine's Prayerbook and the *Liber Vitae*, for its own consumption.<sup>43</sup> Here too we might argue that a donated gospelbook was tailored to its recipient, for the elaboration of Grimbald is in keeping with the culture of the New Minster, just as the directness of York is with Wulfstan.

## Epilogue

Among the forty or so illuminated and illustrated books from the century before 1066, there are only a few beyond those already mentioned where an argument can be made for interpreting the object through its patron or owner and vice versa. Much depends on the category of book and the scope it provides for personal nuancing. Gospelbooks are perhaps not an obvious genre for displaying this kind of individualization, for their content and decoration were well established, admitting only limited

---

<sup>41</sup> The 'Athelstan Gospels' were Carolingian (from Lobbes?) and MacDurnan's Gospels, Irish. See Simon Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143–201 (pp. 147–59), for their status as royal donations. The most recent in manufacture, Royal 1.D.ix, I have argued came from Peterborough and was a gift from King Cnut and Queen Emma: Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts', pp. 154–55, 176–77, 181.

<sup>42</sup> For Arenberg (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 869), Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 56, and see further Jane Rosenthal, 'The Unique Architectural Setting of the Arenberg Evangelists', in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800–1250: Festschrift für Florentine Mütterich zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. by K. Bierbauer, P. K. Klein, and W. Sauerländer (Munich, 1985), pp. 145–53.

<sup>43</sup> For Ælfwine's Prayerbook, London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi and xxvii, see Beate Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 108 (London 1993), and Richard Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 67–68; for the *Liber Vitae*, Jan Gerchow, 'Prayers for King Cnut: The Liturgical Commemoration of a Conqueror', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. by Hicks, pp. 219–38, and *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. by Simon Keynes, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 26 (Copenhagen, 1996).

opportunity for expressions of taste. Where these do occur, for example in the Crucifixion page in one of Judith of Flanders's gospelbooks, where she is shown cleaving to the Cross, it is difficult to determine whether this is a representation of conventional or extreme devotion.<sup>44</sup> More to the point, the image is not specific to a gospelbook. One can imagine it being placed in many other kinds of manuscript, or indeed being made in other media. The case of the York Gospelbook is not really comparable, in part because there is no image of the owner to demonstrate his relationship to the other things represented.

At this point it is helpful, I hope, to return to some of the issues concerning patronage and its interpretation which I raised at the outset of this essay. Art historians have contributed perhaps more than they generally realize to the construction of the character of patrons or collectors by their analysis of the tastes implicit in owning or commissioning works of art. We tend to make the link, often tacitly, between people and their tastes as discerned from their possessions. But how secure are associations such as these, and what status should we give them as historians? In order to approach an answer, it may help to distinguish more clearly than I have done so far the maker's possible contribution from both the owner's share and the historian's share in the construction of the artefact. I do this because, of course, art historians have until quite recent times tended to see individual artists as the prime suspects when trying to explain why art looks the way it does.

Sadly, we do not have any other author portraits or allusive initials by the illuminator of the York Gospelbook. The best we can do is to look at other Canterbury products of the period. The picture that emerges is very mixed. Three of the Evangelists in the Arenberg Gospels are very similar in pose to those in York, but they are surrounded with referential trappings and inscriptions. So too, perhaps a decade later, are those in Grimbald, as we have seen. It is only in the Eadwig Gospels in Hanover that symbols and curtains are omitted. Given Eadwig's role in the York Gospelbook this may well be significant but, before accepting that this is his preferred iconography, it must be noted that the Hanover book contains no Hand of God. However, where Eadwig does use it, in the Benedict portrait in his Psalter (fol. 133<sup>v</sup>), its function is arguably like that in York, since the scroll held in the *dextra dei* has written on it, 'who hears you hears me' (*qui vos audit me audit*).<sup>45</sup> The text, from Luke 10. 16, is cited by St Benedict in his Rule and also by Wulfstan himself in *Institutes of Polity*. Perhaps for Eadwig, as coordinator of the work on York, the Hand of God

---

<sup>44</sup> Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, illus. 289. See also Patrick McGurk and Jane Rosenthal, 'The Anglo-Saxon Gospelbooks of Judith, Countess of Flanders: Their Text, Make-up and Function', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (1995), 251–308 (pp. 299–303 and passim). The fact that she is shown in physical contact with the Cross rather than simply venerating it may, however, be significant. In other contemporary examples, such as the Gundold Gospels from Cologne (C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West 800–1200* (New Haven, 1993), illus. 140), the owner of the manuscript is kneeling next to the Cross but without touching it.

<sup>45</sup> Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, illus. 213.

was linked with direct transmission of the Word, but this would not explain the absence of the Hand from Hanover and its presence in York. Why the difference?

The Hanover codex has an inscription written by Eadwig which makes pretty clear that he had no idea who the book's owner was to be. 'Pro scriptore precem ne tempnas fundere pater, librum istum monachus scripsit EADVVIUS, cognomento BASAN. Sit ille longa salus. Vale servus dei N et memor esto mei.'<sup>46</sup> The use of N, for *nomen*, stands for the name of the unknown recipient. In this context the Evangelist portraits, painted by Eadwig himself, show a keen interest in scribal practice. Three of the four Evangelists are shown not just with pen, but with knife as well. Mark is shown examining his quill, having apparently just cut a new point on it.<sup>47</sup> Even the most elaborate of the pictures, where the series culminates with John and the suppression of heresy in the form of Arius trampled underfoot, stresses the importance of the holy text as a manufactured object. Divine direction of any sort is factored out of the equation in favour of human action; it is remarkably consonant with the colophon in which Eadwig seeks prayer as recompense for his labour as a scribe. It shows a clear bias towards a maker's focus of concern. I suggest that this opportunity to present the artisan's view was a 'default' position that was adopted because Eadwig knew nothing about the likely destination of his work in this case.

York's author portraits are not comparable; they do not emphasize scribal so much as evangelizing activity. And most manuscripts are not like either of these two books. But can we legitimately infer the owner-audience's interests from the pictures? That is what I have been exploring in this essay. It is as clear as it could be that the York Gospelbook was owned by Wulfstan. Despite first appearances to the contrary, the Gospelbook with its prefaces and canon tables is a unitary production made during the period of Wulfstan's tenancy of the archbishopric of York. I have also tried to make out a case for the appropriateness of the imagery to the man who owned it. What is still uncertain is how legitimately we can see the man through the art, or interpret the art by means of the man. This is not a problem specific to the York Gospelbook. It is a general issue for art historians to do with specificity as opposed to generality: raising the question whether art can be understood historically in isolation from personal contexts of production and consumption.

The historiography of Anglo-Saxon art has been through the usual phases in art historical study during the twentieth century. There was a mapping of stylistic development, a discussion of stylistic influences, and the identification of likely centres of production. By such means a chronological and geographical framework has emerged which is now generally accepted. Substantial work has been done on iconography

---

<sup>46</sup> Transcribed from T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), pl. 24. 'Father, lest you despise to instigate a prayer for the scribe: the monk Eadwig, called Basan, wrote this book, may he have enduring health. Farewell servant of God N and remember me.'

<sup>47</sup> The identical format is used for St Luke in the Warsaw Lectionary (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, illus. 284).

too, much of it to show the quirky inventiveness of Anglo-Saxon artists in the depiction of narrative or theological ideas. There is no need to revisit these approaches, which have accomplished much and will continue to be important aspects of the subject. But for me there is still something missing: the motivation which brings a manuscript such as the York Gospelbook into being looking the way it does which will account for its idiosyncrasies. Increasingly I see it as necessary for art historians to envisage how particularities might have come about, even if we cannot prove our case. Like an argument in a court of law, such things as opportunity, evidence, alibis, and motives are brought to bear on assessing likelihood 'beyond reasonable doubt', but they have to relate to individuals and circumstances rather than general prejudices. Hence my motivation in offering this essay. It imagines and offers an explanation for the distinctive characteristics of the York Gospelbook which is *ad hominem* rather than normative.<sup>48</sup> I suggest that at the very least we can understand something about Wulfstan's self-image through his preparedness to signal his ownership of the manuscript by having his own compositions copied into it and 'correcting' them in his own hand. It is quite possible, though not demonstrable, that the book was attractive to him because it was tailored to his interests. Either way, his 'active possession' of the manuscript also allows us to interpret the imagery as acceptable to Wulfstan, who we have good reason to think was someone with rather decided views on subjects such as art, authorship, and the nature of the interactions between God and man.

---

<sup>48</sup> I mean *ad hominem* to include *ad institutionem*. As noted above, a gospelbook such as Grimbold, given its scale and with the complexity of imagery and use of gold and silver, was probably always intended for a liturgically elaborate and intellectually sophisticated context such as the New Minster at Winchester, which is where it was by the end of the eleventh century.



## Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?

JOYCE HILL

Towards the middle of the last century, Dorothy Whitelock wrote a seminal article on Wulfstan entitled ‘Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman’.<sup>1</sup> This was at a time when great strides in Wulfstan studies were in the process of being made: the establishment of his corpus; the identification of manuscripts associated with him, in some of which his own hand was recognized; the recognition and characterization of a body of manuscripts which are — in various complex ways — a reflex of his own reference compendia, the so-called Wulfstan commonplace book; the production of modern scholarly editions of his works; and sensitive analyses of his rhetoric. A good deal of this was in hand when Whitelock was writing, some of it temporarily delayed by the limitations imposed by the Second World War. But Whitelock’s study was published in the earlier phase of these major developments in Wulfstan scholarship, and her title, as well as the article itself, has shaped our approaches to Wulfstan. We see him as a homilist, certainly, but with one particular homily dominating, and we thus stereotype him as a denunciatory moralist, distinctive in tone, technique, and preoccupations. We know too that he was an ecclesiastical regulator and adviser of kings, writer of laws, and author of sundry useful works, some focused more on the ordering of the church, others more on the ordering of society, although with the latter being always in the larger context of Christian obligations. Clearly, these various spheres of activity interact, and equally clearly, as Whitelock noted, Wulfstan was driven by a strong reformist impulse. But as a declamatory moral homilist on the one hand, and as a statesman on the other, his location within the larger context of ecclesiastical reform that still dominated in Anglo-Saxon England was not — and would not subsequently be — systematically analysed and articulated. The loss to Wulfstan scholarship is that, while we see him as powerfully reformist, we do not see him clearly enough in the context of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 24 (1942), 25–45.

larger movement to which he belonged, namely the Benedictine Reform; and the loss to the scholarship of the Reform is that the dimension represented by Wulfstan is not given the prominence that it deserves within the overall movement. My purpose in this essay is to situate Wulfstan explicitly in relation to the Benedictine Reform by taking a fresh look at his career and at our terms of reference in assessing it. The question mark in the title, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?', reflects where I think we start, that is, with a rather uncertain picture of where he stands in this regard. If, by the end, the question mark can be removed, we will be left with a phrasal construct, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer', which we might be able to use with as much confidence as we have been using, for the past sixty-odd years, Whitelock's succinct characterization of him as 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman'.

Our frame of reference for the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform is predominantly set by Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald in the first generation, and by Ælfric, with the rather esoteric addition of Byrhtferth, in the second.<sup>2</sup> None of them ignored the secular church, and in the first generation the three leading reformers made good use of their access to secular power both to support their aims and to shape the development of that power. But the thrust of the Reform was very strongly monastic: the foundation of religious houses, the reforming of others, the establishment of key bishoprics as monastic, the rapid development of the practice of appointing monks to episcopal sees, and a significant reorganization of landholdings in favour of monastic foundations, a development which actually produced a backlash against the Reform. The key text was the *Regularis concordia*, which was an attempt to establish a uniform monastic consuetudinary in England, whilst the upsurge in manuscript importation, copying, and production, together with developments in scholarly traditions, were strongly monastic in focus, and learned in a way that was more characteristic of the Latinate world of the literate monks than of any other part of society. When the story of the first generation came to be written, as it did almost immediately in the form of the *vitae* of Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald, it was the story of the monastic 'winners', assertively polemical in its hagiographic mode.<sup>3</sup>

There was no similar narrative for the second generation. But in Ælfric and Byrhtferth we have two authors who reinforce the image: both monks, and operating as such; both directly associated with first generation reformers and leading Reform houses; both conscious of their Benedictine Reform responsibilities; both dealing with the transmission of scholarly material; both presenting themselves as primarily

---

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of the Reform, see Joyce Hill, 'The Benedictine Reform and Beyond', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford, 2001), pp. 151–69.

<sup>3</sup> *Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 63 (London, 1874), pp. 3–52; Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991); *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, in *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine, 3 vols, Rolls Series, 71 (London, 1879–94), I (1879), 399–475.

responsible to a Latin tradition and literate, scholarly standards, whilst undertaking the difficult task of interlingual communication; and, above all, both powerfully present to us in the clarity of their corpus and in the respective consistency of their work, which can be readily grasped in each case — one exegetical and hagiographic; the other hagiographic and scientific.

Wulfstan does not quite fit the picture. His corpus is much more diverse and in some respects harder to identify, his tone is altogether different, and his context is the secular church and secular society. Moreover, by contrast with some of the principal Reform figures in England and the Carolingian predecessors in whose tradition they stand, Wulfstan's writings are not in the main presented as texts in dialogue with other texts, whatever may be the reality of their mode of composition behind the scenes. It feels like, and in important ways it is, a textual world and a lived world which is significantly different from those of the figures who provide us with our dominant terms of reference for the Reform in England. In this respect, it is worth remembering that, although Ælfric and Wulfstan are often discussed together, this is usually in a sharply contrastive mode — a frame of reference which is a product of the distinctions I have been pointing to, but one which has a cumulative, subliminal effect upon us by tending to define Wulfstan by what he is not: not Ælfric, not monastic, not the expected kind of proponent of the Benedictine Reform.

Wulfstan first comes into view as Bishop of London from 996. On his life before that we have only post-conquest information, from the *Liber Eliensis*, John of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury. The first two of these say he was a monk, the *Liber Eliensis* stating that he was 'primo monachus, deinde abbas' ('first monk, then abbot'),<sup>4</sup> and John of Worcester referring to him simply as 'abbas' at the time of his elevation to Worcester and York in 1002.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, a passing remark by William of Malmesbury has been interpreted to mean that he was not a monk, although Dorothy Bethurum long ago pointed out that this is a misinterpretation of 'habitu'.<sup>6</sup> In the particular context, in which Wulfstan is contrasted to Bishop Ealdwulf, this probably means 'attitude' rather than '[monastic] habit'.<sup>7</sup> In any case, as she also pointed out, it would have been highly unlikely, a little later in 1002, that

---

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by E. O. Blake, Camden Society, 3rd series, 92 (London, 1962), p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 3 vols (Oxford, 1995–), II (1995), 452.

<sup>6</sup> *Willelmi Malmesburiensis Monachi De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series, 52 (London, 1870), p. 250.

<sup>7</sup> For a succinct discussion of the evidence, see Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan', p. 39, and *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 54–68 (p. 57). Bethurum notes the statistic that, of the 116 bishops appointed between 960 and 1066, only fourteen are known to have been secular priests, with no incumbent of York or Canterbury being so.

a secular priest would have been appointed to one of the archbishoprics — or, one might add, to the monastic see of Worcester, which to begin with Wulfstan held in plurality with York. Yet there is no denying that the focus of Wulfstan's career is firmly within the secular church. It is probable that his more worldly skills and his commitment to the non-monastic church were demonstrated during his period of office in London, and that it was this experience that made him a suitable candidate for Worcester and York. The archbishopric of York, which lay outside the area of the Benedictine Reform, would have demanded political finesse as much as ecclesiastical leadership, and the anchoring of Wulfstan's loyalty by giving him Worcester in plurality<sup>8</sup> put him in charge of a see where the Reform had been more of a compromise than elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> The pastoral and political focus was not at odds with Frankish and Lotharingian reform ideals, however, and although pluralism was non-canonical, it was a pragmatic device that the English reformers were not averse to using.<sup>10</sup> In sum, while it is on balance most likely that Wulfstan was a monk, his role as a reformer is not dependent on his being so, and although we have no reason to discount the statements of the post-conquest writers, it is just conceivable that they assumed he was a monk precisely because this was the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from his appointments and activities — a deduction that would serve to confirm for us that he was indeed conceived of as a reformer, and that what he did was understood as being situated within the larger programme, which was known to be monastically inspired.

We may also remind ourselves of two further, though minor, pointers to Wulfstan's location within the Reform tradition. One is his use of *Lupus* as a *nom de*

---

<sup>8</sup> The riches of Worcester would, of course, have been available to support the relatively impoverished archbishopric of York, but the primary reason for the plurality was probably political, binding the Archbishop to the king's secure sphere of influence and effectively closing off the opportunity to 'go native', as Archbishop Wulfstan I had done in siding with Olaf Guthfrithsson in the 940s. See further Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 70–88.

<sup>9</sup> P. H. Sawyer, 'Charters of the Reform Movement: The Worcester Archive', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. by David Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 84–93, 228–30; Julia Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961–c.1100', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996), pp. 84–99.

<sup>10</sup> Oswald retained Worcester when he became Archbishop of York in 971; Dunstan was also a pluralist as the need arose (Nicholas Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 1–23 (p. 21)); and Wulfsgige, who established Sherborne as a monastic see, seems, for at least part of his bishopric, to have continued to hold the Abbacy of Westminster (Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), pp. 222–24).

plume, following a notable Carolingian tradition with which he was familiar through Alcuin's letters;<sup>11</sup> the other is his laudatory and nostalgic attitude towards the Age of Edgar, to which both Bethurum and Whitelock have drawn attention.<sup>12</sup> In Wulfstan's case, this may be as much a yearning for a period of political stability as for the golden age of monastic reform, in view of his direct engagement with the turmoil of political affairs under Æthelred, the exposure of London to the Danes during his episcopate, and his subsequent responsibilities in the troubled north. But a harking back to the Age of Edgar as a lost ideal was a marked characteristic in the writings of the Benedictine Reformers, and Wulfstan is no less fulsome than Ælfric in this regard. As with the *nom de plume*, it is at least indicative of his own frames of reference and his personal orientation. However, it goes without saying that what is much more significant in locating him within the reform movement is the nature of the works that he produced, the traditions on which he drew, and his methods of textual production.

I begin by focusing on Wulfstan's use of Ælfric.<sup>13</sup> Most obviously, there are the Pastoral Letters written in Wulfstan's name, at Wulfstan's request, by Ælfric, each first presented to Wulfstan in Latin, and then translated — or, more truthfully adapted — into an English form.<sup>14</sup> There is, in addition, a lengthy Latin letter from Ælfric to Wulfstan evidently answering a number of questions posed by Wulfstan on regulatory, canonical, and historical matters, including a good deal of material subsequently used in the Pastoral Letters.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the letter from Wulfstan to Ælfric, to which this is the reply, is now lost. However, on the basis of textual relationships and the patterns of manuscript survival it would appear that Wulfstan, the busy secular cleric, turned to Ælfric to gain access to material that would not be

---

<sup>11</sup> There were registers of Alcuin's letters in circulation and one of the extant manuscripts, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, is known to have belonged to Wulfstan: N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 267–68. See further Gareth Mann, this volume.

<sup>12</sup> Dorothy Bethurum Loomis, 'Regnum and sacerdotium in the Early Eleventh Century', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 129–45; Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan', p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> See also Malcolm Godden, this volume.

<sup>14</sup> *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. by Bernhard Fehr, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 9 (Hamburg, 1914; repr. with a supplementary introduction by Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1966). The Latin letters for Wulfstan are printed as Brief 2 and 3 (pp. 35–57 and 58–67 respectively), with the corresponding Old English letters printed as Brief II and III (pp. 68–145 and 146–221 respectively).

<sup>15</sup> Printed by Fehr as Brief 2a (pp. 222–27), although it is not directly related to Brief 2. There is a more modern edition, with introduction and notes, in *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1, AD 871–1204, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), I, 242–55.

readily available for him in digestible form, entered into private correspondence on a range of regulatory issues that would have relevance for the ordering of the secular church, and saw, in the answers, that here was a body of material worth disseminating. Hence the request to Ælfric to produce digests in pastoral letter form, which, in view of the limitations of the clergy and the importance of ensuring that the material was properly understood, he then requested Ælfric to redraft in English. Wulfstan subsequently took this a stage further with one of the English letters, simplifying it yet more.<sup>16</sup>

Fehr was critical of Wulfstan for the questions he was evidently asking Ælfric in the letter, now lost, supposing that the questions indicated his relative ignorance.<sup>17</sup> However, it is worth bearing in mind that his questions were astute enough to catch Ælfric out on more than one occasion so that he was sometimes obliged to admit that, as far as he was aware, the canons did not pronounce on the topic in question, or that he had never read anything about it himself. The probable situation is that Wulfstan was checking on the precise attitude of the authorities on this or that ecclesiastical practice current in England — hardly a position of ignorance, but rather a demonstration of informed thinking and sound instincts which led him to verify, through Ælfric, the authoritative position prior to taking episcopal action which was in line with the proper regulations and due authorities. Clearly, this was something he was interested in pursuing, because he also took care to acquire a copy of the pastoral letter Ælfric wrote for Bishop Wulfsig of Sherborne, a man who was sufficiently in the Benedictine Reform mould to have turned Sherborne into a monastic see part-way through his episcopate.<sup>18</sup> The letter written for Wulfsig was likewise in large measure a series of practical, regulatory instructions on the conduct of the clergy, which must therefore be read against the implied current practices that they appear to address. Elements in all of these letters were laid under contribution when Wulfstan produced the so-called *Canons of Edgar*, which dealt with the proper status and conduct of secular priests.<sup>19</sup> What is also striking here, however, is the extensive

---

<sup>16</sup> This is the MS D version of Brief II, printed by Fehr on pp. 68–145 in parallel with Ælfrician manuscript witnesses. For a discussion of the interchange between Ælfric and Wulfstan as it may be deduced from content and manuscript survival, see Joyce Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church: Ælfric's Pastoral Letters in Context', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 103–17.

<sup>17</sup> *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. cix.

<sup>18</sup> Brief I (pp. 1–34) in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr. The letter for Wulfsig is included in manuscripts associated with Wulfstan (the reflexes of his so-called 'commonplace book'): see Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', esp. p. 117.

<sup>19</sup> *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, ed. by Roger Fowler, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 266 (London, 1972). The nineteenth-century attribution to Edgar is patently false. In the following sentence I list sources identified by Fowler, who also refers to Wulfstan's use of the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti*. Wulfstan's use of this material is a strong testimony to his

Carolingian textual input, not simply indirectly through the Ælfrician material, but also directly by Wulfstan himself: for example, the *Capitula* of Theodulf, the *Penitential of Pseudo-Theodore*, the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert* (actually by Halitgar of Cambrai), and material derived from Amalarius's *Regula canonicorum*, a chapter of which Wulfstan also translated into English, and which is printed by Bethurum as Homily Xa.<sup>20</sup>

But this was not all. Jost has shown that Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*,<sup>21</sup> a major regulatory treatise on the ordering of authority in church and state, similarly uses the letter for Wulfsige, as well as Ælfric's Letter to Sigeward (otherwise known as his treatise 'On the Old and New Testament') and items from both series of *Catholic Homilies*. Wulfstan also used other *Catholic Homilies* elsewhere, the treatise *De falsis deis*, Ælfric's version of Judges, and his *Decalogus Moysi*.<sup>22</sup> It is not clear that he directly used Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, which adapts the *Regularis concordia* and makes extensive use of Amalarius's influential work of liturgical exegesis, the *Liber officialis*, although it has often been presumed that he did, since the only extant copy of this work survives in Part A of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265, which is one of the manuscripts associated with the Wulfstan commonplace book tradition. However, against this supposition, Jones has recently demonstrated that the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* may not have been original to this manuscript compilation, but a later addition,<sup>23</sup> so that we cannot stay with the assumption that a copy of this *Regularis concordia* adaptation was sent to Wulfstan by Ælfric, or was otherwise acquired by Wulfstan as a text that would be a useful addition to his reference collection. That said, Wulfstan is nevertheless demonstrably interested in and committed to the proper conduct within the secular church of relatively complex liturgical ritual in Holy Week, using texts and procedures which are in the monastic *Regularis concordia*, as we see from the Pastoral Letters; and, as the same letters show, he expects the secular clergy to live a liturgically regulated life, observing the Daily Hours in the monastic pattern.

---

interest in the Carolingian canon law tradition but, as Wormald has since demonstrated, this title is also a misnomer, and the source text(s) may be more complex than is indicated by the use of one title: Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in his *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51 (pp. 231–41).

<sup>20</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 192–93.

<sup>21</sup> *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Bern, 1959).

<sup>22</sup> This list of the chief items by Ælfric which were used by Wulfstan is given by Peter Clemoes, 'The Old English Benedictine Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 190, and the Relations between Ælfric and Wulfstan: A Reconsideration', *Anglia*, 78 (1960), 265–83 (pp. 281–82).

<sup>23</sup> *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. by Christopher A. Jones, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 24 (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 71–91, in particular pp. 77–82.

It is in this context of elaborating and regulating the secular ecclesiastical ritual in parallel with that of monastic life that we should take note of Wulfstan's contribution to the *Old English Benedictine Office*<sup>24</sup>—a misnomer, if ever there was one, since it is certainly not usable as an Office, most of the psalm-texts which are at the heart of the Office being absent. What the text does provide, however, is a skeleton of the Hours and metrical renderings in English of the Gloria, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. None of this is by Wulfstan, but what is attributable to him, on stylistic grounds, are the general introduction and conclusion, and the introductions to each of the Hours, all written in vernacular prose. His purpose is to interpret the meaning of this liturgical daily round, using as his principal source Hrabanus Maurus's *De institutione clericorum*, notably part of the second book, *De officiis et orationibus canonicarum horarum*. The pedigree is impeccable from a Benedictine Reform point of view; the purpose has to be seen as part of a second generation extension of the reform to the secular church, in which Ælfric, in a different way, was also engaged.

The promotion of increased liturgical ritual is also evident in his homilies, which are by no means all like the famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. I have already referred to the translation of a chapter from the *Regula canonicorum* of Amalarius of Metz, which Bethurum prints as Homily Xa. Whether it is in fact appropriate to consider this as a homily is not for discussion here, but it is interesting in the present context in setting out the requirement that 'ealle samod ætsomme on gesetne timan cyrcan secan 7 ðær Gode to lofe heora getida gefyllan'.<sup>25</sup> It helps us understand Wulfstan's impulse to support this development by providing the vernacular prose explanations in the *Old English Benedictine Office* around the pre-existing skeletal outline of the Hours. Other homilies with a liturgical, sacramental, or creedal frame of reference reflect his own functional responsibilities as bishop and archbishop, and that is also true of the homily on the Reconciliation of Penitents on Maundy Thursday,<sup>26</sup> since it is a homily for a liturgical function that only a bishop or archbishop could perform. But it is worth pausing here to note the value of this innovation since the solemnity of the event and the spiritual and emotional impact that it would have had provides a parallel within the secular church of some of the special rituals in the *Regularis concordia*, which are expressly recognized as being effective in achieving heightened spiritual awareness. As Bethurum notes, 'The ceremony at which this sermon was preached was one of the most impressive at which a bishop officiated',<sup>27</sup> and yet it

---

<sup>24</sup> *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. by James M. Ure, Edinburgh University Publications in Language and Literature, 11 (Edinburgh, 1957).

<sup>25</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 193, Homily Xa, lines 29–31: 'all together, at a set time, shall go to the church and there observe their Hours, in praise of God'.

<sup>26</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, Homily XV, pp. 236–38 (*Sermo de cena domini*).

<sup>27</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 346.



would appear that Wulfstan was one of the first to introduce it into England.<sup>28</sup> In view of his commitment to the improvement of the liturgy in the secular church and his evident interest in ritual for special occasions, as shown in the Pastoral Letters, one is tempted to see in this a professional formation that was originally shaped by the ordered and heightened liturgy of the Reform, as exemplified by the *Regularis concordia* — a formation which imbued him with a strong appreciation of the emotive and spiritual impact of ritual, which he then drew upon throughout his episcopal career in attempting to extend its benefits to the life of the secular church. The evidence for this lies not only in the instances discussed here, but also importantly in the substantial and wide-ranging collection of liturgical materials assembled by Wulfstan in his reference manuscripts.<sup>29</sup>

This area of interest is an aspect of Wulfstan's career and personal commitment that has generally not been given the weight it deserves, but it is one that would have given him impeccable credentials as a reformer within the Anglo-Saxon and continental traditions, demonstrating characteristic promotion of greater liturgical regularity, elaborated ritual, and generally improved ecclesiastical standards, the whole underpinned by careful attention to the establishment of the authoritative framework as defined by the Carolingian traditions on which the Anglo-Saxon Reform so heavily depended.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, it is important to note that his interests are overwhelmingly oriented towards the secular church — a position which allies him more directly with continental metropolitans than with the more monastically oriented first-generation reformers in England. There is nothing intrinsically monastic about Wulfstan's liturgical materials and, given the positions he held, one would hardly expect there to be. But it is in the larger tradition of the reform that he stands, in his practice, his aspirations, and his textual resources.

---

<sup>28</sup> On Wulfstan's distinctive interest in public penance, demonstrated in this sermon and in liturgical material collected in his 'commonplace book', see Brad Bedingfield, 'Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 31 (2002), 223–55. Bedingfield notes that, while there is compelling evidence for Wulfstan's own commitment to the rite of public penance and reconciliation, 'it is difficult to gauge to what extent the practice might have had currency outside of Wulfstan's diocese' (p. 237).

<sup>29</sup> Christopher A. Jones, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum*, 73 (1998), 659–702, discusses the context in which Wulfstan was operating and in particular the 'modern' (i.e. Carolingian) stimuli to which he was responding. A further valuable study is Christopher A. Jones, 'A Liturgical Miscellany in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190', *Traditio*, 54 (1999), 103–40. Jones discusses and edits an *Expositio officii* which survives in a manuscript associated with Wulfstan's commonplace book tradition. As Jones notes, 'If it is Wulfstan's creation, the *Expositio officii* adds significantly to our picture of his reading and its applications' (p. 128). If it is not attributable to Wulfstan (and there is some possibility that it was a subsequent addition), it is nevertheless indicative of a lively, eclectic, up-to-date, and reformist approach to liturgy in the late Anglo-Saxon church, in which Wulfstan was demonstrably a committed participant.

<sup>30</sup> See further Christopher A. Jones, this volume.

A similar broadening of our terms of reference is required when we come to consider Wulfstan as 'statesman', operating in the service of the king's interest. This is an area of work that is not well represented by the Anglo-Saxons who shape our idea of the reform in England, yet by engaging in it, Wulfstan was operating within a frame of reference clearly established in Carolingian Francia and continued in the Lotharingian reforms: a preoccupation with law and social order in maintaining a *res publica christiana*, in which the role of the king was crucially important.

We commonly think of the dominant characteristic of the Carolingian reform as being its desire to re-establish a chain of authority or, as Claudius of Turin put it when commenting on his use of his source-authorities in his commentary on Genesis, '[e]lector] non mea legit, sed illorum relegit, quorum ego verba quae illi dixerunt veluti speciosus flores ex diversis pratis in unum collegi et meae litterae ipsorum expositio est.'<sup>31</sup> The principal reference points were patristic; the principal focus was biblical interpretation and other forms of religious exegesis (including the liturgy); and in search of the authentic and orthodox tradition, it was necessary to establish accurate texts. This was the essence of the Carolingian *renovatio*, within which Ælfric sits so comfortably<sup>32</sup> — and Wulfstan does not. But this learning was valued, and the scholarship was promoted for its usefulness and relevance in advancing the objectives of a Christian society. In Carolingian Francia, therefore, in parallel with the production of a vast array of texts which reassert the patristic traditions of orthodox exegesis, there is a great emphasis on law and social order, resulting in a substantial production of legal and theoretical texts, a process which was as much

---

<sup>31</sup> *Epistolae IV, Epistolae Karolini Aevi II*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin, 1895), p. 592: 'The reader does not read my words. Instead, he reads theirs again. I have collected their words like beautiful flowers from many meadows, so my treatise is a work of theirs', the translation being that of Michael Gorman, 'The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 279–329 (p. 287).

<sup>32</sup> The bibliography is extensive. The most accessible general surveys of these characteristics of the *renovatio* are John J. Contreni, 'Carolingian Biblical Studies', in *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. by Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, 1983), pp. 71–98, and Giles Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1–51. For the larger tradition of intertextuality, of which the Carolingian *renovatio* is a part, see Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge, 1994). Ælfric's location within this tradition is discussed by Joyce Hill in 'Translating the Tradition: Manuscripts, Models and Methodologies in the Composition of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 79 (1997), 43–65 (The Toller Lecture for 1996, now reprinted with revisions in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 241–59); and *Bede and the Benedictine Reform* (Jarrow Lecture, 1998). There are references in both publications to detailed source-studies which illustrate Ælfric's participation in this tradition.

the proper business of the Reform as the production of the exegetical material. The orders of society were defined, explicitly and implicitly, through law-codes issued by the king (which commonly made a link with Old Testament and Roman lawgivers), numerous royal capitularies, sundry episcopal statutes, canon-collections, synodical decrees, and a whole host of more practical and localized legal and quasi-legal documents which mark the penetration of this ordered framework into Carolingian society at large. The secular church, as well as the monastic church, had its roles and responsibilities defined, as did secular society as a whole, and within this context the improvement of the secular church was a necessary objective.<sup>33</sup> This is part of the original mainstream reform tradition, and it is here that Wulfstan fits, placing these concerns at the heart of his writings and giving them a direct and forceful expression not equalled by other English reformers. In some of his homilies we see his obsession with — and evident distress at — the contemporary breakdown in social order. But approaching the problem in a more constructive mode, there are also the law-codes for Æthelred and Cnut, *Hadbot*, *Að*, *Gepyncðu*, *Mircna laga*, *Norðleoda laga*, and his major theoretical treatise the *Institutes of Polity*.<sup>34</sup> As Giles Brown has noted:

The stress placed by the Carolingians upon the duties and responsibilities of the ‘order of laymen’ is a distinctive feature of their programme of *correctio*, and one which distinguishes it from similar reform initiatives undertaken in the late Roman world, in Visigothic Spain and Merovingian Gaul.<sup>35</sup>

Alcuin, in an allusion to the Parable of the Talents, noted in one of his letters that Christ had entrusted talents of money to all, of whatever station, not just to bishops

---

<sup>33</sup> The theme is touched upon by Brown, ‘Introduction’, in *Carolingian Culture*, and, in the same collection, Janet L. Nelson, ‘Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World’, pp. 52–87. Additionally, see Rosamond McKitterick, ‘Charles the Bald (823–877) and his Library: The Patronage of Learning’, *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 28–47, esp. pp. 35–36; and John J. Contreni, ‘The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II, c. 700–c. 900, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 709–57, in particular p. 737, with its comments on the linkage between rhetoric and rulership, and pp. 748–49 on the centrality of the law to Carolingian concepts of social structure and order. On the pastoral emphasis of the Carolingian reform, see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977).

<sup>34</sup> We cannot always be certain about Wulfstan’s authorship, and in the case of some surviving texts that seem to be in some sense ‘Wulfstanian’, we may be dealing with texts which incorporate Wulfstan’s material (as is possibly the case with the *Northumbrian Priests’ Law*), or with the work of near-contemporaries who shared his ideas and perhaps also some of his stylistic traits (as may be the case with *Gerefa* and the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, a text on the management of a large estate). These have all been taken to be works by Wulfstan, but Wormald, ‘Holiness of Society’, pp. 247–51, argues that they should not be included in his canon, although he notes that they bear witness to his contemporary impact.

<sup>35</sup> Brown, ‘Introduction’, p. 25.

and priests.<sup>36</sup> Wulfstan may well have known the comment at first hand. But in any event the commonplace book tradition associated with Wulfstan shows him to have been conversant with the secular regulatory traditions of the Carolingians. It was an aspect of the reforming tradition that he played out in eminently practical terms.<sup>37</sup>

Of course, while the key to social order might be right belief, supported by sound laws and social structures, the linchpin for the latter was the person of the king. Monastic leaders in Carolingian Francia did not hold back from giving advice to successive kings, and although Wulfstan writes nothing quite comparable to these directly addressed treatises, many of them are identifiable influences on his written work. In particular, Wulfstan shared with other English Reformers the view of the king as ruling by God's grace as the vicar of God, and they believed, in common with the Carolingians, that the king must rule himself virtuously before he can properly rule others.<sup>38</sup> The problem for Wulfstan, as Æthelred's reign progressed, was that fact contradicted theory — and yet, given the theory (and the spiritual implications of the English coronation *ordo*) the expulsion of Æthelred in 1013 was unavoidably to be viewed as a heinous crime. The emotive force of Wulfstan's language, the marshalling of forceful rhetoric for moral suasion in a way analogous to that advocated by the Carolingians (though there in Latin), and his energetic production of social declamations and regulatory texts were responses to frustrating local circumstances in the light of this larger understanding. His commitment to supporting Cnut in becoming a good Christian king, even though this was a break with the old order, was a further indication of his driving convictions.

The final area I want to look at briefly is that of Wulfstan's *compilationes*, the so-called commonplace book tradition, which has been a major strand in modern Wulfstan scholarship. I do not here want to rehearse the arguments about whether this or that manuscript should properly be included, nor do I want to tackle the complicated question of what might be the relationship of any one of these manuscripts with an original Wulfstanian compilation — of which there may well have been more than one. For my purposes, it is simply enough to note that there are several manuscripts in the frame, and that in recent years the list has been extended.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> 'Alcuini Epistolae', in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi II*, ed. by Dümmler, p. 160 (no. 111).

<sup>37</sup> For a modern assessment of this aspect of Wulfstan's work, see Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', and Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), esp. 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Law of God', pp. 449–65. On the commonplace book tradition in particular, and Wulfstan's canon-law collection, see below.

<sup>38</sup> Bethurum, 'Regnum and sacerdotium', and Robert Deshman, 'Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 22 (1988), 204–40.

<sup>39</sup> There is a substantial scholarship on this question, to which both Gneuss and Sauer provide references. In connection with Gneuss no. 925, however, a valuable additional reference is J. E. Cross, 'A Newly-Identified Manuscript of Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', Rouen,

*Acknowledged as Wulfstan's handbook by Gneuss*<sup>40</sup>

- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 [Gneuss no. 59], pp. 1–294. s. xi<sup>1</sup>, Worcester? prov. Exeter by s. xi med.
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 [Gneuss no. 73], pp. 1–268. s. xi med-xi<sup>3/4</sup>, Worcester.
- London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i [Gneuss no. 341], fols 70–177. 1003x1023, Worcester or York.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 [Gneuss no. 644]. s. xi<sup>3/4</sup> and additions s. xi<sup>2</sup> and s. xi ex., Worcester.
- Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°) [Gneuss no. 814]. c. 1002–23, Worcester (and York?), prov Denmark (Roskilde) s. xi?
- Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1382 (U. 109) [Gneuss no. 925], fols 173–98. s. xi<sup>1</sup>.

*Additionally discussed in this connection by Sauer*<sup>41</sup>

- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718. s. xi<sup>1</sup>, England.
- London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fols 114–70. s. xi in, Worcester or York, before 1023; actually, a letter-book collection.
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 3182. s. xi<sup>1</sup> or s. xi<sup>2</sup>, Brittany.
- Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 8558–63, fols 80–131 and 132–53. s. xi<sup>1</sup> and s. xii<sup>1</sup>, England.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37. s. xii ex, or xiii in, Worcester?

On the simple level of content, these manuscripts confirm Wulfstan's Carolingian orientation, which is seen to be just as strong as those of the other reformers, albeit with the different textual focus that was necessary to support his particular agenda. However, in order to appreciate their significance, we must be clear from the outset that the entrenched (Victorian) designation of these manuscripts as 'commonplace books' is misleading. When Bateson began to identify the group of manuscripts, she expressed the view that:

---

Bibliothèque Municipale 1382 (U. 109), fols. 173r–198v', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 2 (1992), 63–83.

<sup>40</sup> Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001).

<sup>41</sup> Hans Sauer, 'Zur Überlieferung und Anlage von Erzbischof Wulfstans "Handbuch"', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 36 (1980), 341–84; translated into English as 'The Transmission and Structure of Archbishop Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 339–93. Sauer is not, however, arguing for these to be designated as commonplace books; they are simply means of access to aspects of the tradition.

The purpose of the writer in copying out a quantity of excerpts, taken from various sources, seems to have been to make a kind of theological commonplace book specially intended for a bishop's use.<sup>42</sup>

But, as Wormald has noted:

little in these manuscripts is truly theological. They give even less sense of the sort of random jotting down of pearls of wisdom whereby Victorians of culture (and bishops?) compiled commonplace books. Whoever put them together was not picking up edifying thoughts as he went along. What was taking shape was something like the canon collections of Regino of Prüm, Abbo of Fleury and Burchard of Worms: assemblages of ecclesiastical law and custom that exploited patristic as readily as decretal or conciliar prescriptions.<sup>43</sup>

Gneuss signals a move away from the term 'commonplace book' by referring to each example as a version of Wulfstan's 'handbook', although this is not much more indicative of the true nature of these manuscripts than 'commonplace book', which will probably remain the shorthand term. But however we refer to these manuscripts, what is important is their significance in characterizing Wulfstan's interests and aspirations, and the ways in which they allow us to understand his activity in relation to continental traditions.

I have referred already to some of these source-texts in commenting on the *Canons of Edgar*. Amongst others are extracts from Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis*, major Carolingian Councils, notably the Council of Aachen of 816, sundry *ordines* and reflexes of the *Regularis concordia* and work by Amalarius, and a rich array of extracts from Carolingian canon collections. The problem, as Hamer and Cross point out in their 1999 edition of *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*,<sup>44</sup> is that, although canon law collections were commonly made in Charlemagne's reign and subsequently, Wulfstan's interaction with them is difficult to define precisely, since we are comparatively poorly supplied with modern critical editions. What is clear, however, is that Wulfstan was aware of the value of *compilationes* as a means of giving oneself access to the authority-texts, whether they were those of the early church (as represented by the *Dionysio-Hadriana* for the Eastern Councils and the *Collectio Hispana* or *Isidoreana* for the Western), or the canons of the Carolingian reforms, which Frankish *compilatores*, such as Ansegisus, often also included. In this respect, though for different purposes from Ælfric and drawing upon different textual traditions, Wulfstan was like Ælfric — and like his Carolingian predecessors

---

<sup>42</sup> Mary Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections, made c. 1000 A.D.', *English Historical Review*, 10 (1895), 712–31 (p. 712).

<sup>43</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', pp. 239–40. As an addition to Wormald's characterization of this material we should also note the importance of liturgical matter within the collections, as identified by Jones and discussed above.

<sup>44</sup> *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, Anglo-Saxon Texts, 1 (Cambridge, 1999), p. 30.

— in wanting authoritative validation and in putting himself in a position to work within an unbroken chain of authority. The only difference was that, in the resulting vernacular output, there is less overt sense of participating in such a chain, since Wulfstan's texts, as I have noted already, are less self-consciously intertextual in their expressed frames of reference. What is perhaps even more revealing, however, is that Wulfstan had to labour quite hard to create his own *compilationes*. Maybe the very diversity of his interests and responsibilities was a factor here, but it is more likely to be because the regulatory compilations were less readily available in Anglo-Saxon England than the patristic or hagiographic ones on which Ælfric drew; and because — unlike patristic exegetical material, which was universally relevant — Wulfstan was constantly responding to and engaging with the particular needs of the Anglo-Saxon church and of secular society at a given time, so that nothing 'ready made' from Carolingian Francia would quite meet his requirements. He needed selected and targeted extracts. Not that Ælfric was averse to making his own *compilationes* when the need arose: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 63 is a case in point.<sup>45</sup> But he was able to rely on a good deal of ready-made material: for example, the Cotton-Corpus Legendary and a number of Carolingian homiliary collections.<sup>46</sup> Wulfstan, it would seem, had fewer assets of this kind, which I think accounts for his own efforts as revealed for us in the commonplace book tradition. And the fact that such efforts had to be made indicates, I believe, that he was moving into territory not well colonized by the English Reform up to this date. It was legitimate territory, however, from a continental perspective, and the techniques that Wulfstan employed were the classic techniques of the reformers in England as well as in Carolingian Francia and later in Lotharingia. Wormald even goes so far as to characterize him as '[. . .] *par excellence* a Carolingian ideologue in his integrated

---

<sup>45</sup> E. M. Raynes, 'MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric', *Medium Ævum*, 26 (1957), 65–73, and Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, pp. cxlvii–cxlix, where the possibility is also put forward that Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5362 is a later copy of a hagiographical commonplace book compiled by Ælfric.

<sup>46</sup> For the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, see Patrick H. Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Nero E.i. + CCC MS 9 and other Manuscripts' (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1979); and 'Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric', *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 17–37, together with Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, 1996), pp. 131–46. Ælfric's principal homiletic collections were those by Paul the Deacon, Haymo (now known to be Haymo of Auxerre, rather than Haymo of Halberstadt, as earlier scholarship supposed), and Smaragdus: Cyril L. Smetana, 'Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary', *Traditio*, 15 (1959), 163–204; Cyril L. Smetana, 'Ælfric and the Homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt', *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 457–69; Joyce Hill, 'Ælfric and Smaragdus', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 203–37.

view of a holy people whose kings and bishops worked together to realize the kingdom of God'.<sup>47</sup>

It would seem, then, that we can safely remove the question mark in the title. Frank Barlow, many years ago, characterized Wulfstan as a moral crusader — no surprises there. He also identified him as 'a bishop using every resource of church and state to achieve a Christian way of life'.<sup>48</sup> No surprises there either. But what I hope I have succeeded in doing in this essay is to look at Wulfstan from a slightly different angle, and to see his deployment of resources, in substance, technique, and mental outlook, as being thoroughly understandable as an expression of the Benedictine Reform, a movement which, as Darlington pointed as long ago as 1936, was always aimed at something more than a revival of strict monastic observances.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 465.

<sup>48</sup> Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, p. 71.

<sup>49</sup> R. R. Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical Reform in the Late Old English Period', *English Historical Review*, 51 (1936), 385–428.



# Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests

CHRISTOPHER A. JONES

Over his career, Wulfstan must have presided at countless religious services and, as bishop and archbishop, borne responsibility for the liturgical competence of priests over vast territories. Dramatic pontifical ceremonies elicited sermons from him as often as did readings from the Mass-lectionary.<sup>1</sup> Regulations touching the liturgy occur among the Latin excerpts now regarded as Wulfstan's own canon law collection, and in at least one of the law-codes, VII Æthelred, he made religious ritual a national defence against invasion.<sup>2</sup> The presence of the liturgy in Wulfstan's career is therefore obvious but so diffuse as to appear incidental. To make matters worse, nearly all of Wulfstan's service books have perished, denying historians of liturgy as such the usual stock of their trade.<sup>3</sup> In Wulfstan's case, the topic before us must therefore expand from liturgy proper to 'liturgical interests', broadly defined. In this wider purview, the sprawling materials begin to assume a kind of coherence, and their emphases move nearer the centre of Wulfstan's better-known concerns.

Recent studies have recognized the high priority given to liturgical projects by a number of late Anglo-Saxon bishops, most notably St Æthelwold of Winchester (963–84), St Oswald of Worcester and York (961/71–92), and St Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062–95).<sup>4</sup> Where liturgy is concerned, Archbishop Wulfstan at first

---

<sup>1</sup> See *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), nos VIIIb–c, XIV–XV, XVII, and XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, Anglo-Saxon Texts, 1 (Cambridge, 1999); VII Æthelred in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16; reprint, Aalen, 1960), I, 260–62.

<sup>3</sup> On the extant service books, see below.

<sup>4</sup> Studies most relevant here include Andrew Prescott, 'The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 119–47; Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. by Michael

glance offers such figures little competition, yet the disparities may have more to do with how the topic is defined and what sources are admitted. The liturgical priorities of Æthelwold, for example, emerge from a small but rich group of extant service books, his customary (the *Regularis concordia*), and from his detailed *vitae*. Wulfstan attracted no biographer, and his service books barely survive. His library books, on the other hand, preserve abundant secondary-liturgical material of a range considerably greater than any associated with Æthelwold. This ‘paraliturgical’ category includes not only expositions of the liturgy but copies of prayers and *ordines* kept for purposes of study or eventual adoption. Though largely unfamiliar, texts in this category may well indicate Wulfstan’s priorities in the liturgy more clearly than do his few service books.

### *Paraliturgical Matter in Wulfstanian Manuscripts*

Aids for interpreting and teaching about the liturgy arose from various motives in the early Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> Practical resources for instructing clergy began to appear in the later eighth and ninth centuries. These *expositiones* provided explanatory glosses, etymologies, and occasional historical or moralizing comment on the Canon of the Mass, the prayers and gestures at baptism, and of course the Paternoster and Creed. In much the same period also emerged a more ambitious type of liturgical commentary patterned on the comprehensive exegesis of Scripture. These expansive treatises discussed not merely the Mass and baptism but every other aspect of the liturgy. In practice, fast distinctions between the simply didactic and more complexly encyclopaedic kinds of text were already blurring in the ninth and earlier tenth centuries, when such commentaries begin to appear in significant numbers in the Frankish church.

It is from this stock of ninth- and tenth-century Frankish texts that early England received most specimens of the genre. And by Anglo-Saxon standards, it is Wulfstanian manuscripts — especially the so-called ‘commonplace book’ family — that show the most wide-ranging engagement of the materials, certainly more so than in the works of Æthelwold or Ælfric.<sup>6</sup> (To distil the discussion that follows, I include a

---

Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), pp. lx–lxxxv; Alicia Corrêa, ‘The Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald’s Houses’, in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996), pp. 285–324; Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 157–61 and 203–06.

<sup>5</sup> For a summary and extensive references, see my ‘The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Speculum*, 73 (1998), 659–702; now see also Susan A. Keefe’s *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols (Notre Dame, IN, 2002), esp. II, 3–148.

<sup>6</sup> For Ælfric and Æthelwold, see Jones, ‘Book of the Liturgy’, pp. 660–61 and 677–88. In the present article, the name ‘commonplace book’ is retained for convenience only; on the history and inadequacy of the term, see Patrick Wormald, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan and the

handlist of the texts and manuscripts cited as Appendix 1, below.) The most substantial text is the *Eclogae de ordine romano*, a step-by-step spiritual commentary on an elaborate pontifical Mass, which equates the actions of the bishop-celebrant with scenes from Christ's Passion and Resurrection (Appendix 1, item 1).<sup>7</sup> Widely copied in western Europe from the tenth century onwards, the *Eclogae* often bore attribution to Amalarius of Metz (d. c. 835), the most famous of Carolingian liturgists.<sup>8</sup> Wulfstan certainly knew the *Eclogae*, since the text heads the contents of a 'commonplace book' manuscript that he annotated (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4<sup>o</sup>)). Another copy of the *Eclogae* survives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265, the first portion of which was copied at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century and contains many texts associated with Wulfstan's reference library. Even though the *Eclogae* (on manuscript pp. 329–63) stand not within the 'commonplace book' core of the volume but among additions made in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, the Cambridge copy is textually close to that in Copenhagen 1595.<sup>9</sup> Their common exemplar could have belonged to Worcester or York in Wulfstan's day, but it was evidently at Worcester by the later eleventh century.

Another trace of the *Eclogae* at Anglo-Saxon Worcester has recently surfaced, with Ebersperger's identification of a passage from the text copied by a ninth-century continental hand on a leaf now bound at the beginning of the so-called Egbert Pontifical (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10575).<sup>10</sup> The body of this pontifical was copied c. 1000 and is certainly of English origin, possibly from Worcester itself, according

---

Holiness of Society', in his *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image, and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51 (esp. pp. 239–40); and Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> *Eclogae de ordine romano et de quattuor orationibus in missa*, ed. by Ioannes Michael Hanssens, in *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, Studi e Testi, 138–40 (Vatican City, 1948–50), III (1950), 225–65, prolegomena at I (1948), 202–14; see also *Clavis scriptorum latinorum medii aevi: Auctores Galliae, 735–987*, ed. by Marie-Hélène Jullien and Françoise Perelman (Turnhout, 1994–), I (1994), 138–39.

<sup>8</sup> The attribution remains disputed; see Hanssens's prolegomena (preceding note), and Emmanuel Flicoteaux, 'Un problème de la littérature liturgique: Les "Eclogae de officio missae" d'Amalaire', *Revue bénédictine*, 25 (1908), 304–20.

<sup>9</sup> *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595*, ed. by James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 25 (Copenhagen, 1993), p. 14; cf. Johan Gerritsen, 'The Copenhagen Wulfstan Manuscript: A Codicological Study', *English Studies*, 79 (1998), 501–11.

<sup>10</sup> Birgit Ebersperger, *Die angelsächsischen Handschriften in den Pariser Bibliotheken*, *Anglistische Forschungen*, 261 (Heidelberg, 1999), p. 131. The text is from *Eclogae*, cap. 17 (ed. by Hanssens, III, 246), and is transcribed unreliably in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. by H. M. J. Banting, Henry Bradshaw Society, 104 (London, 1989), pp. 3–4.

to Dumville.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, this fragmentary text from the *Eclogae* is too brief and illegible for meaningful collation, but here may stand another trace of Wulfstan's exemplar. The possible contacts between the *Eclogae* and Wulfstan or Worcester extend finally to a tenth-century northern French or German copy of the text, this time in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 338, which perhaps sojourned in eleventh-century England where it received vernacular annotations.<sup>12</sup> This book includes one of two continental copies of the *Eclogae* textually closest to those in Copenhagen 1595 and Corpus 265.<sup>13</sup> Also striking is the fact that the Vatican manuscript contains, among miscellaneous liturgica, an *ordo* for the pontifical rite of confirmation which, as Corrêa has demonstrated, is one of the closest known relatives to the version of this rite in the Egbert Pontifical and in one other English service book, the Sidney Sussex Pontifical (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 100 (part 2)).<sup>14</sup> Dumville's attribution of the Egbert Pontifical to Worcester has already been cited; the Sidney Sussex Pontifical was perhaps copied by the monks of Ramsey for an earlier Worcester prelate, St. Oswald,<sup>15</sup> and this triangulation (Egbert, Sidney Sussex, and Worcester) will recur below in discussion of 'Claudius Pontifical I'.

But the *Eclogae* are just one of many Frankish paraliturgical sources in the 'commonplace books'. An expository text on the Mass titled *De officio missae* survives in

---

<sup>11</sup> David N. Dumville, 'Anglo-Saxon Books: Treasure in Norman Hands?', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 16 (1994), 83–99 (p. 95); David N. Dumville, 'John Bale, Owner of St Dunstan's Benedictional', *Notes and Queries*, 239, n.s., 41 (1994), 291–95 (p. 295).

<sup>12</sup> The book is composite, only its latter part (fols 64<sup>r</sup>–126<sup>v</sup>) being relevant here; see André Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses latini*, 2 vols (Vatican City, 1937–45), II (1945), 258–63; also David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 5 (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 136–37. Dumville (*Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 86) and more recently Helmut Gneuss (*Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 241 (Tempe, AZ, 2001), no. 914) cautiously allow the book an eleventh-century English provenance.

<sup>13</sup> See the stemma by Hanssens at *Amalarii episcopi Opera*, I, 208. The other copy in the same textual group is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 612, containing legal and canonistic works copied between the later ninth and early tenth centuries; in addition to Hanssens (*Amalarii episcopi Opera*, I, 204), see Emil Seckel, 'Benedictus Levita decurtatus et excerptus: Eine Studie zu den Handschriften der falschen Kapitularien', in *Festschrift für Heinrich Brunner zum fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum* (Munich, 1914), 377–464 (p. 418); M. Tangl, 'Die Tironischen Noten des Cod. Vat. Regin. lat. 612', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 39 (1914), 506–09.

<sup>14</sup> For the confirmation *ordo*, see *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. by Banting, pp. 14–15 (Egbert) and 168–69 (Sidney Sussex), and discussion by Corrêa, 'Liturgical Manuscripts', pp. 302–05.

<sup>15</sup> The argument of Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 75–76; see also Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 194, n. 134, and Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 155.

at least three copies (Appendix 1, item 2), but unlike the *Eclogae* this is a brief item, combining a few commonplaces of canon law and a smattering of symbolic interpretation. Probable sources for the text have been identified in the *Capitula* of Theodulf of Orléans, Hrabanus Maurus's *De institutione clericorum*, and, significantly, Wulfstan's own canon law collection.<sup>16</sup> Whether or not Wulfstan had a part in its composition, he certainly knew this *De officio missae*, as it occurs in the 'commonplace book' assembled under his direction, Copenhagen 1595.

Texts in the 'commonplace book' family and from Wulfstan's own pen affirm his knowledge of Carolingian commentaries on baptism (Appendix 1, item 3). Wulfstan composed and then substantially revised an Old English sermon on the rituals of baptism (Bethurum's VIIIb and VIIIc), and each of these appears to have drawn on a short Latin tract on the same topic (Bethurum's VIIIA).<sup>17</sup> The Latin exposition, which relies on largely commonplace etymological and symbolic interpretations, survives with some variation in five manuscripts, all associated with Wulfstan (including the first-generation 'commonplace book' Copenhagen 1595).<sup>18</sup> Most analyses have assumed that Wulfstan himself cobbled this Latin 'sermon' on baptism out of several Carolingian tracts, including ones by Alcuin, Amalarius of Metz, Theodulf of Orléans, and Jesse of Amiens.<sup>19</sup> Postulating so many sources, however, turns the composition of this brief item into an inordinately complex process. Thanks to Keefe's recently published catalogue and edition of dozens of such tracts from the ninth century, we can now see how absolutely typical of the genre is Bethurum's VIIIA.<sup>20</sup> Given the vastly larger numbers of analogues than were known to previous source-hunters, as well as the scarcity of Jesse's or Theodulf's treatises in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts,<sup>21</sup> the probability grows that Wulfstan did not know all those texts first-hand and that Bethurum's VIIIA is simply a digest that he received ready-made.

<sup>16</sup> *Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. by Cross and Morrish Tunberg, p. 23.

<sup>17</sup> The homilies conflate the catechumenate, baptism, and confirmation; on the merger of these stages in the Anglo-Saxon church, see Joseph H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca, NY, 1998), pp. 67–68; M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies, 1 (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 176 and 182–83.

<sup>18</sup> In addition to Copenhagen 1595, the Latin baptismal tract survives in three later manuscripts derived from the 'commonplace book' (see Appendix 1, item 3). It also survives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, not a 'commonplace book' but heavily Wulfstanian all the same.

<sup>19</sup> On the sources of the Latin, see *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 302–04, and James E. Cross, 'Wulfstan's *Incipit de baptismo* (Bethurum VIII A): A Revision of Sources', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 90 (1989), 237–42.

<sup>20</sup> Keefe, *Water and the Word*.

<sup>21</sup> Anglo-Saxon copies of Theodulf's and Alcuin's tracts survive only in London, British Library, Royal 8.C.iii (Canterbury, St. Augustine's, saec. x<sup>ex</sup>; see Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 475). The tract by Jesse survives in no Anglo-Saxon copy known to me.

All the texts mentioned to this point occur in manuscripts used by Wulfstan or served as sources for his writings. A number of further items lack such direct ties, appearing only in later derivatives of the 'commonplace book' family; these texts therefore may have belonged to Wulfstan's archive, but any argument that they did so will only be circumstantial. Two mid-eleventh-century derivatives of the 'commonplace book' contain a series of excerpts from Amalarius's *Liber officialis* (Appendix 1, item 4). The passages interpret the various seasons of the Temporale, with natural emphasis on ceremonies of Holy Week. Ælfric cited a considerable amount of this same material when drafting his monastic customary for Eynsham (c. 1005), and he may have had some part in assembling the excerpts and sending them to Wulfstan.<sup>22</sup> A separate and more extensive set of extracts from Amalarius's *Liber officialis* survives in a manuscript that, while unrelated to the 'commonplace book' family, was perhaps copied at Worcester in the early eleventh century.<sup>23</sup>

By far the most interesting block of paraliturgical matter in any 'commonplace book' copy also stands, unfortunately, in dubious relation to Wulfstan (Appendix 1, item 5). Appearing only in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, this text-group begins *Incipit expositio officium [sic] sacrae missae* but covers aspects of the Divine Office and calendar as well as the Mass.<sup>24</sup> What makes the compilation interesting is its range of ultimate sources, which included the popular Carolingian exposition of the Mass known as the *Primum in ordine* (a ninth-century copy of which was probably at Worcester in Wulfstan's time),<sup>25</sup> and a musicological treatise by the ninth-century Frankish scholar Aurelianus of Réôme. The compilation stops midway through its description of the liturgical seasons in order to preserve selected rubrics and prayers from a lavish pontifical *ordo missae*. Though incomplete, the *ordo*

---

<sup>22</sup> The Amalarian matter accompanies extracts from Æthelwold's *Regularis concordia* (see below); see my 'Two Composite Texts from Archbishop Wulfstan's "Commonplace Book"', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 27 (1998), 233–71, and now also Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 221. The excerpts survive in a shorter version (in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1382 (U. 109)) and an expanded form (in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190).

<sup>23</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xv; see Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 394: 's. x/xi, W. England (Worcester?)'; Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 136. Separate Amalarian passages do appear in the first-generation 'commonplace book' manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i, fols 106<sup>r</sup>–108<sup>v</sup> (incipit *Legitur in ecclesiastica hystoria*); but this is a post-conquest addition; see Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, ca. 1075–ca. 1125* (Oxford, 1992), p. 152 (item 40).

<sup>24</sup> See my 'A Liturgical Miscellany in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190', *Traditio*, 54 (1999), 103–40.

<sup>25</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 93 (S.C. 4081; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 635); see André Wilmart, 'Un traité sur la messe copié en Angleterre vers l'an 800', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 50 (1936), 133–39. This manuscript (one of the two oldest) was not used for the critical edition by Daniela Mazzuconi, 'La diffusione dell' *expositio missae* "Primum in ordine" e l'*expositio orationis dominicae* cosidetta milanese', *Archivio Ambrosiano*, 45 (1982), 208–66.

includes various modern (i.e. tenth-century continental) accretions as well as a custom requiring the bishop to distribute payments to his attending clergy and *schola* during the principal Mass of Christmas. The list of payments, moreover, appears modelled on a similar one drawn up by Charlemagne's archchaplain, Angilram of Metz, in the late eighth century.<sup>26</sup> Clearly, behind this *Expositio officii* in Corpus 190, which is definitely a creation of and for the library, stood a compiler with access to a number of Frankish sources, some of which must have been rare even on the continent. The compilation indulges two kinds of interest, namely in liturgical exposition of the basic didactic sort and in pontifical services for their own sake.

These two kinds of interest are certainly attributable to Wulfstan even if the *Expositio officii* itself is not. A pontifical element recurs in a number of the texts already mentioned. Wulfstan probably treasured the *Eclogae de ordine romano* as much for their description of a fancy pontifical Mass as for the pseudo-‘Amalarian’ allegories. The Mass-*ordo* underlying the commentary is believed to be a late-eighth-century ‘gallicanized’ version of an even earlier Roman text.<sup>27</sup> Some rituals mentioned in the *Eclogae* must therefore have seemed archaic or exotic to English clergy of Wulfstan's day. Elsewhere in the ‘commonplace books’ appear lengthy extracts from other pontifical liturgies, specifically for the public dismissal and reconciliation of penitents (Appendix 1, item 6.1–2), and for Maundy Thursday as a whole (item 7), including yet another version of the reconciliation service, followed by the Chrism Mass (i.e. for the blessing of the holy oils) and Vespers. The former set (item 6.1–2) occurs in London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i, a book used by Wulfstan himself; the same set reappears, now joined to the further one (item 7) in the later ‘commonplace book’ derivative Corpus 190. Yet the obviously pontifical character of these texts is not their only similarity. Less apparent but no less significant is the orientation of these *ordines* towards models not typical among English service books in the early eleventh century.<sup>28</sup> The first of the two public reconciliation services in Corpus 190 (item 6.2), for example, strongly resembles equivalent portions of the ‘Romano-German Pontifical’ — a resource usually assumed to have made little

---

<sup>26</sup> See Michel Andrieu, ‘Règlement d’Angilramne de Metz (768–791) fixant les honoraires de quelques fonctions liturgiques’, *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 10 (1930), 349–69.

<sup>27</sup> On the *ordo* underlying the *Eclogae*, see Jean-Paul Bouhot, ‘Les Sources de l’*Expositio missae* de Remi d’Auxerre’, *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 26 (1980), 118–69.

<sup>28</sup> For example, regarding the use of public penitential rites, Wulfstan famously lamented that England lagged behind the continent; see *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 236 (no. XV); cf. the statement ‘*Pas þeawas* [scil. the expulsion of penitents on Ash Wednesday] *man healt begeondan sæ*’ in a set of penitential texts associated with Wulfstan, printed by Roger Fowler, ‘A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor’, *Anglia*, 83 (1965), 1–34 (p. 20). Sarah Hamilton argues, however, that public penance was more common in England than Wulfstan implies; see her ‘Penitential Rites in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Ritual and Belief: The Rites of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by M. B. Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia (forthcoming).

impact on the English church until the third quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>29</sup> The opening reference in item 7 to the processional hymn at the Chrism Mass, *O redemptor sume carmen*, is also a distinctly Romano-Germanic symptom.<sup>30</sup> In sum, these services have the look of recent imports, not yet widely known in England but preserved for their intrinsic interest or for eventual implementation.

This emphasis on pontifical ceremony left its mark on Wulfstan's vernacular homilies as well, four of which attach to bishops' liturgies: the expulsion and reconciliation of penitents (Bethurum's nos XIV–XV),<sup>31</sup> the consecration of a bishop (Bethurum no. XVII), and the dedication of a church (Bethurum no. XVIII). The tally should also perhaps include two more items, namely the baptismal sermons (Bethurum VIIIa–c), which incorporate the episcopal rite of confirmation — making the whole ritual, in effect, a pontifical form; and also portions of a sermon (in the form of a 'pastoral letter') on the bishop's blessing of the holy oils that Wulfstan did not author himself but apparently commissioned from Ælfric.<sup>32</sup>

With these sermons, however, an interest in pontifical services overlaps the other function of medieval liturgical studies: the didactic. The fact that Wulfstan's implied audience on any of these preaching occasions includes diocesan priests recalls the link between the demands of clerical education and the types of paraliturgica that fill out the 'commonplace books'. Among materials already surveyed, those appropriate for basic instruction of clergy would include the *expositiones missae* incorporated into two texts (Appendix 1, items 2 and 5), the explanations of the church year (in items 4 and 5), and the tract on baptism (item 3). To these can be added an unstable group of texts designed (it seems) for teaching the Divine Office (item 8). Misnamed by modern editors the 'Old English Benedictine Office', this fusion of vernacular prose and verse includes passages of exposition alongside abbreviated psalmody and prayer texts.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Michael Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E. XII', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 55 (1983), 11–25, reprinted in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), pp. 453–67 and 492; Michael Lapidge, 'The Origin of CCCC 163', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1981), 18–28. For the Romano-German reconciliation rite, see *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. by Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 3 vols, *Studi e Testi*, 226–27 and 269 (Vatican City, 1963–72), II (1963), 59–67 (*Ordo* XCIX.222–51).

<sup>30</sup> *Ordo* XCIX.269 (*Pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, II, 72).

<sup>31</sup> In addition to Bethurum's commentary, now see Bedingfield, *Dramatic Liturgy*, pp. 82–89.

<sup>32</sup> *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. by Bernhard Fehr, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, 9 (Hamburg, 1914; repr. with a supplementary introduction by Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1966), pp. 146–221 ('Brief III', esp. pp. 146–48).

<sup>33</sup> The complete 'Office' survives only in the post-Wulfstanian Worcester manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121; only the prose portions survive as a set in Corpus 201. *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. by James M. Ure, *Edinburgh University Publications in Language and Literature*, 11 (Edinburgh, 1957); cf. reviews by Helmut Gneuss, *Anglia*, 77 (1959), 226–31, and Karl Jost, *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 10 (1959), 75–77.



The chief source for the prose passages was in fact one of the great Carolingian handbooks of clerical education, Hrabanus's *De institutione clericorum*, and Latin excerpts corresponding to the portions translated for the 'Office' survive in a number of 'commonplace book' derivatives.<sup>34</sup>

The abundance of these resources, however dispersed, raises a more concrete historical question: did Wulfstan's use of such materials combine with periodic examinations of his diocesan priests? Councils of the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon church mandated the practice,<sup>35</sup> but the survival of such a system through the ninth century appears doubtful. For all his citation of canons about clerical discipline, Wulfstan rarely offers procedures for enforcing standards. In the *Canons of Edgar*, he assumes at least one annual audience with his clergy in synod; elsewhere the same code also implies the common arrangement that every year priests would fetch their supply of holy oils from the bishop.<sup>36</sup> Either occasion might have served for Wulfstan or his deputies to examine clergy on their basic liturgical and canonical competence. Wulfstan also encouraged examinations prior to the conferral of holy orders — if indeed he authored, as Jost maintained, the greater part of a set of Old English instructions for preparing ordinands. This text, surviving as a pendant to Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity II* in a single manuscript, requires candidates for the priesthood to go to the bishop one month prior to ordination. During that month, the bishop subjects the candidate to examination (OE *fandung*), beginning with questions of doctrine but quickly moving on to the liturgy: does the candidate understand how to perform all services? can he explain the ritual of baptism and the significance (OE *getacnung*) of the Mass — probably meaning the 'allegorical' or moral significance?<sup>37</sup> These provisions resemble ones in many Carolingian royal and episcopal capitularies.<sup>38</sup> None of

---

<sup>34</sup> See Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres: Studien und Edition*, ed. by Detlev Zimpel, *Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte*, 7 (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 118–19, 168–70, and 197.

<sup>35</sup> Canons 6 and 10, e.g., of the Council of *Clofesho* (747); see discussion by Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c. 650–c. 850* (London, 1995), pp. 99–100 and 123.

<sup>36</sup> *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, ed. by Roger Fowler, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 266 (London, 1972), pp. 2 (nos 3–6, on synods) and 18 (no. 70, on the chrism). See also the chapter on synods in *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, *Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten*, 47 (Bern, 1959), pp. 210–16 (VIII, *Incipit de synodo*, from Junius 121); note, however, that Jost doubted Wulfstan's authorship of this section; see p. 22.

<sup>37</sup> *'Institutes of Polity'*, ed. by Jost, pp. 219–20 (XXIII, nos 9–12; from Junius 121). Jost considers the greater part of this text to issue from Wulfstan's pen, but not as an original part of the *Polity*; see Jost's introduction, pp. 26–28.

<sup>38</sup> The various types of examination in Frankish sources are surveyed by E. Vykoukal, 'Les Examens du clergé paroissial à l'époque carolingienne', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 14 (1913), 81–96; now see also Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, 19–20, and Thomas Martin Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio: Zur religiös-pastoralen Dimension von Kapitularien und*

the texts in our Wulfstanian inventory takes the form of question-and-answer, but they could have served nevertheless as raw materials for a basic program of oral examination and instruction.

To judge from the paraliturgical texts that survive from Wulfstan's sphere but rarely elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon books, he stood considerably above his peers in his exposure to a range of Frankish expositions (beyond Amalarius's *Liber officialis*) and to various *ordines* collected, by him or his predecessors, for the archives. The paraliturgica acquire added value as lenses through which to view the fragmentary, often baffling service book that is our only other means of access to Wulfstan's liturgy.

### *Service Books: Claudius Pontifical I*

The loss of most of Wulfstan's service books has already been noted, although it is possible that one or two others simply lie as yet unrecognized.<sup>39</sup> The famous York Gospels (York, Minster Library, Additional 1), for example, perhaps saw liturgical use during Wulfstan's pontificate — though no lists or markings in the book indicate Mass-lections.<sup>40</sup> Otherwise only one service book survives with strong connections to Wulfstan. In light of his esteem for the episcopate, it is fitting that this lonely candidate should be a bishop's book, namely the combined pontifical and benedictional known as 'Claudius Pontifical I'. (The Roman numeral distinguishes the portion relevant to Wulfstan from fragments of two later pontificals now bound with it as London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.iii.) Turner's edition and study of the manuscript appeared more than thirty years ago, and aspects of it have received learned analyses since then.<sup>41</sup> However approached, Claudius-I has struck most observers as an odd lot, though its oddity has drawn different explanations depending on the facet under

---

*Kapitulariennahen Texten (507–814)*, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 9 (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), pp. 360–62.

<sup>39</sup> Service books from Worcester or York between the later-tenth and mid-eleventh centuries are few and rarely complete; see K. D. Hartzell, 'An Eleventh-Century English Missal Fragment in the British Library', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 18 (1989), 45–97 (pp. 84–90); and Corrêa, 'Liturgical Manuscripts'.

<sup>40</sup> *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London, 1986). It is far from certain that the so-called bidding prayers in Old English, appended to the book, were intended for public use. Their relation to Wulfstan is in any case unknowable; see Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, pp. 86–99, and W. H. Stevenson, 'Yorkshire Surveys and Other Eleventh-Century Documents in the York Gospels', *English Historical Review*, 27 (1912), 1–25 (pp. 9–10).

<sup>41</sup> *The Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by D. H. Turner, Henry Bradshaw Society, 97 (London, 1971); Andrew Prescott, 'The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals', *British Library Journal*, 13 (1987), 118–58; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 190–95; see also Corrêa, 'Liturgical Manuscripts', p. 302, n. 70.

scrutiny. Here I attempt to characterize the pontifical (or what remains of it) as a functional service book, and to remark as well on its complex affiliations with continental sources on the one hand and Anglo-Saxon service books on the other.<sup>42</sup>

On the bases of content and physical makeup, 'Claudius Pontifical I' divides into two parts. The main one, or 'Part A', is a combined benedictional-pontifical, copied c. 1000 at an unidentified English centre. During the first quarter of the eleventh century it received various textual additions along with the ornate binding donated by one 'Thureth', whose gift an Old English poem on fol. 31<sup>v</sup> records.<sup>43</sup> Among other early additions to Part A were Latin and Old English versions of the law-code VI Æthelred, and these received corrections in Archbishop Wulfstan's own hand. Importantly, it is this palaeographical fact rather than any liturgical content that has bestowed on Claudius-I the title of 'Wulfstan's pontifical'. Yet while the presence of Wulfstan's hand indicates provenance (Worcester, York, or even London),<sup>44</sup> it hardly bears on questions about the local *use* of the book. 'Part B' of the manuscript was copied at about the same time as Part A, though much less carefully and on poorer-quality materials. Turner cautiously suggested that Part B was conceived as a supplement to Part A, since the former contains further episcopal blessings and a couple of *ordines* that are missing or defective in the latter.<sup>45</sup>

Claudius-I is physically incomplete, and the present order of gatherings is disturbed. To facilitate discussion, an outline of the book's contents is given here as Table 1 (the numbering and order of items follow Turner's, based in turn on Ker's reconstruction).<sup>46</sup>

**Table 1. Contents of 'Claudius Pontifical I'**

**PART A**

- (1) <no heading> benedictional, fused Temporale and Sanctorale; plus items for the Common of Saints, and an additional blessing for travellers [fols 106<sup>r</sup>–133<sup>r</sup>].
- (2) <no heading> Chrism Mass [fols 133<sup>r</sup>–136<sup>v</sup>].

---

<sup>42</sup> The typology and comparative study of early pontificals remain largely unexplored fields, but see Niels Krogh Rasmussen, with Marcel Haveral, *Les Pontificaux du haut moyen âge: Genèse du livre de l'évêque*, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, 49 (Leuven, 1998), pp. 431–92.

<sup>43</sup> See Craig Ronalds and Margaret Clunies Ross, 'Thureth: A Neglected Old English Poem and its History in Anglo-Saxon Scholarship', *Notes and Queries*, 246, n.s., 48 (2001), 359–70. The identity of 'Thureth' or Thored — an important clue to the manuscript's provenance — is still much disputed; see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 192–94.

<sup>44</sup> The case for London is put by Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 194.

<sup>45</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. x–xi.

<sup>46</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. viii–ix; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 177–78 (no. 141). Worm-holes reveal that fols 31–38 immediately preceded 106–36. The rest of the reconstruction is less certain.

- (3) *Ordo de sacris ordinibus benedicendis*: ordination rites for porter, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and priest [fols 39<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>r</sup>].
- (4) <no heading> the dedication of a church [fols 51<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>r</sup>].
- (5) *Benedictio episcoporum*: three prayers for the gospelbook ceremony at the ordination of a bishop [fol. 65<sup>v</sup>].
- (6) *Oratio ad clericum faciendum*: clerical tonsuring ceremony of three prayers and two antiphons [fols 65<sup>v</sup>–66<sup>r</sup>].
- (7) *Ad signum aecclesiae benedicendum* [fols 66<sup>r</sup>–68<sup>v</sup>].
- (8.a) *Benedictio crucis*; (8.b) *Ad consecrandam patenam*; (8.c) *Ad calicem consecrandum*; (8.d) *Oratio ad corporale benedicendum* [fols 68<sup>v</sup>–70<sup>v</sup>].
- (9) *In consecratione cimiterii* [fols 70<sup>v</sup>–72<sup>r</sup>].
- (10.a) *Oratio ad barbas tondendas*; (10.b) *Oratio ad capillaturam*; (10.c) *Incipiunt orationes ad vestimenta sacerdotalia seu leuitica*; (10.d) *Benedictio lactis et mellis*; (10.e) *Benedictio agni*; (10.f) *Oratio super agnum in pascha*; (10.g) *Benedictio in ramis palmarum*; (10.h) *Benedictio panis noui*; (10.i) *Benedictio ad fruges nouas*; (10.j) *Benedictio pomorum*; (10.k) *Benedictio uuae uel faue* [fols 72<sup>v</sup>–77<sup>r</sup>].
- (11.a) *Missa in reconciliatione ecclesiae*; (11.b) *Reconciliatio altaris uel loci sacri* [fols 77<sup>r</sup>–78<sup>v</sup>].
- (12.a) *In dedicatione fontis*; (12.b) *Oratio post mandatum*; (12.c) *Benedictio super candelas in purificatione sanctae Mariae*; (12.d) *Consecratio ignis et cerae* [fols 78<sup>v</sup>–80<sup>v</sup>].
- (13) *Ordo ad sanctimoniam benedicendam* [fols 80<sup>v</sup>–84<sup>r</sup>].
- (14) *Benedictio uestimentorum uiduarum*; *Benedictionem* [sic] *uiduarum* [fols 84<sup>r</sup>–85<sup>r</sup>].
- (15.a) *Benedictio putei*; (15.b) *Benedictio seminis* [fols 85<sup>r</sup>–85<sup>v</sup>].
- (16) *Missa ad sponsam benedicendam* [fols 85<sup>v</sup>–86<sup>v</sup>].
- <break in text: unknown number of leaves missing> -----

## PART B

- (17.a) *Incipiunt benedictiones in sanctorum festiuitatibus per anni circulum dicente* [sic] *ab episcopo*: ‘supplementary’ benedictional, Sanctorale, plus nuptial blessing [fols 137<sup>r</sup>–145<sup>v</sup>]; (17.b) *Finit sanctorum. Incipit de feria benedictio in LXXma*: ‘supplementary’ benedictional, Temporale [fols 145<sup>v</sup>–150<sup>v</sup>] including (17.b.1) *Feria IIII caput ieiunii. Incipit ordo ad dandam penitentiam* [fols 146<sup>v</sup>–148<sup>r</sup>]; (17.b.2) *Orationum* [sic] *in reconciliatione* [sic] *penitentium. Feria V. in cena domini* [fol. 150<sup>r-v</sup>, unfinished].

By this reconstruction, Part A of the book began with the benedictional (Table 1, item 1) which, unlike most, shows no strong evidence of local customization. The only distinctive saints appearing in it occur in the Part B ‘supplement’; they suggest, as Turner noted, a northern French background but converge on no specific church.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. ix–x.

Even with Part B taken as a 'supplement', the total benedictional is lean in comparison with other Anglo-Saxon models. Only the choice and reassignment of certain blessings confirm the influence on Claudius-I(A) of the so-called Winchester benedictional of the tenth century, a type represented most famously by the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' (London, British Library, Additional 49598). According to Prescott, the benedictional in Claudius-I(A) was produced through a severe abridgement of a 'Winchester benedictional', and whoever carried out the abridgement did so carelessly, dropping not only all the English saints but even some universal ones (St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, and the Holy Innocents).<sup>48</sup>

Because Turner and Prescott have already shown in detail how Claudius-I relates to other benedictionals, time will be better spent on the pontifical *ordines*. These, while less studied than the blessings, send equally contradictory messages. First in reconstructed sequence comes the bishop's Mass of the holy oils (or Chrism Mass) on Maundy Thursday (Table 1, item 2). This ceremony shows an unusual diversity of forms in late Anglo-Saxon liturgical books,<sup>49</sup> and the particular *ordo* in Claudius-I belongs to a distinct subtype surviving, to my knowledge, in only three other copies, all marked by a degree of English affiliation, namely (1) in the so-called Ratoldus Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12052), a tenth-century French book that incorporated many pontifical services from an earlier tenth-century English source; (2) in a quire of miscellaneous liturgica copied at late-eleventh-century Évreux and there added to the Egbert Pontifical, recently acquired from England; and (3) in Corpus 190, which, as already discussed, is not a service book but an eleventh-century copy of canonistic and liturgical texts from Wulfstan's circle. In all three of these books, the distinctive Chrism Mass appears as part of a longer detailed *ordo* for Maundy Thursday, where it is preceded by the reconciliation of public penitents and followed by pontifical Vespers. The ultimate origin of this longer text is unknown; what matters, for the present, is an evident connection of this unusual *ordo* to Wulfstan or, at least, to Worcester, whether directly (through 'Claudius Pontifical I') or indirectly (through Corpus 190).<sup>50</sup>

Comparison of these four copies affirms that the version of the Chrism Mass in Claudius-I has been excised from the longer Maundy Thursday *ordo* in which it originally stood. The resulting Claudius-version has an abrupt beginning, with no title or heading to set it off from the preceding benedictional. At its end, the *ordo* breaks off even more abruptly: the scribe simply quit copying after the third blessing-prayer (that over the oil of catechumens), thereby omitting not only Vespers but some quite

---

<sup>48</sup> On derivation from a 'Winchester-type' benedictional, see Prescott, 'The Structure', p. 123. On the omissions, see *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. xv. As Turner notes, the 'supplementary' function of Part B is open to question.

<sup>49</sup> For this and the following paragraph, see fuller discussion in my 'The Chrism Mass in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *Ritual and Belief*, ed. by Bedingfield and Gittos.

<sup>50</sup> The Egbert Pontifical and even its 'Évreux supplement' may also point to Worcester; see below.

complex rubrics governing the end of the Chrism Mass itself. Careless redaction in liturgical books is hardly newsworthy, but this instance merits notice because similarly rough editing will constitute a pattern in the remainder of the book.

The next items are ordination rites for the ecclesiastical grades from cantor up to priest (Table 1, item 3). Pontificals that contain these will often include the ordination of a bishop as well. Claudius-I does not, and in this feature it mirrors one other Anglo-Saxon book, the tenth-century Sidney Sussex Pontifical.<sup>51</sup> The similarities between the ordination rites of Claudius-I and those of Sidney Sussex in fact go beyond their omission of the episcopal rank. Both distinctively preserve an old-fashioned ceremony of diaconal ordination adjacent to what was, in the early eleventh century, a much more up-to-date presbyteral one.<sup>52</sup> Both books also have only one prayer for making an acolyte (against two prayers in other English pontificals). The use of this single prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus fons lucis* appears at first glance to be no more than a legacy of the Carolingian supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary, but the text of the prayer in Claudius-I and Sidney Sussex also contains an interpolation of two entire clauses not common elsewhere in continental or English books.<sup>53</sup> These similarities cumulatively indicate that the same redaction of the whole series stands behind the ordination rites in both books.

But if the fact of such relationship is obvious, its causes and implications are not. Sidney Sussex 100 was never a full pontifical but rather a portable booklet, at first containing only the ordination services and an *ordo* for post-baptismal confirmation. Palaeographers favour Ramsey Abbey as the producer of Sidney Sussex, and historians add that its lack of an episcopal ordination from an otherwise complete series suggests a booklet compiled for use by a bishop, not (or not yet) an archbishop. Together these clues suggest that Sidney Sussex 100 was written for St Oswald as Bishop of Worcester before he also became Archbishop of York in 971. By parallel argument, Wulfstan may have used Claudius-I when he was Bishop of London. Upon his promotion to Worcester and York in 1002, however, the ordination rites in this book alone would no longer have sufficed, and for this and other reasons, as Wormald has recently argued, Claudius-I 'is unlikely to have been in current use'

---

<sup>51</sup> For the rites in Sidney Sussex, see *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. by Banting, pp. 155–70, with introduction at pp. xxxix–li.

<sup>52</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. xxiv–xxviii; Corrêa, 'Liturgical Manuscripts', pp. 299–302.

<sup>53</sup> Compare *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. 33, lines 3–7, and Sidney Sussex (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. by Banting, p. 159); cf. *Le Sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. by Jean Deshusses, 3 vols, *Spicilegium Friburgense*, 16, 24, and 28 (Fribourg, 1971–82; corrected reprint of all 3 vols, 1992), 1, 601–02 (text nos 1798–99) [this edition hereafter cited by Deshusses's text numbers as GrH (the 'Hadrianic' Gregorian Sacramentary (ed. by Deshusses, 1, 83–348)), GrSp (the Carolingian supplement (ed. by Deshusses, 1, 349–605)), or GrTc ('Textes complémentaires' (ed. by Deshusses, vol. III))].

long after the millennium.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, just as Sidney Sussex was never a 'full' pontifical, so Claudius-I may not have been, and the absence of any single element from either can therefore hold no sure significance.<sup>55</sup>

The next item, the dedication of a church (Table 1, item 4), stands essentially complete, if badly copied. As it is the most complex of all pontifical services, the interrelations among the dozen or so copies of this ritual in Anglo-Saxon books are especially hard to untangle. A consensus has nevertheless emerged about a few peculiar traits of the *ordo* in Claudius-I, whose rubrics and general structure show closer affinities to older continental models than to the main lines of development in other English pontificals.<sup>56</sup> Markedly 'un-English' features in Claudius-I include its omission of the triple-procession and litany around the church at the start of the ceremony and its direction that the bishop dispatch ministers to wash the exterior walls of the church rather than do so himself. The *ordo* in Claudius-I is decidedly archaic (though not unique among English books) in preserving a break between two parts of the service, the latter beginning with a rubric *Incipit ordo quomodo in sancta romana ecclesia reliquiae condantur* (a title ultimately borrowed from *Ordo romanus* XLII). All its conservative traits notwithstanding, the service in Claudius-I has undergone some accommodation to English tendencies: its blessing of 'Gregorian water' includes the addition of chrism, as found in *Ordo romanus* XLI and all other Anglo-Saxon dedication *ordines* (save that of the Egbert Pontifical). On the whole, however, the church dedication in Claudius-I appears a relatively 'less developed and [less] elaborate rite' than that in all other English books.<sup>57</sup> What remains uncertain is how far this 'less developed' appearance comes from genuine archaism, from a deliberate reduction of fuller models, or from mere error. In at least some points, the text shows marks of sloppy abridgement; the rubric for the 'alphabet ceremony', for example, directs the bishop to trace only one of the expected two diagonals.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 190–95 (quotation from p. 195), to which I am much indebted. Wormald notes that, if Wulfstan came by Claudius-I at London, its similarities to the earlier Sidney Sussex book could reflect a common origin in one of the Fenland abbeys (*Making of English Law*, p. 194, n. 134).

<sup>55</sup> On the completeness of Claudius-I, see below.

<sup>56</sup> See Turner's introduction to *Claudius Pontificals*, pp. xx–xxiv, and Thomas Kozachek, 'The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy, and Ritual' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1995), pp. 303 and 304, n. 17. For the clearest and most up-to-date survey of Anglo-Saxon dedication *ordines*, see Helen Gittos, 'Sacred Space in Anglo-Saxon England: Liturgy, Architecture and Place' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 2001). I am very grateful to Dr Gittos for sending me a copy of the relevant chapter.

<sup>57</sup> Quotation from *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. xxii. For the clearest picture of the 'undeveloped' state of this service in Claudius-I, see Kozachek, 'Repertory of Chant', pp. 353–55 (Table 6.1).

<sup>58</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. 44.

After the church dedication *ordo*, the contents of Claudius-I fall into increasing disarray.<sup>59</sup> A few subsidiary blessing-rituals that other books tend to group with the church dedication are split off and cluster later in the book (e.g. Table 1, items 7–9, 11, and 12.a — the blessings of bells, of sacred vessels, of a cemetery, etc.). Instead, right after the church dedication comes a small group (item 5) titled *Benedictio episcoporum*, in actuality a set of three prayers that in other English pontificals introduce the ordination service of a bishop.<sup>60</sup> Their excerption and placement here in Claudius-I serve no clear purpose. The same could be said of the splitting of the next segment (item 6), the service for clerical tonsuring. The series, headed *Oratio ad clericum faciendum*, is a fixture in many sacramentaries and pontificals.<sup>61</sup> By typical arrangement, however, near the group should occur two other prayers, *Ad capillaturam* and *Ad barbas tondendas*. In Claudius-I, the latter two only occur further on, and in reverse order (items 10.a and 10.b).<sup>62</sup> Likewise adrift, it seems, is the set that follows them, a series of three blessings for diaconal and priestly vestments (item 10.c) that in other sources adjoin either the ordination rites for those grades or the dedication of a church and its furnishings.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> This essential point is made by Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 194.

<sup>60</sup> The rubric and latter two prayers are equivalent to GrH 21–22; the first prayer (*Oremus dilectissimi nobis*) is ultimately of Gelasian origin; see *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli: (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, ed. by Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, with Leo Eizenhöfer and Petrus Siffrin, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes*, 4 (Rome, 1960), p. 120 (text no. 766) [this edition hereafter cited as GeV plus text number].

<sup>61</sup> The group is ultimately based on GrSp 1246–50.

<sup>62</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. 61–62 (GrH 993 and 991, respectively). For the placement of these next to the service *Ad clericum faciendum*, see, e.g., *The Leofric Missal* [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579], ed. by Nicholas Orchard, 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society, 113–14 (London, 2002), II, 420–21 (text nos 2422–27) [this edition hereafter cited as ‘Leofric (A–C)’]; *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert* [Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 369 (Y. 7)], ed. by H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 24 (London, 1903), pp. 113–15 [this edition hereafter cited as ‘Robert’]; the Dunstan Pontifical [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 943] and Anderson Pontifical [London, British Library, Additional 57337], ed. by Marie A. Conn, ‘The Dunstan and Brodie (Anderson) Pontificals: An Edition and Study’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1993), pp. 145–47 and 292–93, respectively [these editions hereafter cited as ‘Dunstan’ and ‘Anderson’]. Note that the prayer *Ad capillaturam* is split off from the group in the Egbert Pontifical; see *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. by Banting, pp. 4 and 125 [this edition hereafter cited as ‘Egbert’].

<sup>63</sup> Among blessings for church furnishings (after the dedication), see Robert (pp. 90–91), Dunstan (pp. 48–50), and Anderson (pp. 192–94). They appear within the ordination rites in Egbert (pp. 22–23). None of these prayers appears in early Gelasian or Gregorian sources, but the first two items of the set turn up (appended to the church dedication) in the Romano-German Pontifical, *Ordo XL.79–80 (Pontifical romano-germanique)*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, I, 152–53).



Ker's reconstruction of the quiring, it should be noted, bears none of the blame for these dislocations. In large measure the disarray appears to have been original to Claudius-I or its immediate model(s). A table of contents — if at one time the pontifical had such — would have mitigated some problems but not all.<sup>64</sup> What possible end, for example, was served by copying only those three initial prayers from the episcopal ordination service (item 5)? Likewise, the prayer *post mandatum* (item 12.b) belongs at the end of a foot-washing ceremony but is accompanied by no further instructions;<sup>65</sup> and the blessing of palms on Palm Sunday (item 10.g)<sup>66</sup> and that of tapers on Candlemas (item 12.c)<sup>67</sup> appear without directions for the processions, antiphons, and other attendant details that had become increasingly elaborate by the late tenth century. As regards its text, then, Claudius-I often transmits what look like snippets that could only have served in conjunction with other books; indeed, in this respect, it often resembles a sacramentary more than a nascent pontifical. Other problems of incompleteness result from the scribes' abandonment of their work. The Chrism Mass *ordo* would have been just barely usable, breaking off as it does after the third oil-blessing near the top of fol. 136<sup>v</sup> (the rest of the page was left blank). Likewise, the last item in the Part B 'supplement' ends in mid-sentence (the remainder of that page is also empty).

Dead ends such as these represent only some limitations of the book in its present state. Originally Claudius-I did have more leaves, of course, but how many? At only one place does a break in the text indicate certain loss — after fol. 86<sup>v</sup>, near the end

---

<sup>64</sup> On issues of codicology and function, see Richard W. Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop and his Book', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81 (1999), 3–24. Some other Anglo-Saxon pontificals are impressively well organized, e.g., the Dunstan and Anderson pontificals, and the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert.

<sup>65</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. 66, based on a Frankish-Gelasian prayer, for which see GrTc 4473, or Leofric (A) 2420 (II, 420), but Claudius-I is closer in wording to the *Oratio ad pedes lauandum* in Egbert (pp. 107–08), which also stands alone. For the prayer in the context of the Maundy Thursday liturgy, see the Romano-German *Ordo* XCIX.290 (*Pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, II, 78–79).

<sup>66</sup> The three palm-blessing prayers in Claudius-I (ed. by Turner, pp. 63–64) are *Deus qui temporibus noe*, *Deus qui hierusalem ueniens*, and *Deus cuius filius pro salute*. All appear in other sources but in combinations and sequences that vary greatly. The nearest parallels to Claudius-I are embedded in fuller Palm Sunday *ordines* in Leofric (C) 2765–67 (II, 479–80) and in *The Canterbury Benedictional* [London, British Library, Harley 2892], ed. by Reginald Maxwell Woolley, Henry Bradshaw Society, 51 (London, 1917; repr. 1995), pp. 23–24; in both books, the three prayers are contiguous, but *Deus cuius filius* precedes the other two. Among Anglo-Saxon pontificals proper, only Egbert resembles Claudius-I in giving prayers without a larger framework (pp. 135–36).

<sup>67</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. 69: *Domine iesu christe creator caeli*. The prayer appears (within longer *ordines*) in, e.g., Leofric (B) 2249 (II, 349), Dunstan (p. 170), and *The Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. by Woolley, pp. 81–82.

of the nuptial Mass (item 16: *Missa ad sponsam benedicendam*).<sup>68</sup> It is tempting to think that much has gone missing. At the very least, we would expect to have found *ordines* for consecrating monks, abbots, and abbesses, to round out the present blessings of nuns and widows (items 13 and 14). The absence of a rite for confirmation is also noteworthy, since that service *is* found in the otherwise closely related Sidney Sussex Pontifical. Most striking of all — if Claudius-I served for any length of time as Wulfstan's service book — is the deficiency of its rituals for public penance, since he is known to have placed much value on those ceremonies. And yet we have already seen that a lengthy reconciliation service was in fact shorn from the Chrism Mass adjacent to it (according to all other copies of the parent-*ordo* for Maundy Thursday). The Part B 'supplement' in Claudius-I includes the beginning of prayers for a different, much less developed Maundy Thursday reconciliation rite (item 17.b.2), but even this breaks off abruptly after just one formula.<sup>69</sup> Two folios earlier (still in Part B) appears an Ash Wednesday service with an expulsion of penitents (item 17.b.1); and this, like so many articles in Claudius-I, appears to be an abridgement of an *ordo* attested elsewhere in somewhat fuller form.<sup>70</sup> Each clue, minor in itself, adds up to a major impression: however natural the assumption that much has gone missing after fol. 86<sup>v</sup>, the quality of what does survive raises questions about how complete or useful this book ever was. Doubts that first rumbled in Prescott's analysis of the benedictional have grown louder with Wormald's recent suggestions not only that Claudius-I was 'already outdated when copied', but that its very uselessness could explain why the book received a costly and very impractical binding.<sup>71</sup> These verdicts may not go far enough. Even after allowances are made for significant loss of leaves, the fragmentation of items and frequency of Latin howlers force us to wonder how well *anyone*, bishop or archbishop, could ever have used the book.

However badly the contents of Claudius-I compare with other pontificals, what they do or do not suggest about Wulfstan remains a separate and even more difficult question. Wormald's inference that Claudius-I would not have suited an archbishop

---

<sup>68</sup> Raw numbers mean little, but the liturgical texts of Claudius-I occupy ninety-four leaves; for rough comparison, the ten extant Anglo-Saxon pontificals that are more or less complete range from 144 to around 200 folios. See Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop', p. 7.

<sup>69</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. 88, consisting of a rubric, one complete prayer, and the first seven words of another. The ensemble suggests not a complete *ordo* but simply the bare text-group transmitted in the Gregorian Supplement (see GrSp 1383–85).

<sup>70</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. 83–85. Many of the individual elements are commonplace, but the rubrics, psalmody, and choice of prayers for this service in Claudius-I are especially close to those in the tenth-century Ratoldus Sacramentary (BN lat. 12052), fols 77<sup>r</sup>–79<sup>f</sup>. Claudius-I does, however, omit a prayer that Ratoldus inserts just before the imposition of ashes (78<sup>v</sup>: *Omnipotens sempiterne deus parce metuentibus*); the *ordo* in Claudius-I also omits a final interior procession with antiphon and collect found in Ratoldus (fol. 79<sup>f</sup>).

<sup>71</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 194–95. On the difficulty of inferring what an early pontifical *ought* to contain, see Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop', p. 10.

actually comes as a relief, as it implies that Wulfstan must have owned something better. Over an episcopal career spanning three decades, as he rose from London to Worcester and York, he may have owned as many as three pontificals and had opportunities to borrow more, from which useful or simply interesting portions could be copied for future use. A search for 'Wulfstan's pontificals' (now plural) should first revisit Dumville's hypothesis of a Worcester origin, *c.* 1000, for BN lat. 10575 (the Egbert Pontifical).<sup>72</sup> While the contents of Egbert and Claudius-I show no transparently close relationship, they do share tendencies to transmit relatively archaic and 'foreign' forms, to suffer incoherencies of arrangement, and to include isolated prayer texts drawn directly from the sacramentary traditions as often as fully developed *ordines*. A Worcester origin for Egbert would also explain the aforementioned fragment of the *Eclogae de ordine romano* bound at its head, since only Wulfstanian manuscripts otherwise bear witness to the pre-conquest reception of this treatise. Furthermore, it is at the very least remarkable that a quire later added to the Egbert Pontifical (supposedly after the book had reached Évreux) contains a copy of the same rare Chrism Mass *ordo* as found in the 'commonplace book' Corpus 190 and in truncated form in Claudius-I. Some of the other liturgical forms in this 'Évreux supplement' are likewise of Anglo-Saxon affiliation (e.g. the three-hexametre *Benedictio baculi*),<sup>73</sup> and small but compelling evidence of a tenth-century Worcester-Évreux liturgical connection has recently surfaced in another place.<sup>74</sup> More detailed comparison of the books' liturgical contents is needed, but on circumstantial evidence alone the Egbert Pontifical may have no less claim to the title of 'Wulfstan's [Worcester] Pontifical' than does Claudius-I.

No matter how many such books Wulfstan encountered, however, only Claudius-I bears marks of his ownership, and so it must remain central to any study of his liturgy. Seen from another angle, moreover, its shortcomings may yet prove valuable as they suggest the processes and sources that produced the collection. The earlier part of this paper argued that Wulfstan inherited or himself sought out a range of liturgica, with a recurring emphasis on episcopal rites. Claudius-I may appear a little less strange if viewed in the same general context, namely the ongoing assembly and reassembly of all sorts of liturgical texts either for a bishop's own use or for presentation. The latter purpose could also explain the skeletal Sanctorale of the benedictional in Claudius-I, which a recipient could augment as desired. (If Claudius-I was

---

<sup>72</sup> See note 11, above.

<sup>73</sup> See the Egbert 'supplement' (ed. by Banting, p. 146, n. 38); Banting notes the presence of these verses in Robert (p. 128), but they are also in Ratoldus (see *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1844–55), LXXVIII, col. 498D), Dunstan (p. 100), Anderson (p. 250), and in the so-called Lanalet Pontifical [Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 368 (A. 27)], ed. by G. H. Doble as *Pontificale Lanaletense*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 74 (London, 1937), p. 58 [this edition hereafter cited as 'Lanalet'].

<sup>74</sup> Corrêa, 'Liturgical Manuscripts', pp. 291–92.

begun as a book to be given away, however, the job was probably abandoned; so frequently mangled is its Latin that such a gift could only have mortified the giver.) The other and perhaps more likely possibility is that Claudius-I represents in its totality, and not merely in its 'Part B', some kind of supplementary collection preserving only alternative or additional forms to augment other then-existing books.

The oddity of the collection aside, the liturgical contents on their own terms betray symptoms reminiscent of those in Wulfstan's paraliturgical materials. The most striking feature of both could be termed their conservative 'Francophilia'. The flavour is strongest in the *Eclogae de ordine romano*, the Latin baptismal exposition, the Frankish or Rhenish pontifical *ordo missae* embedded in the *Expositio officii*, and of course the foreign public penitential *ordines* (Appendix 1, items 1, 3, 5, and 6). While less apparent at first glance, a similar pattern emerges among the backgrounds of Claudius-I. The un-English and archaic traits of its church dedication service have already been noted.<sup>75</sup> These symptoms recur in the forms for tonsuring a cleric (Table 1, item 6),<sup>76</sup> for blessing a church bell (item 7)<sup>77</sup> or a chalice (item 8.c),<sup>78</sup> for saying Mass over a desecrated site (item 11),<sup>79</sup> and for consecrating a nun (item 13).<sup>80</sup> For all these, a core of texts drawn, usually, from the supplemented Gregorian

---

<sup>75</sup> See above and note 56.

<sup>76</sup> See above and note 61.

<sup>77</sup> The set in Claudius-I (ed. by Turner, pp. 56–68) remains close to the probable source, either a 'Gelasianized Gregorian' sacramentary (cf. GrTc 4322–25) or a 'Frankish-Gelasian' book; cf. the Sacramentary of Gellone [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12048], *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by J. Deshusses, 2 vols, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 159 and 159A (Turnhout, 1981), I, 367–69 (nos 2440–46). Other English books offer a modest expansion and revision of this core; e.g. Dunstan (pp. 131–33), Anderson (pp. 281–84), Egbert (pp. 125–27), and most fully Robert (pp. 103–05). Despite its overall conservatism, the version in Claudius-I does show as an 'updated' symptom the interpolation (*Presta saluator*) at the end of the second prayer, *Deus qui per moysen legiferum*; the same addition occurs in Dunstan and Anderson.

<sup>78</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. 59. The set of two prayers goes back to Gelasian sources (GeV 698–99) and was incorporated into later books (see GrTc 4098–99). In the Anglo-Saxon group, the same unadapted series appears in Leofric (A) 2380–81 (II, 410–11), Egbert (p. 52), and as the second of two distinct sets in Lanalet (p. 17). Modified and expanded versions of the set are common to Robert (p. 93), Dunstan (pp. 52–53), and Anderson (pp. 196–97).

<sup>79</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, p. 65. The set consists of three Mass propers (see GrTc 4179–81) and an embedded episcopal benediction (GrSp 1787); the same set, minus the prayer *ad complendum*, occurs in Lanalet (p. 28). Compare the variously expanded versions in, e.g., Robert (pp. 112–13), Dunstan (pp. 107–08), Egbert (p. 61), and Anderson (pp. 257–59).

<sup>80</sup> The opening of the set in Claudius-I (ed. by Turner, pp. 68–70) closely reproduces GrSp 1251–54, then is followed by five other prayers. All items appear in other Anglo-Saxon books, but there is considerable rearrangement, substitution, and expansion: cf. Robert (pp. 135–38);

or 'Frankish Gelasian' sacramentaries has in the majority of Anglo-Saxon pontificals undergone revision and usually expansion. The forms in Claudius-I appear, by comparison, to have travelled little or sometimes no distance from the sources. On the other hand, it is not possible simply to dismiss the whole of Claudius-I as a textual fossil, since some of its elements do incorporate apparently Anglo-Saxon traits. The aforementioned Chrism Mass has a predominantly English transmission, and several other textual forms in Claudius-I bear the same stamp, namely the consecration of a church cemetery (Table 1, item 9),<sup>81</sup> the blessing of palms for Palm Sunday (item 10.g),<sup>82</sup> an unusual blessing for fire and wax at the Easter Vigil (item 12.d),<sup>83</sup> and the specific arrangement of the service for Ash Wednesday (item 17.b.1).<sup>84</sup>

This mix of native and foreign elements does much to create the impression of a conservative or 'less developed' appearance about Claudius-I. On this view the book represents, at best, an inchoate attempt to piece together a pontifical from the primary materials of sacramentary-prayers and *libelli*, perhaps from several English and French sees. I am less certain, however, that Anglo-Saxons of the later tenth or eleventh centuries would have shared our interpretation of the same features, since newly imported Carolingian sources could hold prestige no matter how long superseded on the continent. The very symptoms of abridgement and evident 'backtracking' towards older sources may have intended, however paradoxically, to create a lean but 'modern' hybrid book. (For a cautionary tale, we need only consider how the 'liturgical movement' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has equated progressivism in ritual with curtailment and *resourcement*.)

---

Lanalet (pp. 42–43); Egbert (pp. 114–18); Dunstan (pp. 138–42); Anderson (pp. 284–90). None of these resembles Claudius-I, however, by preserving intact the 'core' set GrSp 1251–54.

<sup>81</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. 60–61. On the English origins and development of this service, see Helen Gittos, 'Creating the Sacred: Anglo-Saxon Rites for Consecrating Cemeteries', in *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. by Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, 17 (London, 2002), pp. 195–208.

<sup>82</sup> See note 66, above. Of the three prayers Claudius-I assigns to the palm-blessing, the second (*Deus qui hierusalem*) and third (*Deus cuius filius*) appear widely in continental as well as English books, but the first (*Deus qui temporibus noe*) has chiefly English affiliations according to Hermann J. Gräf, *Palmenweihe und Palmenprozession in der lateinischen Liturgie* (Kaldenkirchen, 1959), pp. 70–76 and Table VII. It occurs in *The Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. by Woolley, p. 23; Leofric (C) 2766 (II, 479–80); and incomplete in *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges* [Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 274 (Y. 6)], ed. by H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 11 (London, 1896), p. 84; a slightly expanded form of the prayer occurs in Egbert (p. 136).

<sup>83</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. 67–78. Among other English books, these two prayers occur linked, with the same function, only in *The Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. by Woolley, pp. 44–45.

<sup>84</sup> See note 70, above.

Perhaps no single principle of compilation reconciles all the features in Claudius-I, but this much is clear: the book betrays again and again its conservatism, its eclecticism, and its editorial seams. It almost appears as much an archive as a service book, at least in terms of its text, and in this respect its features must recall the availability of liturgical specimens for study or reference in the 'commonplace books'. *Ordines* and prayers that found their way only piecemeal into service books were sought all the same for library shelves at Worcester or York. Hazards in the process of editing and inserting such texts could account for the splitting apart of groups or the accidental dropping of whole items in Claudius-I.

### *Liturgy, Reform, and the Uses of Ritual*

So far as these aspects of Claudius-I mirror trends among the paraliturgica in the 'commonplace books', it is important to acknowledge that Wulfstan's involvement need not be the only common factor. To Worcester or York, Fleury-trained St Oswald may have imported all manner of service books and liturgical aids. What appear as Wulfstan's tastes may therefore owe something to legacies of the previous generation. Then again, the continuities between Wulfstan's efforts at 'reform' and those of Oswald, Æthelwold, and Dunstan are more often assumed than demonstrated. After a survey of the Wulfstanian materials (incomplete as they are), one striking fact is how rarely liturgical hallmarks of the previous 'reforming' generation make an appearance. What may have been the reformers' most consistent effort — the culting of saints and attendant composition of new liturgical forms — scarcely registers in Wulfstanian books. As Turner noted, the Sanctorale of the benedictional in Claudius-I (Parts A and B) has no English names, nor does the brief litany in its church dedication *ordo*. The half-dozen localizable saints appearing among the supplementary blessings of Part B are all northern French, a feature consistent with a continental 'lean' of the whole book.<sup>85</sup> It would be almost unthinkable that Wulfstan failed at least to maintain cults revived by his predecessors. But opportunities in this area may have been surprisingly few: much of Oswald's saint-making legacy appears to have passed to Ramsey in the early eleventh century, and Worcester cults meanwhile enjoyed no runaway successes at the national level.<sup>86</sup> Hardly enough evidence exists to condemn Wulfstan of neglecting his communities' saints; but anyone wishing to affirm that he gave priority to cult-making will get no help from the liturgical record.

---

<sup>85</sup> *Claudius Pontificals*, ed. by Turner, pp. ix–x. The Egbert Pontifical also has no English saints in its benedictional (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. by Banting, pp. 63–108) and only two 'universal' English ones (Cuthbert and Guthlac) in its church dedication litany (*ibid.*, p. 34); the litany does, however, contain northern French and Flemish elements, on which see Banting's remarks in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, pp. xvii–xx.

<sup>86</sup> Alan Thacker, 'Saint-Making and Relic Collecting by Oswald and his Communities', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 244–68 (pp. 256–64).

In its historical setting, a reduced role for saint-making recalls other silences in Wulfstan's career. Because reformed monasticism and the revival of cults so often advanced together in the late Anglo-Saxon church, the absence of one questions the presence of the other. One constant of the materials here under review is indeed their overwhelmingly non-monastic character. The external evidence for and against Wulfstan *monachus* has been aired often, the internal evidence of his writings and source-collections rather less so.<sup>87</sup> My concern touches only part of the question: do Wulfstan's liturgical interests ever appear specifically monastic? We might expect Claudius-I, as a bishop's book, to have only limited bearing on the issue. Though Prescott has described its benedictional as an abridgement of a model issuing from reformed-monastic circles, the severe cuts and stripped Sanctorale of Claudius-I go against the evident trends for such collections at Winchester and Canterbury. St Benedict fails to appear either in the Sanctorale of the benedictional or in the litany for the church dedication. As for monastically oriented pontifical services, Claudius-I does have a blessing of nuns but not of monks, nor of abbots and abbesses. (These may have occurred in quires now lost, but, for reasons set out above, such assumptions lack cogency.) Among the paraliturgical items, too, we find few monastic traces. Its modern name apart, the 'Old English Benedictine Office' probably targeted the secular clergy, if not devoted laymen.<sup>88</sup> Nearest to monastic texts in the 'commonplace books' are Latin excerpts from Æthelwold's *Regularis concordia* (c. 975) preserved in two manuscripts (Appendix 1, item 9).<sup>89</sup> Whether Ælfric or Wulfstan compiled these passages (along with adjacent ones from Amalarius's *Liber officialis*) matters less in the present connection than the fact that the extracts cover only days and rituals celebrated in the same way by monastic and secular communities. The wording of the *Concordia* has also been modified and some references to 'the abbot' removed or changed to 'the priest'. This slant of the sources continues among other 'commonplace book' items: in the same two manuscripts, near the excerpts from the *Concordia* and from Amalarius, survive copies of *Ordo romanus XIII(A)*, an outline of lections distinctly intended for the secular rather than monastic Night Office.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> See *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 53–68, for the outlines of Wulfstan's biography.

<sup>88</sup> The form of Prime suggests secular rather than monastic usage, although the differences are admittedly not vast. For this interpretation, see John William Houghton, 'The *Old English Benedictine Office* and its Audience', *American Benedictine Review*, 45 (1994), 431–45.

<sup>89</sup> See note 22, above; the manuscripts are Rouen 1382 and Corpus 190. The latter also contains Old English translations of the outlines for the lessons and chants at the Easter and Pentecost Vigils, but here again secular and monastic usage would coincide; see *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, pp. 228–33.

<sup>90</sup> *Les 'Ordines romani' du haut moyen âge*, ed. by Michel Andrieu, 5 vols, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 11, 23–24, and 28–29 (Leuven, 1931–61), II (1948), 481–88. Even Ælfric appears to have relied on this secular source, not entirely suitable for his monastic purposes; see *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. by Christopher A. Jones, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 24 (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 69–70.

Virtually nothing in the picture therefore links Wulfstan to the liturgical interests most often associated with the earlier monastic party. The point may simply confirm that he faced challenges different from those faced by Æthelwold or Oswald. And yet, one conclusion to emerge here has been that Wulfstan's collecting of liturgica ranged beyond the immediately practical; some texts appear to have held for him an intrinsic interest, especially where pontifical ceremonies were concerned. The absence of monastic liturgica, gathered for their own sake, gives some pause if Wulfstan was a monk-bishop of Æthelwoldian or Oswaldian stripe. Silences in a lacunose record hardly prove that Wulfstan did *not* take the habit earlier in life. The fact that his liturgical interests, so far as known, consistently defy comparison with those of his reforming peers nevertheless demands respect. Perhaps Wulfstan was a monk but had to adapt reformed-monastic policies to complex circumstances at Worcester, with its still-mixed *familia*, and York, with its enduringly secular one;<sup>91</sup> alternatively, Wulfstan was a monk but his reading in foreign canonical sources left him aware that monk-bishops and monastic chapters were exceptional on the continent.<sup>92</sup> Is it not also possible, however, that Wulfstan 'took the habit' as a personal more than an institutional commitment (as St Oswald's uncle, Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (941–58), appears to have done), or that he simply never was a 'monk' in the strict, reformed sense? In any of these scenarios, the secularity of liturgical materials in his writings and reference books would simply reflect his own background and actual priorities.

In the absence of strong connections between the liturgical interests of Wulfstan and those of the late Anglo-Saxon monastic episcopate generally, what other interpretative contexts commend themselves? Assessing Wulfstan's labours in the field of canon law, Wormald has drawn a helpful comparison to the nearly contemporary efforts of Abbo of Fleury and Burchard of Worms.<sup>93</sup> A look to the continent will also reclaim as a familiar type the (archi)episcopal connoisseur of liturgy: in the ninth century, Hincmar of Rheims comes first to mind as, in Nelson's phrase, a 'ritual impresario'.<sup>94</sup> In the generation just before Wulfstan, Wilhelm of Mainz (954–68) appears to have directly sponsored the amazing liturgical scholarship that produced the

---

<sup>91</sup> See most recently Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, pp. 13–27; Julia Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961–c.1100', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, pp. 84–99; see also Julia Barrow, this volume.

<sup>92</sup> Patrick Wormald has made the same point about Dunstan and Oswald in the previous generation; see his 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. by Yorke, pp. 13–42 (p. 38); on the figure of the monk-bishop on the continent in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Rudolf Schieffer, 'Mönchsbischöfe in der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 113 (2002), 65–79.

<sup>93</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', pp. 239–40.

<sup>94</sup> Janet L. Nelson, 'The Merovingian Church in Carolingian Retrospective', in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. by Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood, *Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions*, 8 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 241–59 (p. 253).



Romano-German Pontifical.<sup>95</sup> In the generation just after him, Hugues I of Besançon (1031–66) possessed an enviable archive of historic and current liturgical texts, including perhaps as many as five pontificals,<sup>96</sup> and Herimann II of Cologne (1035–56), an enthusiast of the opulent ritual that would become synonymous with the *Reichskirche*, played host in 1054 to England's premier shopper for foreign pontifical services, Ealdred, who would eventually succeed Wulfstan at Worcester (1046–60) and York (1060–69).<sup>97</sup> Of course, Wulfstan the liturgist cuts a modest figure next to a Wilhelm or even an Ealdred, much as Wulfstan the canonist stands only a distant rival to Burchard. The difference in degree, however, does not cancel a similarity in kind: with a range demonstrable for no other Anglo-Saxon bishop prior to Ealdred, Wulfstan appears to have pursued a studious cultivation of pontifical liturgy.

The role of liturgical 'impresario' may not, on first view, rest easily in the received picture of Wulfstan as a pragmatic teacher and pastor. The fit is not only natural, however, but important. To view preaching (including the sermon-like law-codes) and liturgy as competing projects implies a distinction that Wulfstan and other medieval bishops may not have recognized. Sermons and liturgy alike belonged to a larger sphere of 'rituals' that both enacted and communicated their meaning to the public. Reliance on ritual, in this broad sense, was a condition of medieval life; but its working out in various aspects of Wulfstan's career would have responded to particular historical circumstances. Leyser has argued that medieval reliance on public rituals for communication expanded wherever literacy and its technologies receded.<sup>98</sup> While Leyser had in view Ottonian ritual after the decline of Carolingian culture through civil war and Viking assault, his argument could also suggest the situation of eleventh-century England, especially in the territories of the former Danelaw. The thesis explains why Wulfstan, frantically engaged as he was with pastoral and legal business, would still have considered his province in need of more public ritual, not less. Careful stage-management of its forms and meanings was no extravagance, but an essential strategy of rebuilding the northern church.

Wulfstan's performances as a legislator, preacher, and liturgist continue the work of ritual in differing ways. The law-codes, for example, provided a verbal complement to a larger unspoken 'language' of traditional legal ceremonies. Many of the latter — especially oaths, ordeals, and corporal punishments — retained a relatively

---

<sup>95</sup> See *Les 'Ordines romani'*, ed. by Andrieu, I, 508.

<sup>96</sup> Bernard de Vregille, *Hugues de Salins, archevêque de Besançon, 1031–1066* (Besançon, 1981), pp. 324–51 (pp. 340–49 for the pontificals).

<sup>97</sup> Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York'; Vanessa King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: The Worcester Years', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 18 (1996), 123–37.

<sup>98</sup> Karl Leyser, 'Ritual, Ceremony, and Gesture: Ottonian Germany', in his *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (London, 1994), pp. 189–213.

high degree of communicative transparency.<sup>99</sup> The liturgy proved a different matter. It had long since become 'illegible' as a complex of signs, even to clergy who could parse the Latin. Wulfstan's interests as reconstructed here (through paraliturgical and liturgical texts) address this problem on two levels. The expositions that recur in the 'commonplace books' attempted to make the Mass, baptism, and other practices transparent, to 'translate' them into rituals that would signify less ambiguously. In this effort Wulfstan inherited not only the texts of Carolingian *expositiones* but, more importantly, their original function.

Counterintuitive though it may seem, a desire to clarify the significance of ritual would also justify Wulfstan's study and embellishment of pontifical services, a trend attested directly through the 'commonplace books' and indirectly, I have suggested, in the backgrounds of 'Claudius Pontifical I'. The public penitential rites in which Wulfstan took such interest conveyed, with a dramatic force that private penance could not, the abject condition of sinners and the absolute power of bishops to bind and loose. Other ceremonies such as the blessing of the holy oils and, supremely, the coronation orders (not found in Claudius-I but certainly known to Wulfstan) also staged their essential messages far less ambiguously than the ancient, more mysterious rituals of the *ordo missae* did by this date. Wulfstan was by no means the only bishop to see the benefits of restoring or simply heightening the 'legibility' of religious ritual, at least among clergy. He is one of relatively few early medieval figures, however, for whom the sources reveal the deep affinities between liturgy, law, and preaching as media to proclaim the ordinances of God and, simultaneously, the authority of his pontifical messengers.

---

<sup>99</sup> On rituals of legal process, see, e.g., Robert Bartlett, *Trial By Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford, 1986); Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 50–59; Wendy Davies, 'Local Participation and Legal Ritual in Early Medieval Law Courts', in *The Moral World of the Law*, ed. by Peter Coss (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 48–61; Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 27 (1998), 209–32.

## APPENDIX 1

*Handlist of Paraliturgical Materials*

Standard abbreviations are used in library shelfmarks (BL = London, British Library; BN = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Corpus = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College), but the following sigla are used throughout for 'commonplace book' manuscripts:

Bar = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37  
 C190 = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190  
 C265 = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265  
 Cop = Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°)  
 Nero = London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i  
 Rou = Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1382 (U. 109)

(1) pseudo (?)–Amalarius, *Eclogae de ordine romano*: A ninth-century allegorical commentary on an eighth-century Romano-Frankish pontifical *ordo missae*.

**MSS:** Cop, fols 1<sup>r</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>; C265, pp. 329–63; ? + fragment bound in BN lat. 10575 ('Egbert Pontifical'), fol. 2<sup>r</sup>.

(2) *De officio missae*: composite drawing from Theodulf's *Capitula*, Hrabanus's *De institutione clericorum*, Wulfstan's canon law collection, etc.

**MSS:** Cop, fols 79<sup>v</sup>–80<sup>r</sup>; C190, pp. 163–64; C265, pp. 183–84; Bar, fols 43<sup>v</sup>–44<sup>r</sup>.

(3) Wulfstan(?), *De baptismo* (= Bethurum's Homily VIIIa): exposition of the *ordo baptisterii*, based on any number of Carolingian models (by Theodulf, Jesse of Amiens, Alcuin, Amalarius, et al.).

**MSS:** Cop, fols 78<sup>r</sup>–79<sup>r</sup>; C190, pp. 159–62; C265, pp. 180–82; Bar, fols 36<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>r</sup>; and also Corpus 201, pp. 103–04. An additional passage on chrism is interpolated in C190, pendent in all others (except Corpus 201, where it is simply absent).

(4) *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis*: extracts from Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, including allegorical interpretation of seasons from Advent through Pentecost.

**MSS:** Rou, fols 173<sup>r</sup>–176<sup>v</sup>; C190, pp. 229–37.

(5) *Expositio officium [sic] sacrae missae*: composite of expository and ordinal material, covering parts of the Mass, Office, and ecclesiastical year. Sources include Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the anonymous Mass-exposition *Primum in ordine*, and a pontifical *ordo missae*, probably tenth-century West-Frankish or Rhenish; also Angilram of Metz, Aurelianus of Réôme, Charlemagne's Epistle 144, the *Liber pontificalis*, and other sources.

**MS:** C190, pp. 143–51.

(6.1) *Qualiter quarta feria in capite ieiunii circa paenitentes agatur*; and (6.2) *Qualiter paenitentes in caena domini in aecclesiam introducuntur*: complete services for the dismissal (6.1) and public reconciliation (6.2) of penitents. Many details in (6.2) show influences of the Romano-German Pontifical, *Ordo XCIX*.222–51.

**MSS:** (6.1) Nero, fol. 168<sup>r-v</sup>; C190, pp. 245–47; (6.2) Nero, fols 170<sup>v</sup>–172<sup>r</sup> (shorter form); C190, pp. 252–59 (longer form).

(7) *Versus in caena domini quando crisma*: pontifical services for Maundy Thursday, including the reconciliation of public penitents, the Chrism Mass, and Vespers.

**MSS:** BN lat. 12052 ('Ratoldus Sacramentary'), fols 112<sup>v</sup>–120<sup>v</sup>; BN lat. 10575 ('Egbert Pontifical'), fols 181<sup>r</sup>–186<sup>v</sup>; C190, pp. 259–64; and (severely truncated) Claudius A.iii ('Claudius-I'), fols 133<sup>r</sup>–136<sup>v</sup>.

(8) 'Old English Benedictine Office': a vernacular outline of the daily (secular?) Office, for all hours save Nocturns. Includes expository passages based on Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* II.1–10.

**MSS:** Corpus 201, pp. 112–13 (prose only), 169–70 (verse 'Gloria'); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, fols 42<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>r</sup> (prose and verse together). The epitome of Latin passages from Hrabanus's work occurs in Bar, fols 37<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>r</sup> (+ fol. 43<sup>v</sup>); C190, pp. 205–11 (+ p. 163); C265, pp. 194–97 (+ p. 183); and Cambridge, Pembroke College 25, fols 159<sup>r</sup>–165<sup>v</sup>.

(9) *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*: excerpts from the *Regularis concordia*, adapted for use in secular communities.

**MSS:** Rou, fols 178<sup>v</sup>–182<sup>v</sup>; expanded version in C190, pp. 213–25.

## The Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric: A Reassessment

MALCOLM GODDEN

**T**he relationship of Wulfstan and Ælfric is a very interesting story of Anglo-Saxon church politics that has the potential to tell us a lot about the late Anglo-Saxon world. On the one side, we have Wulfstan, a highly successful churchman, the Cardinal Richelieu of his day: although we do not know even his approximate year of birth, if we assume that when he died in 1023 he was seventy we might sketch a career that made him Bishop of London with a prominent position in the king's council in his early forties, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York before he was quite fifty, and then, over the next twenty years, a leading advisor to King Æthelred and a key figure in the great political upheavals that came with the arrival of the Danish dynasty and the adaptation of Cnut as an Anglo-Saxon king.<sup>1</sup> On the other side, we have Ælfric, born around the same time and getting a good start in life at Winchester, but moving in his early thirties to the Dorset backwater of the newly founded monastery at Cerne Abbas, spending the next twenty years there as an ordinary monk, then eventually making it, in his fifties, to be abbot of another small and newly founded monastery in Oxfordshire, at a point when Wulfstan was already archbishop, and disappearing from the record a few years later.<sup>2</sup> A fuller understanding of the relationship between the two men could in principle also tell us a great deal about the chronology of Wulfstan's writings and the nature of his views.

---

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, a less meteoric but still highly successful career is indicated if we were to assume that he died, like his successor St Wulfstan, at the riper age of 87.

<sup>2</sup> On his career, see *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. by Jonathan Wilcox, Durham Medieval Texts, 9 (Durham, 1994), pp. 1–15; on his date of birth and early career, see also *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 5 (London, 1979), pp. xxix–xxxii [henceforth, Godden, CH II].

### *Ælfric's Correspondence with Wulfstan*

On the evidence we have, the story of their relationship begins soon after Wulfstan's election as archbishop in 1002, when he apparently wrote to Ælfric, then still an ordinary monk far away in Cerne Abbas, asking his views on various issues of church practice and doctrine such as the marriage of cousins. We do not have the questions he asked but we do have the answers.<sup>3</sup> Ælfric's reply seems rather cool and perhaps arrogant: 'Percunctatus es nostram paruitatem de questionibus quibusdam et respondeo ut possim, ne forte estimes nos dedignari alloqui tibi.'<sup>4</sup>

This does not look a very friendly beginning. And Ælfric proceeds immediately to dismiss the first question, on the marriage of kindred, in similar caustic tones:

Satis apparet dilucide in diuina scriptura quid sit prima generatio uel secunda uel tertia, et nos minime de hoc dicimus, ne forte dicat aliquis nos dare licentiam aliter coniungendi consanguineos quam sanctus Augustinus et omnes archiepiscopi post eum in hac insula docuerunt.<sup>5</sup>

That ought to put any archbishop in his place; all Wulfstan's predecessors have known the answer to that question and taught as St Augustine taught, so why is he so uncertain? Ælfric's reply was both disobliging and disingenuous. Scripture is not remotely clear on the subject, indeed dangerously misleading if one follows the Old Testament, and there was much dispute about the discrepancy between St Gregory's advice on the subject to St Augustine and the teachings of the Church, including some apparently ascribed to Gregory himself. The collection of passages formerly

---

<sup>3</sup> Ælfric's reply, in Latin, is printed as Brief 2a in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. by Bernard Fehr, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 9 (Hamburg, 1914; repr. with a supplementary introduction by Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1966), pp. 222–27. The letter is undated but addresses Wulfstan as archbishop and refers to the writer as 'frater Ælfricus', and thus predates his appointment as Abbot of Eynsham. The latter event is traditionally dated in 1005, the year of the Eynsham foundation charter, but Drew Jones (*Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. by Christopher A. Jones, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 24 (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 5–17) has argued that his appointment would have preceded the charter by some years, since the charter seems to refer to an established building and community which would have taken time to build up. But since the charter and letter seem to suggest that the monastic community was created by converting an existing minster and its clerics to monastic rule, the 1005 date may still be valid. In any case, Ælfric's letter cannot be earlier than 1002.

<sup>4</sup> Brief 2a in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. 222, lines 3–5; 'You have questioned my little self about certain problems and I respond as best I can, lest you think that I disdain to speak to you.' (Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.)

<sup>5</sup> Brief 2a in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. 222, lines 6–10; 'It is perfectly clear from holy Scripture what the first, second, and third generations are, and I am not going to say anything on the subject, lest people go around saying that I give people licence to marry their relatives other than as St Augustine and every subsequent archbishop in England has taught.'

known as *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti*, and called by its recent editors *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, and thought to have been used and perhaps revised by Wulfstan, contains a number of passages on the issue, including a letter supposedly by St Gregory in which he acknowledged that his advice to Augustine was indeed contrary to normal Church doctrine and was prompted simply by the exigencies of the conversion situation.<sup>6</sup> One wonders whether there was some current politically sensitive case involving this issue and Ælfric was preferring to keep his head down; his reply certainly suggests that he knew he was a recognized authority and liable to be widely quoted if he gave an answer to Wulfstan's question. He goes on to deal with further issues such as the validity of Caesarean birth and the use of holy oil by priests, but then, when he comes to question 15, concerning thieves or robbers, he turns it into an occasion for a fierce attack on English bishops in general and Wulfstan in particular, castigating the failings of bishops and warning against corruption and negligence and the involvement of bishops in secular affairs and the administration of justice:

Non est episcopus constitutus ad hoc ut sit iudex furum aut latronum. Et si mihi non credis, audi uerba Christi. [. . .] Sed ualde dolendum est, quia his diebus tanta negligentia est in episcopis qui deberent esse columpne aecclesiae, ut non adtendant diuinam scripturam nec docent discipulos qui sibi succedant in episcopatum [. . .] sed honores seculares et cupiditates uel auaritiam<sup>7</sup> sectantes, plus quam laici mala exempla subditis prebentes. Non audent de iustitia loqui, quia iustitiam nec faciunt nec diligunt. Vacant potationibus honorifice in aula, non lectionibus cum clero aut monachis et nolunt scire quid sit opus episcopi. Certe nos timemus ualde ut eorum negligentia fides deficiat in ista insula, et nimium miror quomodo auxi sunt uendere sanctum crisma.<sup>8</sup>

Ælfric uses the second person singular here, apparently addressing Wulfstan himself. As an archbishop Wulfstan had responsibility for ordinary bishops and it might have been thought acceptable for Ælfric to castigate the vices of English bishops without necessarily involving Wulfstan himself in his criticisms; but Wulfstan had of course been a bishop since 996 and continued to hold the see of Worcester while

---

<sup>6</sup> See *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, Anglo-Saxon Texts, 1 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 153–63, esp. pp. 155–56.

<sup>7</sup> For Fehr's 'auaritiam'.

<sup>8</sup> Brief 2a in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, pp. 222, line 9 – 223, line 7; 'A bishop is not appointed to be a judge of thieves and robbers. And if you don't believe me, listen to the words of Christ. [. . .] But it is greatly to be deplored that in these days there is such great negligence among the bishops who ought to be the pillars of the church that they do not attend to the divine Scripture nor teach the pupils who may follow them into the episcopacy [. . .] but pursue worldly honours and pleasures or greed and even more than the laity give bad examples to their subordinates. They do not dare to speak of justice, because they neither perform nor love justice. They give themselves up to drinking in splendour in the hall, not to reading with the clerics or monks, and they do not want to know what the duty of a bishop is. Truly I fear that because of their negligence the faith will fail in this island, and I wonder greatly how they dare to sell the holy oil.'

Archbishop of York, so it is hard to see this as anything but critical of the body of bishops to which Wulfstan belonged. And Dorothy Whitelock suggested that the final address, which complains of the corruption of justice and seems to be directed at Wulfstan himself, might well refer to genuine and known failings on his part:<sup>9</sup>

Uale feliciter in Christo, uenerande presul! Uellem te memorem fore semper uerborum prophete dicentis: 'indicabo tibi, homo, quid sit bonum facere iudicium et iustitiam et sollicitè ambulare cum deo tuo.' Sed dolendum quia iustitia quae secundum deum est, quae sine muneribus iuste iudicat non habetur apud nos; sed omnes cecati sumus muneribus et peruertimus iudicia, sicut munera nos docent, non habentes retributionem uere iustitiae a deo.<sup>10</sup>

The corruption of justice by bribery was to exercise Ælfric particularly in his writings around the time of this letter.<sup>11</sup>

Sharply worded letters from ordinary if learned monks to bishops and archbishops, teaching them their duties and castigating their failings, were a venerable tradition amongst the Anglo-Saxons. Bede had written a long letter to Ecgbert on his elevation to the same see of York, instructing him on his duties.<sup>12</sup> Alcuin wrote a series of letters to various English bishops and archbishops, criticizing them in not dissimilar tones to those of Ælfric.<sup>13</sup> (Wulfstan would have been familiar with these letters of Alcuin, since he possessed a copy of several of them, heavily annotated in his own hand, and perhaps he accepted this as a literary convention.<sup>14</sup>) The preface

<sup>9</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 24 (1942), 25–45; repr. in *Essays in Medieval History Selected from the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society on the Occasion of its Centenary*, ed. by R. W. Southern (London, 1968), pp. 42–60 (pp. 59–60).

<sup>10</sup> Brief 2a in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. 223, lines 25–32; 'Fare well in Christ, reverend bishop. I would wish you to be mindful always of the words of the prophet, saying: "I will tell you, man, what it is to make good judgement and justice and to walk carefully with your God." But it is to be deplored that the justice which is in accordance with God, which judges justly without gifts, is not observed amongst us. But we are all blinded by gifts and we pervert judgements as gifts teach us, and will not have the reward of true justice from God.'

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, the additions he made in revision to his critique of judges at CH II 19, lines 128–52 (Godden, CH II) and the note in Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 18 (Oxford, 2000), p. 524.

<sup>12</sup> Bede, *Epistola ad Ecgbertum episcopum*, in *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. by Carolus Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), I, 405–23.

<sup>13</sup> 'Alcuini Epistolae', in *Epistolae IV, Epistolae Karolini Aevi II*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 18–481; see, e.g., nos 17, 20, 114, 128, 230.

<sup>14</sup> *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, ed. by Colin Chase, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, 5 (Toronto, 1975), pp. 1–11. See further Gareth Mann, this volume.



to Ælfric's own second series of *Catholic Homilies* ends with a decided nudge to Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury about the perils of drunkenness,<sup>15</sup> and in the preface to his pastoral letter for Wulfsgie, bishop of Sherborne, Ælfric gives the Bishop some sharp advice on his episcopal duties too:

Obtemperauimus iussioni tuae libenti animo. Sed non ausi fuimus aliquid scribere de episcopali gradu, quia uestrum est scire quomodo uos oporteat optimis moribus exemplum omnibus fieri et continuis ammonitionibus subditos exhortari ad salutem quae est in Christo Ihesu. Dico tamen quod sepius deberetis uestris clericis alloqui et illorum negligentiam arguere, quia paene statuta canonum et sanctae aecclesiae religio uel doctrina eorum peruersitate deleta sunt. Ideoque libera animam tuam et dic eis quae tenenda sunt, sacerdotibus et ministris Christi, ne tu pereas pariter, si mutus habearis canis.<sup>16</sup>

Already by the early 990s when he responded to Wulfsgie, Ælfric had evidently established a reputation as the man to ask about the duties of the secular clergy, and perhaps about episcopal duties. In age, position, background, and experience Wulfsgie was Ælfric's superior: he was originally a monk of Glastonbury, he had been Abbot of Westminster for some years before his appointment as Bishop of Sherborne around 993, and he was Ælfric's own bishop.<sup>17</sup> It is difficult to imagine the circumstances which made it appropriate for him to seek the advice of an ordinary monk, younger than him and junior in all respects, on the performance of the duties he had just taken up. By the time of the letter to Wulfstan, Ælfric was still only a monk but evidently thought of himself as a recognized authority who was likely to be cited by others, as we see from his answer to the first question, the marriage of kin, quoted above.<sup>18</sup>

The letter to Wulfstan has been generally called Ælfric's 'private letter' to Wulfstan ever since Fehr so designated it in 1914. That is perhaps a fair term if one means thereby to distinguish it from the pastoral letters 'for' Wulfstan, which were designed

<sup>15</sup> Godden, CH II, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Brief I in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. 1, lines 3–12; 'We have obeyed your command with a happy mind, but we have not dared to write anything concerning the episcopal office because it is for you to know how it behooves you to be an example to all through the best conduct and to exhort your subjects through continual admonitions to the salvation which is in Jesus Christ. I say, nevertheless, that you [*plural, and presumably addressing all bishops*] ought to speak to your clerics more often and point out their negligence, because canon law and the religion and doctrine of the holy church have nearly been destroyed by their perversity. Therefore, free your mind and tell them what things must be held by priests and ministers of Christ, lest you perish likewise, if you are reckoned a dumb dog.'

<sup>17</sup> See David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1963), p. 50; *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. I, AD 871–1204, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brook, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), I, 193.

<sup>18</sup> If one wonders how someone as famous and erudite as Ælfric came to leave Winchester with all its resources for the backwater of Cerne, and why he made so little progress in the church hierarchy himself, a penchant for criticizing bishops and archbishops and not mincing his words may be a partial explanation.

to be read out or circulated to clerics on his behalf and are clearly public. But I do not know of any reason to suppose that the first letter was not read by others as well as Wulfstan, and meant to be read by others. We might recall the notes that occur at the head of two other Ælfric 'letters' in a later eleventh-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509: 'Ðis gewrit wæs to anum men gediht ac hit mæg swa ðeah manegum fremian',<sup>19</sup> 'Nis þis gewrit be anum men awriten, ac is be eallum'.<sup>20</sup> Then in each case the personal greeting follows. One of these so-called letters, the treatise addressed to Sigeweard, was used by Wulfstan, so it clearly did get around, and the other crops up in several manuscripts. And the pastoral letter for Wulfsgie, though it carries a personal address at the beginning to that bishop, addresses bishops in the plural as well, and it appears in Wulfstan manuscripts and was heavily used by him — rather more, perhaps, than the letters supposedly written to or for him. Ælfric's comments on the marriage of kin show that he evidently expected his replies to be quoted and become widely known. It might be better not to think of the so-called private letter as either private or a letter. Certainly the caustic tones of much of the text are more easily explicable if we understand Ælfric as addressing clerics in general, or perhaps bishops in general, and not just Wulfstan personally.

Ælfric followed up this letter to Wulfstan by sending him shortly afterwards two further Latin letters on clerical duties, letters written in the episcopal voice and designed to be read or sent by Wulfstan to his clerics. They survive only in manuscripts connected with Wulfstan and the extant copies do not preserve any personal address from the author; they are simply entitled 'Sermo episcopi ad cleros' and 'Sermo ad sacerdotes' (not 'epistola' one might note).<sup>21</sup> That Ælfric wrote them and that he sent them to Wulfstan at this time is known only from the prologue to the subsequent English versions, to be discussed below. They were probably new or recent work, since they repeat and expand on points made in the 'private letter'. They may then have been written specifically for Wulfstan, as is generally assumed; if so, they were perhaps written at Wulfstan's request since the disobliging note in Ælfric's earlier letter sug-

---

<sup>19</sup> *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament, and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. by S. J. Crawford, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 160 (London, 1922; repr. with the text of two additional manuscripts transcribed by N. R. Ker, London, 1969), p. 15; 'This writing was addressed to one person but it may be of use to many.'

<sup>20</sup> *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. by Bruno Assmann, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 3 (Kassel, 1889; repr. with a supplementary introduction by Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1964), p. 1; 'This writing was not written about one person but is about everyone.'

<sup>21</sup> In the Copenhagen manuscript the titles were added in Wulfstan's own hand, and it is a matter of interest that he did not indicate the authorship or indeed name himself as the recipient. See *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection: Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595*, ed. by James E. Cross and Jennifer Morrish Tunberg, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 25 (Copenhagen, 1993), p. 22 (items 29 and 30).

gests that he would not have initiated them. At the end of the second of these two letters<sup>22</sup> Ælfric returns to the attack on contemporary bishops and priests, using a revised and tauter version of the section from the private letter quoted above in which he had denounced ecclesiastical involvement in secular justice and complained of the negligence and corruption of bishops. Here it is adapted to apply to priests as well as bishops; thus the final paragraph of this pastoral letter begins ‘Sed ualde dolendum est, quia his diebus tanta neglegentia est in *sacerdotibus et episcopis*’.<sup>23</sup> Clemoes and Whitelock, following an earlier suggestion by Fehr, have argued that this final portion of the second pastoral letter (§§73–90) is not the work of Ælfric but was added later by Wulfstan or an associate, adapting material from the earlier ‘private letter’.<sup>24</sup> The evidence for this seems slight. The main argument is that these sections have no equivalent in Ælfric’s English translation of the letter, Brief III; but as we will see, the latter is very different in content from its Latin predecessor in a variety of ways.<sup>25</sup> The argument against the view that Wulfstan added this section is very strong: some of the points contradict those made by Wulfstan himself in other works, and it seems very unlikely that Wulfstan would go out of his way to add this kind of material, critical of himself, of bishops, and of what he stood for, to a letter designed for circulation to the priests in his charge.<sup>26</sup> The final section reads like a careful and coherent composition, and I prefer to believe that Ælfric himself took the opportunity of the pastoral letters to repeat his criticisms of English bishops and extend them to the clergy.

Not surprisingly, these pastoral letters engendered a degree of resentment and opposition from those who read or heard them, judging from Ælfric’s own comments, but Wulfstan himself apparently responded by asking Ælfric to turn the two pastoral letters into English. The English versions survive with a rubric attributing them to the venerable Abbot Ælfric and with a prologue by him, addressed to Wulfstan and written in somewhat politer terms than the address at the beginning of the ‘private letter’. In it Ælfric (by now abbot and therefore writing in 1005 or later) says that he has obeyed Wulfstan’s orders and translated into English the two letters which he had sent him a year earlier in Latin:

<sup>22</sup> Brief 3 in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, pp. 66–67, §§80–90.

<sup>23</sup> Brief 3 in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. 67; ‘It is greatly to be regretted that in these days there is such negligence among priests and bishops.’

<sup>24</sup> *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. lix; Clemoes, ‘Supplement’ to Fehr, pp. cxxxv–cxxxvi; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brook, I, 244.

<sup>25</sup> Clemoes also points to some slight changes of scribal practice which are evident from §73 onwards in the Copenhagen manuscript. But §§73–74, on the celebration of Mass, are at odds with Wulfstan’s own teaching, and their absence from the English version of this letter is adequately explained by the fact that Ælfric covered the point in the English version of the previous letter (Brief II).

<sup>26</sup> Dorothy Whitelock herself had suggested, in a much earlier article, that Wulfstan did not share the objection to episcopal involvement in secular justice which is voiced so strongly in this section of the letter; see Whitelock, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan’, p. 59.

Aelfricus abbas wulfstano venerabili archiepiscopo salutem in Christo. finitur salutatio. Ecce paruimus uestrae almitatis iussionibus, transferentes anglice duas epistolas, quas latino eloquio descriptas ante annum uobis destinauimus, non tamen semper ordinem sequentes, nec uerbum ex uerbo, sed sensum ex sensu proferentes, quibus speramus nos quibusdam prodesse ad correctionem, quamuis sciamus aliis minime placuisse. Sed non est nobis consultum semper silere et non aperire subiectis eloquia diuina, quia si preco tacet, quis iudicem uenturum nuntiet. Uale feliciter in Christo.<sup>27</sup>

He claims to have translated the Latin sense for sense, though not word for word. But while the first Old English letter is reasonably close to its Latin equivalent, with some additional material and some omissions, the second Old English letter is radically different from its supposed Latin precursor, at least as it survives. Of the 198 sections in Fehr's text of the second Old English letter, only about 70 are derived from the Latin letter they were supposedly translating; the rest mainly introduce new material on quite different subjects — the liturgy of Holy Week, the Ten Commandments, the eight deadly sins and corresponding virtues, and so on. And a substantial portion of the Latin letter is omitted. The new material is entirely innocuous and there is no reason to suppose Wulfstan or an associate would have had it deleted from their copies of the equivalent Latin letter, so we have to presume that Ælfric, despite his claims of offering a translation, has taken the opportunity to add a lot more material, perhaps material which he thought particularly suited to the less educated clerics who would need the vernacular version. (Maybe, as Joyce Hill has suggested,<sup>28</sup> he added it at Wulfstan's suggestion, but there is no reference to this in the prologue.) More interesting is the fact that the second Old English letter does not include the last eighteen subsections of the Latin version (Brief 3, §§73–80). Some of the points from them are incorporated instead into the *first* Old English letter, but the denunciation of clerical and episcopal involvement in secular justice and their corruption and negligence which had concluded the Latin pastoral letter is not included in either Old English letter — or at least does not appear in any extant copy

---

<sup>27</sup> Brief II in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, pp. 68–69; 'Abbot Ælfric to the venerable Archbishop Wulfstan. (The greeting ends.) We have obeyed the commands of your benevolence, translating into English the two letters written in Latin which we sent to you a year ago, not always, however, following the order nor rendering word for word, but sense for sense; by these we hope to be of use to some people for their correction, although we know that we have not pleased others. But it is not advisable for us to keep silent all the time and not to open to those subjected to us the divine words, because if the herald is silent, who will proclaim the coming judgement? Fare well in Christ.' Wilcox's translation or paraphrase (*Ælfric's Prefaces*, p. 134) reads Ælfric's hope to benefit others and concern about hostile responses as referring specifically to the method of translation rather than the letters themselves, but that seems to me unlikely in general sense and unsatisfactory as an interpretation of the Latin (I think 'quibus' must refer back to the letters not to the method of translation).

<sup>28</sup> Joyce Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church: Ælfric's Pastoral Letters in Context', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 103–17 (p. 106).

of them. The received explanation for this, as noted above, is that the denunciation was not written by Ælfric but was added to his Latin pastoral letter by Wulfstan using material from the private letter (Brief 2a) and therefore was naturally not included by Ælfric in the English version. As I have already argued, this is neither inherently probable nor supported by the evidence. The failure to include it in the English version might instead be put down to Ælfric's own circumspection, or perhaps to pressure on him from Wulfstan. The reference in the prologue to the hostile response to his writing and the importance of speaking out might be read as a grudging acknowledgement that parts of his Latin letter have met with disapproval and he has reluctantly had to drop the last part. Alternatively, and to my mind more persuasively, the prologue might be read as a defiant assertion that he has kept in the bits which have irritated people, in which case we would have to suppose that he did include them in the Old English version and it was Wulfstan or an associate who quietly removed the offending final section before using or circulating the letter. There is some evidence in support of this second possibility. Near the end of the *first* Latin pastoral letter Ælfric had dealt with the question of warfare, and argued firmly that clerics should not be involved in any way — he was developing points he had earlier made in the 'private letter'. At the end he generalized the point slightly by referring briefly to the issue of criminal justice: 'Et canonum auctoritas prohibet, ne quis episcopus aut clericus assensum praebeat in morte cuiuslibet hominis, siue latronis, siue furis, seu homicidae, ne innocentem perdat.'<sup>29</sup> In the Old English version of this first pastoral letter Ælfric repeated this material but expanded it slightly by emphasizing that it is for the lay authority to determine life or death for the criminal:

We ne moton beon ymbe mannes deað. Þeah-þe he manslaga beo oþþe morð-fremmende<sup>30</sup> oþþe mycel þeof-man, swa-þeah we ne scylan him deað getæcean. Na we ne motan deman ymbe þæt. Ac tæcean þa læwedan men him lif oþþe deað, þæt we ne forleasan þa liþan unscaþþignyse.<sup>31</sup>

But one copy of this Old English letter, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, is a revised version, and the revision has been attributed to Wulfstan on the grounds of style and language.<sup>32</sup> It does not change the content significantly until near the end,

<sup>29</sup> Brief 2 in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. 56, §191; 'The authority of the canons forbids any bishop or cleric to give assent to the death of any man, whether a robber or thief or murderer, lest he destroy an innocent.'

<sup>30</sup> I follow Whitelock (*Councils and Synods*, p. 299) in preferring this variant reading to the other manuscript's 'morð gefremede'.

<sup>31</sup> Brief II in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. 140, §201; 'We may not be involved in any person's death. Though he be a murderer or a criminal or a great robber, we must not assign death to him and we may not pass judgement on these matters; but let the laity appoint either life or death to him, so that we do not destroy gentle innocence.'

<sup>32</sup> See Karl Jost, review of *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. by Bernard Fehr, *Englische Studien*, 52 (1918), 105–12, and *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brook, I, 255. It is printed as the D version in Fehr's edition.

but there it stops at the end of Ælfric's discussion of warfare, immediately before this sentence, elaborates the point briefly, and then concludes. It thus strikingly excludes Ælfric's proscription of clerical involvement in secular justice. The excision of this section from the first letter, Brief II, apparently by Wulfstan or with his authority, suggests he could well have been responsible for the omission of the fuller discussion of the same issue in surviving copies of Ælfric's *second* letter, Brief III, together with the final denunciation of episcopal and clerical negligence.<sup>33</sup> It certainly makes it all the more unlikely that Wulfstan *added* such a discussion to the Latin letter, Brief 3.

Ælfric must have sent the English letters to Wulfstan soon after he became Abbot of Eynsham in 1005, and over the next few years Wulfstan exploited them fully.<sup>34</sup> Whether he read or circulated them to his priests in the form which Ælfric had so carefully crafted for the purpose is unknown, but as we have seen he rewrote at least one of them for his own purposes, and quarried material energetically from all four letters and from the earlier letter for Wulfsig, in producing his own collections of instructions — the *Canons of Edgar*, the *Institutes of Polity*. In the process he mixed Ælfric's opinions or rulings with others that Ælfric would have violently rejected. But this was just part of a larger process of plundering the work of Ælfric for his own writings, especially his homilies, to which we now need to turn.

The letters to and for Wulfstan are the sum total of our evidence for direct contact between him and Ælfric, and they do not suggest much friendliness or supportiveness on Ælfric's side, though they do suggest a remarkable degree of tolerance, even, perish the thought, humility, on Wulfstan's. Beyond that, we have to rely on the evidence of textual connections and speculate on what relationships and contact, if any, lie behind them.

### *Wulfstan's Use of Ælfric*

Wulfstan's use of works by Ælfric in his own writings has been much discussed, by Jost, Bethurum, Whitelock, and others, and there is perhaps not total agreement yet

---

<sup>33</sup> Neither of Wulfstan's own main texts on the duties of clergy, the *Canons of Edgar* and the *Institutes of Polity*, say anything against clerical involvement in secular justice; see *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, ed. by Roger Fowler, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 266 (London, 1972) and *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Bern, 1959). Both recensions of the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti* include Ælfric's prohibitions, taken from his pastoral letters (*Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer: A79 (p. 99), B160–61 (pp. 167–68)), but the question of Wulfstan's responsibility for this compilation, and acceptance of all its prescriptions, remains open, in my view.

<sup>34</sup> The date depends primarily on the use of the letters in the *Canons of Edgar*, which is dated 1008 or earlier.

on the full list.<sup>35</sup> My own count comes to eighteen texts by Ælfric used in Wulfstan's writings altogether: the five pastoral letters, a Latin tract (*Decalogus Moysi*), and twelve homilies and tracts in Old English.<sup>36</sup>

1. CH I, preface on Antichrist (but probably in the form of a later adaptation by Ælfric): rewritten as Bethurum IV and used again for Bethurum V.
2. CH I.1 on the beginning of Creation: rewritten as Bethurum VI and possibly an influence on Bethurum VII.
3. CH I.19 on the Lord's Prayer: used in *Institutes of Polity*, Bethurum VIIIb, and Bazire and Cross Homily 8.<sup>37</sup>
4. CH I.20 on the Catholic Faith: used in Bethurum VII and VIIIc.
5. CH II.19 for Rogationtide, on brotherly love and social duty: used in *Institutes of Polity* and Bazire and Cross Homily 8.
6. CH II.40 for the dedication of a church: rewritten as Bethurum XVIII.
7. Brief I, letter for Wulfsgie: used in *Canons of Edgar* and *Institutes of Polity*.
8. *De falsis deis* (Pope 21):<sup>38</sup> rewritten as Bethurum XII.
9. *De duodecim abusivis*:<sup>39</sup> probably used for *Institutes of Polity*.

---

<sup>35</sup> See especially Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 23 (Bern, 1950) and '*Institutes of Polity*', ed. by Jost; *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957); Peter Clemoes, review of *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum, *Modern Language Review*, 54 (1959), 81–82, and 'The Old English Benedictine Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 190, and the Relations between Ælfric and Wulfstan: A Reconsideration', *Anglia*, 78 (1960), 265–83; *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London, 1963); Stephanie Hollis, entries on Wulfstan's homilies for the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database; see *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/> or *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, CD-ROM Version 1.1, 2002. I have not included in my list some slighter parallels noted by these scholars.

<sup>36</sup> CH I and II refer to the two series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, according to the homily numbers in *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 17 (Oxford, 1997) [henceforth, Clemoes, CH I], and in Godden, CH II. 'Bethurum' refers to the homilies edited in her *Homilies*. I have listed them in the approximate chronological order of the Ælfric texts.

<sup>37</sup> *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, ed. by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, Toronto Old English Series, 7 (Toronto, 1982; repr. London, 1989), pp. 109–14. Whether this text is really by Wulfstan or only an adaptation of a lost Wulfstan sermon, and whether it really uses CH I.19 and CH II.19, are not certain; see the discussion in Bazire and Cross, pp. 104–08, *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 22, and Clemoes, CH I, p. 44.

<sup>38</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, 2 vols, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 259–60 (London, 1967–68).

<sup>39</sup> Printed in *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, ed. by R. Morris, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 29, 34 (London, 1867–68; repr. Millwood, NY, 1988), pp. 296–304.

10. *De septiformi spiritu*:<sup>40</sup> rewritten as Bethurum IX.
11. *De die iudicii* (Pope 18): used for Bethurum V.<sup>41</sup>
12. Homily on Judges: used for annal 959 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>42</sup>
13. Letter for Sigeweard (On the Old and New Testament): used for *Institutes of Polity*.<sup>43</sup>
- 14–17. Briefe 2, 3, II, III (pastoral letters for Wulfstan): used for *Canons of Edgar* and *Institutes of Polity*; Brief II used for Bethurum VIIIc and also rewritten by Wulfstan for circulation.
18. *Decalogus Moysi*:<sup>44</sup> used for Bethurum Xb and Xc.

The importance of Ælfric is particularly evident if we focus on the homilies: of the twenty-one items in the Bethurum edition of Wulfstan's homilies, nine are largely rewritings of Ælfric's work (and since many of the rest are brief pieces drawing heavily on the Bible, the preponderance of Ælfric among Wulfstan's sources is still greater than that suggests).

The list does not include some uncertain Wulfstan texts, which would add to the number of Wulfstan's uses of Ælfric but not as far as I know to the number of texts by Ælfric that he used. The one major exclusion from my list is the collection of canons and other prescriptions in Latin known traditionally as the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti*. Until recently this was viewed as an Anglo-Saxon but pre-Ælfrician collection which had been heavily used by Ælfric as a source for his pastoral letters, and perhaps

---

<sup>40</sup> Printed in *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, *Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*, 4 (Berlin, 1883), pp. 50, 56–60. Bethurum (*Homilies*, p. 305) and Clemoes ('review of Bethurum') both suggest that Ælfric may have written this piece specifically for Wulfstan, but there seems to be no specific evidence for this.

<sup>41</sup> As demonstrated by Pope.

<sup>42</sup> The homily on Judges is printed in *Heptateuch*, ed. by Crawford, pp. 401–17. Whitelock ('Archbishop Wulfstan', p. 54) noted Earle's indication of parallels between Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 959 DE and the epilogue to this piece (Crawford, pp. 414–17), and commented that this 'is almost certainly borrowing on the part of the Chronicle, not vice versa'. She hesitated to attribute the annal to Wulfstan, and in her note in EHD I (*English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, c. 500–1042, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979), p. 225) says cautiously 'this passage is in alliterative prose, in the style of Archbishop Wulfstan of York'. Bethurum (*Homilies*, p. 47) thinks this and the annal for 975 are by Wulfstan, following Karl Jost's 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', *Anglia*, 47 (1923), 105–23.

<sup>43</sup> The 'letter' or treatise is printed in *Heptateuch*, ed. by Crawford, pp. 15–75. The passage in question is the account of the three orders of society at 71–72, used in Wulfstan's I Pol. 27–30 = II Pol. 34–37. Ælfric discussed the three orders in two other texts but this seems the closest to Wulfstan's version; it may of course be that Wulfstan had access to yet another lost Ælfrician treatment of the topic, or an excerpt, and did not use the letter itself.

<sup>44</sup> Printed from Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 63 by Fehr among the sources for Brief III (see *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, pp. 190–203).



also by Wulfstan. In an article published in 1985 I questioned the status of this 'fluid and unstructured assembly' of canons and excerpts and suggested that Ælfric may in fact have written some of the material in the collection and 'may, indeed, have had a hand in compiling the whole collection'.<sup>45</sup> Subsequently Patrick Wormald, in a paper given in 1996, and J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, in an article published in 1997, demonstrated independently of each other that the collection incorporated extracts from Ælfric's letters rather than the other way round.<sup>46</sup> In later publications these scholars strongly linked the compilation of the collection, or at least its revision, with Wulfstan, and Wormald also argued that Ælfric furnished Wulfstan with much of the material which he included in the collection, in addition to his own pastoral letters.<sup>47</sup> If they are right, then we need to add the *Excerptiones* to the list of Wulfstan texts which used the work of Ælfric. Undoubtedly the collection occurs in Wulfstan manuscripts and was known to Wulfstan, and since it uses Ælfric's letters, which were written in 1005 or later, must have been compiled in its present form in the immediately following years. However, until more work has been done on investigating the evident contradictions between the *Excerptiones* and Wulfstan's own works, especially the *Canons of Edgar* and the *Institutes of Polity*, I am reluctant to treat the *Excerptiones* as a collection for which Wulfstan could take full responsibility.

What do these texts tell us about the relationship of the two writers and the chronology of Wulfstan's work? It has become an accepted doctrine of modern scholarship that Ælfric was engaged in writing texts specifically for Wulfstan, often indeed for him to rewrite.<sup>48</sup> Cross has recently referred to him as Wulfstan's *aide* and as a member of 'the Wulfstan group'.<sup>49</sup> The justification for this needs to be reviewed.

---

<sup>45</sup> Malcolm Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 271–98 (pp. 282–83).

<sup>46</sup> Wormald gave his paper at Kalamazoo and in Oxford, and a version was eventually published in 1999 as 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by David A. E. Pelteret (New York, 1999), pp. 191–224, and also in Patrick Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51; Cross and Hamer published their paper as 'Ælfric's Letters and the *Excerptiones Ecgberhti*', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 5–13.

<sup>47</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', p. 202, and his *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 455–56; *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, pp. vii, 22–23.

<sup>48</sup> Compare, for instance, Andy Orchard's excellent brief resumé of Wulfstan in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and others (Oxford, 1999), pp. 494–95: 'he is even ready to rewrite minutely works prepared for him by Ælfric'.

<sup>49</sup> J. E. Cross, 'Wulfstan's *De Anticristo* in a Twelfth-Century Worcester Manuscript', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 203–20 (p. 219); cf. too *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, pp. 22–23, 29.

We do not know for certain, despite many statements to the contrary, that Ælfric ever wrote anything specifically for Wulfstan apart from the two pastoral letters and the so-called private letter, or even sent him texts apart from those; still less that he composed texts for Wulfstan to rewrite.<sup>50</sup> Virtually all the texts used by Wulfstan are known to have been circulated by Ælfric in his various collections of homilies and could have reached Wulfstan in that way; most were composed before Ælfric is known to have had any links with Wulfstan, and for other purposes. Others were apparently written for other recipients, such as the treatise on the Old and New Testament which was addressed to Sigeweard but apparently used by Wulfstan. Any or all of these could also have been sent direct to Wulfstan by Ælfric for his use, on their own or in collections, for him to read or indeed to rewrite, but there is no positive evidence. And of course some of those that appear in collections which Ælfric issued late in his life could have been written originally for Wulfstan but then subsequently incorporated by Ælfric into a collection for wider circulation. To take an interesting example, Wulfstan made heavy use of the pastoral letter for Wulfsige. He may have got it direct from Ælfric, as Joyce Hill suggested, or he may, as Dorothy Whitelock suggested, have got it from Wulfsige himself, when the latter was still Abbot of Westminster and Wulfstan was Bishop of London.<sup>51</sup> But on at least one occasion Ælfric circulated it as an appendix to the *Catholic Homilies*, and it could have reached Wulfstan, directly or indirectly, from that collection, without any personal contact with the writer or the recipient.<sup>52</sup>

One striking fact is that, setting apart the pastoral letters, all but one of the remaining twelve Old English texts of Ælfric which Wulfstan used for his own writings can be found in two small and selective collections, both with Worcester connections. One of these, a collection of about twenty-three homilies and some short pieces which is preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, written in the second half of the eleventh century and subsequently at least kept at Worcester, contains nine of the Ælfric homilies used by Wulfstan: the CH I preface in adapted form, CH I.19 and 20, CH II.19 and 40, *De septiformi spiritu*, Judges, *De duodecim abusivis*, and *De die iudicii* (Pope 18). Five of these, and two others used by Wulfstan, are (or were before loss) in a collection of twenty-four homilies and some short

---

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Clemons, 'Benedictine Office', p. 283: 'But we do not know whether any of the other pieces by Ælfric that Wulfstan knew or used came to him from Ælfric directly or indirectly.'

<sup>51</sup> Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', p. 114; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brook, I, 193.

<sup>52</sup> Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', p. 112, says that this copy, in Cambridge, University Library Gg.3.28, must 'be seen as a file copy and not as a circulating copy'. I think this is a mistaken distinction. Ælfric did claim to have added copies of stray items at the end of the *Catholic Homilies* in another manuscript for preservation, and may (though there is no evidence) have done the same with the items at the end of Gg.3.28, but in both cases the manuscripts evidently did get into circulation and there is no reason to think this was unintended.

pieces, all by Ælfric, surviving in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, written probably at Worcester in the first half of the eleventh century. These are the CH I preface, CH I.1 and 19, part of *De duodecim abusivis*, *De falsis deis*, *De septiformi spiritu*, and *De die iudicii* (Pope 18). Both the adapted preface to CH I and the homily *De falsis deis* occur in an authorially revised form that Wulfstan used for his homilies V and XII respectively. The only one of the twelve that does not appear in either manuscript is the Letter to Sigeward. Neither collection is likely to have been assembled by Wulfstan or in response to his interests, for the items he did use occur mixed up with other items of a kind in which he never showed any interest. Moreover, the compiler of the Corpus 178 collection has left a colophon explaining how he selected items from Ælfrician collections and organized them in two groups for preaching purposes, and he does not seem to be Wulfstan. If the very striking degree of overlap between the contents of these two manuscripts and the list of Ælfric texts used by Wulfstan is not just an extraordinary coincidence, what it suggests is that Wulfstan got his Ælfric texts from small selections like these, not from the more familiar large collections which Ælfric assembled or from selections specially made for him by the author.

Perhaps the key piece of evidence here is Pope's account of the textual history of Ælfric's homily on the false gods and its relation to Wulfstan's version. Pope demonstrated that Wulfstan's version has some variant readings found otherwise only in one copy of Ælfric's homily, that in Corpus 178 (and not in the otherwise closely related Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116), readings that almost certainly do not go back to Ælfric but developed in the course of transmission.<sup>53</sup> Pope went on: 'I am at a loss to explain this phenomenon, because there is every reason to believe that Wulfstan's copy of Ælfric's homily came straight from the author, whereas R [Corpus 178] and S [Hatton 116] shared an ancestor that had deliberately introduced unauthorized additions.'<sup>54</sup> He ends up suggesting, rather desperately, that these readings in Corpus 178 were the result of a kind of back-contamination from a half-way stage in Wulfstan's rewriting. But if one takes the view that there is *not* 'every reason to believe that Wulfstan's copy of Ælfric's homily came straight from the author', but only a hypothesis based on untested assumptions about their relationship, then the logic of his analysis is that Wulfstan got his copy of *De falsis deis* not directly from Ælfric or even from a close copy of one of Ælfric's collections, but from a copy which had already had a degree of transmission history and adaptation, probably at Worcester — from an earlier copy of the collection that survives in Corpus 178, that is.<sup>55</sup> And since the unknown compiler who originally as-

<sup>53</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, II, 673–75.

<sup>54</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, II, 675.

<sup>55</sup> Bethurum ('Wulfstan', in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. by Eric Gerald Stanley (London, 1966), pp. 210–46 (p. 213)) refers to Corpus 178 as one of 'the surviving English books which were probably written at Worcester during [Wulfstan's] incumbency'. The presumed date of the script just about allows that possibility,

sembled that collection refers to Ælfric as abbot and included at least one item dating from 1006 or later, the copy that Wulfstan used was later than that, and we would have to put Wulfstan's *De falsis deis* — and any other texts that draw on this collection — quite late in his career, perhaps indeed after Ælfric's presumed death in 1010.

If Wulfstan was relying on small selections of Ælfric material of this kind, that might explain some of the oddities of his choice of texts and topics. He wrote extensively on the end of the world and made heavy use of Ælfric's account of Antichrist and some use of Pope 18, but none of the most sustained early discussion of the end of the world, CH 1.40. The *De falsis deis* has been described as a piece of learning, distant from Wulfstan's usual interests, and he shows no other sign of interest in the saints' lives which make up the bulk of the contents of the collection in which Ælfric circulated that text. But it was one of three non-hagiographic items included in an appendix at the end, all of which were excerpted in Corpus 178, the other two being the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* and the Twelve Abuses, and Wulfstan made use of the latter as well. Again, if the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle annal for 959 on King Edgar is by Wulfstan then he was influenced by the epilogue to Ælfric's paraphrase of Judges, and this is the only one of Ælfric's many translations and paraphrases of Old Testament books of which he shows any knowledge. But it does appear, along with one other text of this type, the paraphrase of Kings, in Hatton 115.

To repeat, then, there seems a very strong probability that Wulfstan got most of his Ælfric material from a couple of small selections of material resembling Hatton 115 and Corpus 178. The scholarly consensus is that these selections were not the work of Ælfric himself, but of other, unknown compilers selecting freely from a range of larger collections of his work, and that indeed has seemed to be what the compiler of the Corpus 178 collection is explaining in his colophon. If so, then Wulfstan's acquisition and use of this material reflects no direct relationship with Ælfric at all. That argument, which had seemed secure when I originally gave this paper, has now been undermined by a very persuasive case made by Mary Clayton in a forthcoming article, where she argues that the Corpus 178 collection at least, and perhaps also that in Hatton 115, are copies of collections made and circulated by Ælfric himself.<sup>56</sup> This would mean that the collections which Wulfstan used as sources for his own rewriting could after all have been sent to him by Ælfric (though it does not prove that they were). But it remains the case that the Corpus 178 collection at least was evidently designed as a basic preaching selection, not as a useful set of texts for Wulfstan to rewrite, that the copy of *De falsis deis* which he used was at several copies' remove from Ælfric, and that he was apparently relying on a very small selection of Ælfric's work, not written or chosen with Wulfstan's needs in mind.

---

depending perhaps on whether Wulfstan maintained close connections with Worcester after 1016, but he could not have used the copy of *De falsis deis* which appears in this manuscript, since it contains variant readings which are not reflected in his version.

<sup>56</sup> Mary Clayton, 'Ælfric's *De auguriis* and Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 178', (forthcoming).

This would all be irrelevant if we could show that full collections of Ælfric's work were available at Worcester in Wulfstan's time and preferably that he read them. Dorothy Bethurum did indeed attribute to his influence a major collection of Ælfric's work which she says was produced at Worcester during Wulfstan's incumbency there.<sup>57</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 is a big collection of homilies drawn mainly from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, produced some time in the first half of the eleventh century and certainly present at Worcester in the thirteenth century, though its origin is uncertain and its date may well be too late for Wulfstan's time at Worcester. It is an incomplete copy of a collection originally compiled at Canterbury or Rochester and mixing Ælfric's work with that of others in a manner that Ælfric had hoped to prevent, supplemented with further Ælfric homilies in other hands. It does not for the most part draw on Worcester sources and shows little overlap with the texts used by Wulfstan. If it was produced at Worcester, it may indeed testify to the limitations of any Ælfric material available there when Wulfstan was writing, and to the absence of full collections received direct from the author. Later Worcester manuscripts such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113–14, Junius 121, and Hatton 116 testify to a range of Ælfrician material available there in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, but they have complex textual histories and tell us nothing certain about what might have been available at Worcester or indeed York in the first decades of the century. We have then no evidence that Ælfric sent his works direct to Wulfstan, or that, if he did, Wulfstan read them all.

This has particular implications for Wulfstan's homilies on Antichrist, IV and V, not least for questions of dating and Wulfstan's career. There is a persistent tradition in modern scholarship that the eschatological homilies, items I–V, might have been work of Wulfstan's early period, when he was Bishop of London and the year 1000 was approaching, and have helped establish his reputation as a preacher — which may even have led to his elevation.<sup>58</sup> But homily V dates itself well after the year 1000, and the arguments of Clemoes about the use of Ælfric would place both it and homily IV in the period 1005–06 or later, well after Wulfstan became archbishop.<sup>59</sup> (And homilies I–III are hardly enough in themselves to establish anyone's reputation.) Wulfstan's homily IV is mainly a reworking and simplification of Ælfric's account of Antichrist which originally appeared as part of the preface to his first series of *Catholic Homilies*, around 993–94. This provides most of the material of Wulfstan's sermon up to line 70 or so — the remaining twenty-six lines seem to have no source. This would certainly allow Wulfstan's homily to have been written well before 1000. But Ælfric's account of Antichrist also appears as a separate short homily, with an added brief conclusion in Ælfric's characteristic alliterative prose, in Hatton

---

<sup>57</sup> Bethurum, 'Wulfstan', p. 213.

<sup>58</sup> See *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 102; Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York, 1986), p. 89.

<sup>59</sup> Clemoes, 'review of Bethurum', p. 82.

115, and it is fairly certain that it was Ælfric himself who circulated it in that form.<sup>60</sup> Given the other close matches between Wulfstan's use of Ælfric and the material in that manuscript, the likelihood is that this collection was where Wulfstan found it. We do not know when that collection was assembled, but it includes at least one text dating from after Ælfric's appointment as abbot in 1005.

At some subsequent date Wulfstan rewrote and expanded this homily to produce a new one, homily V. In the process he evidently drew some new material from one of Ælfric's later homilies, *De die iudicii* (Pope 18). This appears in an appendix at the end of the expanded version of CH I found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188 but also on its own in Hatton 115 and Corpus 178. Clemoes dates this in the period 1002–05 (largely on the grounds that it is in the Hatton 115 collection); Pope says only, in a masterpiece of hedging, 'the most we can say with any assurance, perhaps, is that the homily should have been composed after 1000'.<sup>61</sup> Its manuscript associations are, however, with late work by Ælfric, after he became abbot. There is evidence, too, that in writing homily V Wulfstan returned to Ælfric's account of Antichrist, but this time he used a revised version. One place where this late adaptation can be found is in the expanded version of CH I which also contains Pope 18 and other late work by Ælfric (including one homily from 1006). But it also appears in a separate homiletic adaptation in Corpus 178, and it seems highly probable that again that is where Wulfstan found it. And as already noted, this is a collection put together after 1006, and Wulfstan's copy was at some remove from the original. It looks as if Wulfstan got his Antichrist material by Ælfric from these small selections, and well after the millennium. His homiletic work drawing so heavily on Ælfric may then belong to the period when we know that he was drawing heavily on Ælfric's pastoral letters for his canons and Institutes — the period from 1006 or so to 1012 and later.

### *Other Evidence of Contact between Ælfric and Wulfstan*

Finally, there are two other categories of text which might testify to the relations between the two writers. First, there are writings by Ælfric which are not known to have been used by Wulfstan in his own writings but do turn up in Wulfstan manuscripts — the famous commonplace book manuscripts as they used to be called — and may have been supplied by Ælfric. The issue is bedevilled by questions of attribution. Patrick Wormald has drawn attention in a recent study to Wulfstan's addition of a passage from Ælfric in his own hand in one manuscript; but this is an extract from a text that Clemoes rejected from the Ælfric canon and perhaps was composed

---

<sup>60</sup> Ælfric's addition of a sermon peroration suggests that he revised and circulated it for preaching use, not as a text for Wulfstan's own use.

<sup>61</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, II, 585.

by Wulfstan himself.<sup>62</sup> Another doubtful case is Ælfric's so-called letter to the monks of Eynsham, his adaptation of the monastic rule, the *Regularis concordia*. The only extant copy is in a manuscript that draws on Wulfstan's so-called commonplace book collections, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265, and a number of commentators, from Fehr onwards, have suggested therefore that Wulfstan knew the work and had been sent it by Ælfric — which would have interesting implications for Wulfstan's interest in monastic practice and in prescribing practice in monasteries under his rule.<sup>63</sup> But it only occurs in the one manuscript of the Wulfstan collection, and that was produced some fifty years after Wulfstan's death. It is written on two quires that are distinct from the rest of the manuscript, and in a hand that does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript. Drew Jones has persuasively argued that this copy was not originally made for the manuscript in which it appears but was added subsequently, though by the end of the eleventh century, and that its presence at Worcester may be due to the interests of St Wulfstan rather than of Wulfstan the homilist and lawmaker.<sup>64</sup> There is then, as far as I know, no evidence that it formed part of Wulfstan's collections or was known by him. A probable case of contact is a Latin text which has not been printed in full and still has no established name, but can be called for now the tract on Clerical Duties. It occurs in the Ælfric manuscript Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 63, and deals with the duties of priests, the names and duties of the seven grades of the priesthood, and the duties of bishops. The first part is a copy of material from Isidore included in the record of the 816 Council of Aachen, and the rest draws heavily on other material from that record. Clemoes attributed the compilation as a whole to Ælfric, and Cross has reaffirmed the attribution.<sup>65</sup> It seems not to have been used by Wulfstan, even for his own piece on the seven ranks of the clergy which uses different sources, but it does appear in several Wulfstan manuscripts and the titles are added in Wulfstan's hand in the Copenhagen manuscript. So he certainly knew it and might well have got it directly from Ælfric, since it does not appear in any other contexts and is not a coherently organized text that one could easily imagine being circulated as part of an Ælfrician collection.

---

<sup>62</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', p. 228. The passage is from the *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* which Fehr prints as 'Teile aus Aelfrics Priesterauszug' in his Anhang III (see *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, pp. 234–49); Clemoes rejects the attribution in his 'Supplement' to Fehr, pp. cxlvi–cxlvii.

<sup>63</sup> See Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', p. 107

<sup>64</sup> *Ælfric's Letter*, ed. by Jones, pp. 76–77.

<sup>65</sup> Clemoes, 'Benedictine Office', pp. 273–75; Cross in *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. by Cross and Morrish Tunberg, pp. 15–16. Part of the text is printed in Fehr's Anhang V (see *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, pp. 256–58). The true nature of the compilation is clear only from the facsimile and analysis in *The Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, ed. by Cross and Morrish Tunberg. It is the text which Wormald calls 'Ælfric's digest of Aachen 816' (see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 221).

Second (and finally) there is the question of texts not by Ælfric which were used by Wulfstan or appear in Wulfstan manuscripts and might have been supplied to him by Ælfric, as the more learned figure (or, if one prefers, as his *de facto* research assistant, with time to spare in libraries in support of the busy administrator who did not have time to do his own research). This is potentially a large category if one accepts some recent hints, but the evidence has not yet been presented in detail and it is hard to pin anything down. The key point is the suggestion, made by Cross and Hamer and more fully by Wormald, that Ælfric supplied Wulfstan with texts and collections of church law and canons which Wulfstan then used for his own work, especially the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti*.<sup>66</sup> As I have already indicated, the degree of Wulfstan's responsibility for this collection, in its various fluctuating forms, remains to be established with certainty. On present information, there is little significant overlap between the sources which Ælfric drew on for his pastoral letters and the sources which were used for the *Excerptiones*. Wulfstan clearly had access to canonical literature that he did not get from Ælfric — his hand appears for instance annotating the big collection of Ansegisus and others in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42. And it would be rash to assume without evidence that any text used by Ælfric that also appears in Wulfstan manuscripts must have been obtained from Ælfric. Although Ælfric may well have known works that were not familiar to Wulfstan, it would be odd if as a general rule Ælfric could supply from the small and newly founded sites at Cerne or Eynsham books that were not available to a bishop and archbishop at Worcester. And one might add that the disobliging tone of Ælfric's response to Wulfstan's original request for advice makes it seem unlikely that he was spending time acting as research assistant for the Archbishop. If the evidence of Wulfstan's vernacular works suggests that he did not get Ælfric's own writings direct from Ælfric, but picked them up third hand, there is no *a priori* reason to think that he got from Ælfric the various non-Ælfrician Latin works which Wulfstan used himself or which were included in Wulfstan collections.

## Conclusions

The first evidence of contact between the two men comes in or soon after 1002, and the tones of that exchange suggest that there was at least no established friendship between them at that stage, and there may not have been previous contact at all. The relationship seems to have been very one-sided. On Ælfric's side, it began in a rather cool and critical manner, and may never have been very friendly. He replied, somewhat caustically, to Wulfstan's questions, and supplied him with pastoral letters to tell his clergy and bishops how to behave, as he had done earlier for Wulfsige,

---

<sup>66</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', p. 239; *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, p. vii.



bishop of Sherborne, but we do not know that he ever wrote anything else for him or even sent him any more of his work, and it looks as if Wulfstan got much of it third hand. There is no evidence of contact before 1002 or after 1006. It is doubtful whether Ælfric knew what Wulfstan was doing with his work or would have approved if he did. His fierce objections to others altering his work or mixing it with the work of others are sharply expressed in his prefaces and epilogues.<sup>67</sup> His determination in the private letter not to be caught saying anything quotable on the subject of kinship marriage suggests he was well aware of what Wulfstan might do with his remarks if he was not careful, and the care with which he wrote his pastoral letters so that they spoke in the Bishop's own voice suggests that he was doing all he could to ensure they did not have to be doctored. He would probably have been horrified to discover that Wulfstan was rewriting his pastoral letters to reflect his own sometimes different views, and not entirely happy about Wulfstan's rewriting of his homilies. (Indeed, since there is no evidence of communication between the two after Ælfric sent the English pastoral letters in 1006 or so, it is perfectly possible that Ælfric did discover and was horrified.)

For Wulfstan, though, Ælfric's work seems to have been crucial, a major resource for his ecclesiastical writings and sermons. But was this a matter of respect for his learning and knowledge, or just the convenience of having some accessible and in most cases English texts to consult? Although he clearly valued Ælfric's views on matters of church practice and clerical duties, he had different opinions and emphases on a number of issues and did not scruple to alter or rewrite his work to reflect those differences. He had more relaxed views on clerical chastity<sup>68</sup> and I think on clerical involvement in secular affairs, and on other aspects of clerical duties. To take a mundane example, Ælfric told him three times, in the private letter, again in the second Latin pastoral letter, and yet again in the first Old English pastoral letter for Wulfstan, that a priest should not celebrate mass more than once in a day,<sup>69</sup> and he cited St Æthelwold's prohibitions in support of this rule. But Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar* say a priest should not celebrate mass more than three times a day.<sup>70</sup> There are larger distinctions in the homilies too. Where Ælfric tended to relate human sinfulness back to free will and personal responsibility, Wulfstan tended to attribute it

---

<sup>67</sup> Cleomes, CH I, preface, lines 35–37; Godden, CH II, *Oratio*, p. 345, lines 7–9.

<sup>68</sup> Ælfric's statement on clerical chastity at Brief II in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr, p. 102, §82, is considerably trimmed in the Wulfstan revision in the D version. Whitelock (*Councils and Synods*, I, 278) notes that 'deacon' is omitted from the requirements for celibacy in the D version of II Pol. 157.

<sup>69</sup> See *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. by Fehr: Brief 2a, p. 225, lines 4–18, §xiii; Brief 3, pp. 65, line 24 – 66, line 4, §§73–75; and Brief II, p. 100, lines 11–21, §§75–76. The ruling is repeated in the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti* (*Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, B62 (pp. 131–32)), apparently drawing on Ælfric's Brief 3.

<sup>70</sup> *Canons*, ed. by Fowler, §37.

to the work of the devil, and one can see that distinction operating very clearly in his rewriting of Ælfric in homilies VI and XII. Where Ælfric saw history as one long cycle of fall and redemption, Wulfstan tended to see it as a series of recurrent cycles of sin and punishment.

Quite why Wulfstan found it so difficult to write a homily without having one of Ælfric's to use as a starting point is hard to say. His constant tinkering with his own work suggests a man obsessive about the best formulation but incapable of satisfying himself. It is not as if there were no other sources available for him to use. For Antichrist Wulfstan could perfectly well have used Adso of Montier-en-Der's *De orte et tempore Anticristi*, which is much fuller than Ælfric's discussion, and arguably more reliable. But he seems to have relied mainly on Ælfric, and rather surprisingly, one probably has to accept that Wulfstan's revision of his account of Antichrist's origins to match Ælfric's revision indicates a hypertensive sensitivity and insecurity. Wulfstan was clearly competent in Latin, but he does seem to have asked someone else to translate his own work into Latin for him,<sup>71</sup> and when writing in the vernacular he does seem to have found it convenient to use as a starting point texts in English; the fact that for the *Canons of Edgar* he made heaviest use of the letter for Wulfsig, which exists only in English, is very striking. But he does not seem to have thought much of Ælfric's style, since he rewrote much of what he got from Ælfric's works in a very different style. He was a vastly more important and more successful man in the Anglo-Saxon church than Ælfric and did not need to put up with the latter's strictures. But there is surely some sense of insecurity here about his own grasp of doctrine, canon law, and theology, and perhaps of Latin. And there is something that I cannot quite identify here about Church politics: Ælfric was the recognized authority and felt able to lecture bishops and archbishops on their failings but never got anywhere in the Church himself; Wulfstan felt rather incompetent in comparison but shot to the top and stayed there.

---

<sup>71</sup> I refer to the knotty question of the anonymous letter to Wulfstan, written in verbose and obscure Latin, which Bethurum prints in *Homilies*, pp. 376–77. The writer was evidently refusing to undertake some literary task that Wulfstan, as Bishop of London, had asked of him. Whitelock sees it as a request to translate something from Latin into English for him (*Sermo Lupi*, p. 10, and 'Archbishop Wulfstan', p. 55). Wormald reads it as a request to translate a text into Latin (*Making of English Law*, p. 451, n.125). My own tentative interpretation is that Wulfstan may have been asking his correspondent to translate some of Wulfstan's own English writings into Latin, and that the correspondent cites the (untranslatable) eloquence of Wulfstan's style as a reason for demurring. Translating Wulfstan's idiosyncratic English style into Latin might indeed have been difficult.

# Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as Political Performance: 16 February 1014 and Beyond

JONATHAN WILCOX

Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* presents with extreme rhetorical force a jeremiad on the sins of the English and their need to repent.<sup>1</sup> It is commonly seen as the supreme achievement of the Archbishop's sermon-writing career — the 'great 1014 sermon' as Patrick Wormald characterizes it — and this is evident in its repeated inclusion in readers and in translations.<sup>2</sup> The structure

---

<sup>1</sup> The main editions are *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, 4 (Berlin, 1883; repr. with a supplement by Klaus Ostheeren, Dublin, 1967), Homily XXXIII, in a conflated edition based on MS E; *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), Homily XX, in three separate editions based respectively on MSS BH, C, and EI; and *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London, 1963), in a conflated edition based on MS I. For the manuscripts and their sigla, see note 5 below. A hypertext edition by Melissa Bernstein is available at <http://cif.rochester.edu/~mjbernst/wulfstan/>. Quotations throughout this essay are taken from Bethurum; translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Thanks to the University of Iowa College of Liberal Arts and Sciences for a summer fellowship in support of work on this essay.

<sup>2</sup> Readers: *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, ed. by Frederic G. Cassidy and Richard N. Ringler, 3rd edn (New York, 1971), pp. 255–63; *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 15th edn (Oxford, 1967), pp. 85–93. Translations: *English Historical Documents*, vol. I, c. 500–1042, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1955), pp. 854–59 (no. 240); *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, trans. by Michael Swanton, rev. edn (London, 1993), pp. 178–84; Kevin Crossley-Holland, *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology* (Cambridge, 1982; repr. Oxford, 1984), pp. 291–99; Burton Raffel and Alexander H. Olsen, *Poems and Prose from the Old English* (New Haven, 1998), pp. 177–83; R. M. Liuzza, *Beowulf: A*

and rhetoric of the sermon have been subject to repeated analysis,<sup>3</sup> and there has been healthy engagement with it as a historical document,<sup>4</sup> but more can yet be uncovered about the political context of this great work and thereby inflect a reading of its rhetoric. A volume that reflects a conference assembled to commemorate the millennium of Wulfstan's promotion to the see of York in 1002 is an auspicious occasion to propose a reading of the great *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* grounded in the historical particularity of Wulfstan's archiepiscopate. In this essay, I will place the sermon in the context of its first performance which I will argue was at York in February 1014. To uncover that first performance, I draw on two strands of evidence underexploited by other scholars: namely, the repeated and telling association in the manuscripts of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* with Wulfstan's instructions for bishops and, in particular, with his sermon for the ordination of a bishop (Bethurum XVII); and the evidence for Wulfstan's own reuse of the sermon in subsequent abbreviated adaptations. By focusing on the specific occasion of first performance, I will revivify a political reading of this famous work that will cast fresh light on certain passages and also help resolve the now-vexed question of the order of the three versions. More fundamentally, I will suggest the ways in which the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* has both broad and universal appeal and yet also, paradoxically, is deeply grounded in the specific events of its original performance at York on or about 16 February 1014.

### *Date and Circumstances of First Performance*

An original date of 1014 is implied by the surviving rubrics of the sermon, including those now in error, even though it is only spelled out in one manuscript,<sup>5</sup> and the

---

*New Verse Translation* (Peterborough, Ont., 2000), pp. 196–202 (translated anew as a context for reading *Beowulf*). For Wormald's characterization, see note 14, below.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Fowler, 'Some Stylistic Features of the *Sermo Lupi*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 65 (1966), 1–18; Stephanie Hollis, 'The Thematic Structure of the *Sermo Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 175–95; Raachel Jurovics, '*Sermo Lupi* and the Moral Purpose of Rhetoric', in *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, 1978), pp. 203–20.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Malcolm Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130–62. For traditional accounts drawing on this sermon, see Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), and Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1989).

<sup>5</sup> The surviving manuscripts with their sigla are listed here for convenience (with references to N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957)): I = London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i (Ker 164), fols 110<sup>r</sup>–115<sup>r</sup>, s. xi<sup>m</sup>; E = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (Ker 331), fols 84<sup>v</sup>–90<sup>v</sup>, s. xi<sup>3/4</sup>; C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (Ker 49), pp. 82–86, s. xi<sup>med</sup>; B = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 (Ker 68), pp. 95–112, s. xi<sup>1</sup>; H = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (Ker 310), fols 84<sup>v</sup>–90<sup>v</sup>, s. xii<sup>2</sup>.

1014 date has generally been accepted by scholars. The clearest indication is the rubric in London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i, part B (MS I), the earliest surviving manuscript, from the early eleventh century, and corrected by Wulfstan's own hand: 'Sermo Lupi ad Anglos quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos, quod fuit anno millesimo .XIII. ab incarnatione Domini Nostri Iesu Christi' (EI 2–6; 'The sermon of the Wolf to the English when the Danes persecuted them most, which was the year 1014 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ'). Traces of this rubric appear in two other manuscripts of the sermon. In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (MS C) the year is given as 1009, which is impossible since the sermon so topically refers to the expulsion of King Æthelred from the kingdom, an event of late 1013. The very form of the reference as written out in C, 'anno millesimo .VIII.', hints how easily a scribe could mistakenly have provided a V for an X and so mistakenly have written 1009 for 1014, and this slip has duly been recognized by most scholars.<sup>6</sup> The rubric in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (MS E) probably derives from the same original, but here the dating formula is generalized to 'in dies Æþelredi regis' ('in the days of King Æthelred'). A seventeenth-century hand has added a marginal attribution in E to 1009, presumably from reading the rubric in MS C. MS C itself contains another contradictory confused dating suggestion in its unique opening comment: 'Þis wæs on Æðelredes cyninges dagum gediht, feower geara fæce ær he forðferde' (C, 9–11; 'This was composed in the days of King Æthelred, four years before he passed on'). That would give a date of 1012, again too early for Æthelred's expulsion and in any case incompatible with the rubric. The confusion here was resolved by both Whitelock and Pope through the suggestion that *feower geara*, 'four years', probably stands in place of *feawra geara*, 'a few years'.<sup>7</sup> The remaining two manuscripts do not have dated rubrics but rather generalized titles, 'Lār Spell' (homily) in B, and 'Sermo' (sermon) in H, appropriate to their more generalized form described below. Despite the *apparent* confusion of rubrics and openings, then, all the evidence points to an original attribution to 1014. And 1014 would have been an appropriate occasion to attract Wulfstan's compositional attention.

As Archbishop of York from 1002 to 1023, Wulfstan was a significant player throughout a turbulent period of English politics, but the first months of 1014 must have stood out even within this heightened period. Since Wulfstan's promotion to York, which coincided with Æthelred's pogrom against the settled Danes, the St Brice's day massacre, the significant recurring challenge for Æthelred's reign, of course, had been the Viking incursions so painstakingly and painfully described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Wulfstan had left his own mark in trying to cope with Viking raids in the legislation drawn up at Bath in 1009, VII Æthelred, which instituted as national policy three days of public prayer and the celebration of a mass against the pagans in addition to reinforcing Christian dues. However successful this

<sup>6</sup> *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 6; John C. Pope, review of *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum, *Modern Language Notes*, 74 (1959), 333–40 (p. 338).

may have been as a fillip to national confidence, it did not work as a long-term solution to the problem of Viking incursions. In April 1012 a Viking force led by Thorkell, which had occupied Canterbury since September 1011, pelted the Archbishop of Canterbury to death in a drunken frenzy with bones, ox-heads, and the back of an axe, and then received the huge tribute of £48,000 before dispersing. The martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah would have provided Wulfstan with an alarmingly clear emblem of the overthrow of Christian order as well as leaving him as ranking ecclesiast in the land, from whom spiritual leadership was now particularly important in a time of crisis. Wulfstan rose to this challenge in the production of his late sermons, especially the great *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* of 1014, and in drafting law-codes, especially VIII Æthelred, also of 1014.

Given his concern with social order evident in his sermons, laws, and the *Institutes of Polity*, Wulfstan would certainly have been deeply exercised by the events of 1013–14 even as a simple observer; as a significant participant, he must have been still more concerned. In 1013, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reports the arrival of Swein Forkbeard, king of Denmark, with a huge force.<sup>8</sup> From a power-base in Gainsborough, Swein quickly received allegiance from the whole of the traditional Danelaw-area, then overran the rest of England, with regions rapidly submitting to him. After London fell, according to the chronicler ‘eal þeodscype hine hæfde þa for fulne cyning’ (‘all the nation regarded him as full king’).<sup>9</sup>

Æthelred escaped from London and his family fled from England with conspicuous assistance from the church hierarchy. The chronicler reports that Abbot Ælfsige of Peterborough escorted Queen Emma to her brother, Duke Richard of Normandy. Similarly Ælfhun, bishop of London, took the king’s sons Edward and Alfred to Normandy. Wulfstan presumably expected Ælfhun to stay there since he consecrated Ælfwig as Bishop of London, even though, in the event, Ælfhun was subsequently to return to that episcopal position.<sup>10</sup> Æthelred himself first removed to the Isle of Wight, where he spent Christmas, then withdrew to Normandy.

At the opening of 1014, then, it must have looked as if Viking incursions had finally given way to full-blown Viking conquest and as if Swein was the established King of England. Perhaps the *witan* — with Wulfstan in attendance — played some part in naming Swein as full king in late 1013, just as it may have played some part in assisting the orderly withdrawal of Æthelred’s family. But at this stage the

---

<sup>8</sup> Simon Keynes presents estimates based on contemporary sources that the fleets of Swein and Cnut may have numbered 150–200 ships, bearing about 10,000 fighting men: *The Diplomas of King Æthelred ‘the Unready’, 978–1016*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series, 13 (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 224–25.

<sup>9</sup> ASC C, s.a. 1013, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. v, MS C, ed. by Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Cambridge, 2001), p. 98; trans. *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 223.

<sup>10</sup> He attests a charter of 1015, S 934, as Bishop of London (P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968), p. 283).

unexpected happened — 'þone byre þæt Swegen wearð dead' ('the happy event of Swein's death') according to the chronicler<sup>11</sup> — at Candlemas (i.e. 3 February) 1014. According to the chronicler, the fleet now chose Cnut, the conqueror's son, to succeed as king, but the English councillors — presumably the *witan* — decided to invite back Æthelred. He returned in spring 1014, and Wulfstan's signature style shows that the Archbishop played a leading role in writing the law-code, VIII Æthelred, that was drawn up in that year, apparently as part of a reconciliation between reinstated king and country, presumably following a second meeting of the *witan* that year, attended by the King, before or after Æthelred's military action against the unprepared Cnut at Lindsey around Eastertime of 1014.

Times remained troubled, of course. A three-way contest between Æthelred, Edmund Ironside, and Cnut was only resolved by the deaths of Æthelred then Edmund in 1016. The English paid a huge tribute and finally, in 1018, 'Dene 7 Engle wurdon sammæle æt Oxanaforda to Eadgares lage'(ASC D; 'the Danes and the English reached an agreement at Oxford according to Edgar's law'),<sup>12</sup> that is the law-code written by Wulfstan and known as Cnut 1018.<sup>13</sup> The following years presented a time of relative peace. Cnut 1018 was replaced by the great law-codes I and II Cnut, drawn up by Wulfstan and promulgated by the *witan* at Winchester at Christmas 1020 or 1021, and persuasively viewed as the climax of Wulfstan's career and writings in a recent major study by Patrick Wormald.<sup>14</sup> By this time, Wulfstan was clearly working in harmony with King Cnut, for whom he consecrated the church at *Assandun* (according to ASC D, 1020), thereby memorializing the Danish king's military victory over the English. Wulfstan's final years until his death in 1023 were spent in relative stability — a period of calm in which he could formulate in different ways his ideas about the ordering of society<sup>15</sup> — but both the time of stability and the alliance with Cnut must have been unthinkable back in 1014.

<sup>11</sup> ASC C, s.a. 1013, *MS C*, ed. by O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 98; trans. *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 223.

<sup>12</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. VI, *MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), p. 63.

<sup>13</sup> Edited in A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 57–81.

<sup>14</sup> See Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. I, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), esp. pp. 364–65, 395, 462–65.

<sup>15</sup> In addition to I and II Cnut, this is the period of the compilation of Nero A.i (see *A Wulfstan Manuscript Containing Institutes, Laws and Homilies (British Museum Cotton Nero A.I)*, ed. by Henry R. Loyn, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 17 (Copenhagen, 1971)), of Napier LIX–LXI (see Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London, 1986), pp. 81–99), and the final revision of *The Institutes of Polity*, perhaps left incomplete on his death (see *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, *Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten*, 47 (Bern, 1959)), in addition to the recycling of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* described below.

## *The Witenagemot of February 1014*

It is possible to pinpoint specifically when in 1014 the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* was first performed. I will suggest that the occasion was the first meeting of the *witan* in that year. Such a meeting early in the year is implicit in the chronicler's account of events following Swein's death:

Pa geræddon þa witan ealle þe on Engla lande wæron, gehadode 7 læwede, þæt man æfter þam cyninge Æpelrede sende, 7 cwædon þæt him nan hlaforð leofra nære þonne hiora gecynda hlaforð, gif he hi rihtlicor healdan wolde þonne he ær dyde.<sup>16</sup>

For all of the *witan* who were in England, ecclesiastical and lay, to express an opinion, they must have held a meeting. The precise date of that meeting is preserved through a detail of church administration that survives only in the D-version of the Chronicle: '7 þy ilcan geare man hadode Ælfric bisceop on Eoforwic to Lundenburh on sancta Iuliana mæssedæg'.<sup>17</sup> The consecration of Ælfric is here given in an impersonal construction ('man hadode'). It was presumably conducted by Wulfstan, since he would have hosted the meeting at York and was likely the ranking ecclesiastical figure at this time. Only an archbishop could consecrate a bishop, and Lyfing, the other possible candidate, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1013, but his name follows Wulfstan's in the witness lists of charters from 1013 to 1016, and he may have been away at Rome receiving the pallium at the time.<sup>18</sup> The consecration would have occurred at a meeting of the *witan*, here dated to St Juliana's day, that is, 16 February, when the ecclesiastical figures of the land were conveniently assembled together.

Wulfstan's hand may be visible in the weightier business of that meeting: the Chronicle's language in describing the *witan*'s negotiation with the king ('7 cwædon þæt him nan hlaforð leofra nære þonne hiora gecynda hlaforð, gif he hi rihtlicor healdan wolde þonne he ær dyde') has Wulfstan's ring in the prominent use of that favorite Wulfstanian comparative *rihtlicor*.<sup>19</sup> Probably the appeal to the ousted monarch was made by letter, and Wulfstan, as drafter of the *witan*'s legislative codes, is a likely candidate for the composition of such a letter, which is presumably preserved here.

---

<sup>16</sup> *ASC* (CDE), s.a. 1014; Cited from *MS C*, ed. by O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 98. 'Then all the *witan* who were in England, ecclesiastical and lay, advised that King Æthelred be sent for, and they said that no lord was dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them more rightly than he did before.'

<sup>17</sup> *ASC* (D), s.a. 1014; *MS D*, ed. by Cubbin, p. 59. 'And in the same year Bishop Ælfric was consecrated to London at York on St Juliana's day (i.e. 16 February).'

<sup>18</sup> The suggestion was made by Charles Plummer (*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892–99), II (1899), 192–93).

<sup>19</sup> Bethurum comments on Wulfstan's love of *riht* as intensifier (*Homilies*, p. 90), while the absolute term is very common in his writings.



It is possible to speculate further on why the *witan* was meeting on St Juliana's Day, 16 February 1014. Presumably a meeting of the councillors from throughout the country must always have required significant notice to allow time for the dignitaries to plan and execute their travel to the meeting place. It is reasonable to assume that this particular meeting was scheduled before Swein's surprise death, some thirteen days earlier, on 3 February. If that is the case, the most obvious reason for the *witan* to assemble was to acknowledge and perhaps crown Swein as king of all the English. York would be an obvious venue for such a meeting in view of its status as the leading city of the Danelaw, precisely the area that first and most loyally supported Swein's kingship. The chronicle account implies that Swein was at his power-center of Gainsborough when he died, but Symeon of Durham reports that he was first buried at York, perhaps hinting that he had already travelled to that city or at least pointing to the significance of the city for him.<sup>20</sup> If a coronation was the original purpose for the meeting of the *witan* in York — perhaps as a follow-up to that earlier if unrecorded meeting where 'all the nation regarded [Swein] as king' — then the agenda must have radically changed when the councillors heard of Swein's death. The business became instead that of deciding on a new king or, in the event, the more remarkable about-turn: negotiating with an old one to return and rule 'more rightly'.

As Archbishop of York, Wulfstan would have served in some way as host to this *witenagemot* held at York, while as leading ecclesiastical councillor, he presumably strove to frame the issues and provide moral leadership. As we have seen, he also faced the pragmatic business of consecrating Ælfwig as Bishop of London, a practicality imbricated in the succession crisis, since the vacancy came about through Bishop Ælfhun's departure accompanying two of the sons of King Æthelred. During the consecration of the Bishop, Wulfstan surely preached on episcopal responsibilities, a subject close to his heart that recurs repeatedly in his writings.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, his homily on this occasion has probably survived as Bethurum XVII, 'Lectio secundum Lucam'.<sup>22</sup> Based on his own earlier translation of key passages on pastoral responsibilities from Ezechiel and Isaiah (Bethurum XVIb), along with further formulations in the

---

<sup>20</sup> Symeonis *Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, vol. 1, Surtees Society, 51 (Durham, 1868), p. 79, adds to the account of Swein's death taken from John of Worcester, 'et apud Eboracum sepultus est' ('and he is buried in York').

<sup>21</sup> On this body of writings, see my 'The Wolf on Shepherds: Wulfstan, Bishops, and the Context of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 395–418.

<sup>22</sup> The suggestion is made by Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 23 (Bern, 1950), pp. 71–72, and furthered by Patrick Wormald, 'Laws', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, ed. by Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach (forthcoming). Bethurum is more cautious, suggesting that the homily could have been composed for any of the three ordinations that Wulfstan participated in: this one, that of Æthelnoth as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1020, or that of Edmund as Bishop of Durham at Winchester also in 1020 (*Homilies*, p. 351).

*Institutes of Polity* and elsewhere, this homily provides an explication of the episcopal consecration rite, to which it refers — as Wulfstan observes ‘swa swa ge sylfe swutele gesawon ⁊ eac oferhyrdan þa bletsunge ealle’ (Bethurum XVII, 18–19; ‘just as you yourselves clearly saw and also heard the complete blessing’) — and follows this with admonitions concerning a bishop’s responsibilities, particularly stressing the need to preach boldly. The exhortations are general enough to apply to any time of perceived apocalyptic breakdown — in other words, virtually any time in Wulfstan’s lifetime — rather than being revealing of specific events in 1014. However, there is a clue to the specific occasion in the manuscript presentation of the homily.

Wulfstan seems to take his own exhortations to heart, since the homily ends in one manuscript, MS E, with a first-person self-referential allusion to the importance of preaching:

nu ne dea ic for godes ege soðes geswugian; ac licige, swa hit licige, soð ic wille secgan, gyme se ðe wille. forðam se bydel, þe ne bodað na his hlaforðes gewilboda, a he mæg him wenan hetelices leanes.<sup>23</sup>

Immediately following this self-imprecation in MS E comes this particular bishop’s most spectacular preaching, the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*.

Such a connection is reinforced by two more manuscripts. Precisely the same self-referential statement, this time following a different discussion of episcopal responsibility, stands before the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* in MS I. A similar formulation following from yet another discussion of pastoral responsibilities introduces the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* in MS C. In other words, the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* is repeatedly yoked to Wulfstan’s advice to bishops and to expressions of his own episcopal responsibility to preach.<sup>24</sup> Both the sermon on the consecration of a bishop (Bethurum XVII) and the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* are likely to have been first delivered before the *witan* in mid-February 1014.

As I have already suggested, this must have been a charged moment for ‘þa witan ealle [...] gehadode ⁊ læwede’. In addition to the obvious national crisis, the councillors themselves were in a delicate position, having already rejected Æthelred and accepted Swein as his successor. This provided a perfect moment for Wulfstan to fully formulate his sense of national disgrace and need for repentance: ‘Forþam mid miclan earnungan we geearnedan þa yrmða þe us onsittað, ⁊ mid swyþe micelan earnungan we þa bote motan æt Gode geræcan gif hit sceal heonanforð godiende weorðan’ (Bethurum XX, EI 20–23, cf. C 21–24, BH 15–16; ‘Because with great deserts we deserved the sorrows which oppress us, and with very great deserts we

<sup>23</sup> Napier XXXVII, 177.1n. ‘Now I do not dare, for fear of God, to keep silent about the truth but, like it or not, I will tell the truth, pay heed who wants to. Because the herald who keeps silent about his lord’s commandments may always expect for himself a miserable recompense.’

<sup>24</sup> This is a condensed version of my argument presented in fuller detail at ‘Wolf on Shepherds’, pp. 408–12.

must earn the remedy from God if it is to be better henceforth'). Wulfstan's proposals for the *bot*, a making good both in the sense of compensation and atonement, is similar to his call to prayer and almsgiving in the law-code of 1009, but here the message is made more hortatory and personal, conveyed in the Archbishop's best rhetoric. Primarily Wulfstan reflects back at his audience the manifold sins of the English, which explain for him the present dire pass, and which the current situation calls all the more for remedying. The general message is that the English are suffering because they have done wrong. This point is conveyed at length in passages that are fairly general — the famous lists of sinners and of sins, for example, are recycled from earlier homilies, if here paraded at length with particular rhetorical aplomb<sup>25</sup> — but some elements of Wulfstan's diatribe are especially grounded in February 1014. Partly these are the famous accounts of Viking attacks and English ignominy, but there are also more specific connections with the events of the day.

### *The Sermo Lupi ad Anglos as a Topical Sermon*

Wulfstan's most explicit condemnation of his fellow councillors comes in the context of considering *hlaforðswice* ('treachery to one's lord') described in an emphatic present: 'Forþam her syn on lande ungetrywþa micle for Gode 7 for worolde, 7 eac her syn on earde on mistlice wisan hlaforðswican manege' (EI 71–73, cf. C 77–78, BH 64–66; 'And so there are here in the land many disloyalties in respect of God and of the world, and also there are many traitors to their lord in various ways here in the homeland'). The *ungetrywþa* here, a favorite Wulfstanian formulation reversing the positive valence of *getrywþ* ('loyalty, truth, troth') with that very emphatic negating prefix, are emphasized through an emphatic adjective (*micle*) and placed in the present time (*her*) and in the present place (*on lande*). This is directly balanced in the following clause, where the perpetrators of *hlaforðswice* occupy the place parallel to *ungetrywþa*, themselves multiple (*manege*) and present in time (*her*) and place (*on earde*). The second part of the Wulfstanian commonplace *for Gode 7 for worolde* is picked up in the first part of the following explanation: 'And ealra mæst hlaforðswice se bið on worolde þæt man his hlaforðes saule beswice' (EI 73–74, cf. C 79, BH 66–67; 'And it is the greatest of all lord-treachery in the world that one betray his lord's soul'). Following that superlative comes a parallel (*eac*) case of *ful micel hlaforðswice* in the world: 'þæt man his hlaforð of life forræde oððon of lande lifiende drife' (EI 75–76, cf. C 80–81, BH 68–69; 'that one betray his lord from life or drive his lord living from the land') — a statement that is immediately given immediacy '7 ægþer is geworden on þysan earde' (EI 76, cf. C 81–82, BH 69–70; 'and both has happened in this land'). The case studies in treachery to a lord are the conspiracy surrounding the death of Edward the Martyr and the exile of Æthelred:

<sup>25</sup> The reuse of the lists has been discussed extensively, most fully by Wormald, 'Laws'.

‘Eadweard man forrædde ⁊ syððan acwealde ⁊ æfter þam forbærnde [⁊ Æþelred man dræfde ut of his earde]’ (EI 77–78, cf. C 82–83, BH 70–71 [augmented by BH 71]; ‘Edward was betrayed and afterwards killed and after that burned [and Æthelred was driven out from his country]’). The failure to name Æthelred in three versions (C, EI) needs explaining, and I will return to that soon, but the essential point is the same in all versions: Æthelred’s case is alluded to as the lord who is driven from the land, whether or not he is subsequently named. The phrasing common to all versions reinforces the evidence for a date. Wulfstan gives a full account of what happened to Edward, including the detail about the burning of the body not attested elsewhere,<sup>26</sup> but mentions nothing more about the exiled king, including no hint of his return — just the circumstance of St Juliana’s Day 1014. While the remainder of Wulfstan’s jeremiad might suggest reasons why the exile of King Æthelred had been a good idea, at this moment the expulsion is an example of *hlaforðswice*. The agency of this *ungetrywþ* is not expressed, yet the individuals most guilty of this particular *hlaforðswice* must be the councillors gathered at York contemplating reversing their course.

Other aspects of the sermon fit well with events of early 1014. In the longer versions, Wulfstan provides explicit and sustained comment on Viking activity as examples of *yrmdē* and *woroldscame* (EI 119, C 116–17; ‘misery’ and ‘worldly-shame’), complaining that: ‘Engle nu lange eal sigeleas ⁊ to swyþe geyrgde þurh Godes yrrē, ⁊ flotmen swa strange þurh Godes þafunge þæt oft on gefeohte an feseð tyne ⁊ hwilum læs, hwilum ma, eal for urum synnum’ (EI 110–13, cf. C 107–11; ‘the English have now for a long time been completely victory-less and too greatly disheartened through God’s anger, and the seamen have been so strong, through God’s permission, that often in battle one drives away ten, and sometimes less, sometimes more, all on account of our sins’). He continues to describe order turned upside down in the example of attackers raping a thane’s wife, daughters, or kin while the thane looks on, and of an escaped slave binding and enslaving his erstwhile master. Wulfstan’s complaints explicitly address perceived Viking superiority in campaigning: ‘Oft twegen sæmen oððe þry hwilum drifað þa drafe cristenra manna fram sæ to sæ ut þurh þas þeode gewelede togædere, us eallum to woroldscame, gif we on eornost ænige cupon ariht understandan’ (EI 120–23, cf. C 118–21; ‘Often two seamen or sometimes three drive out droves of Christian men from sea to sea through this people huddled together, as a manifest-shame to us all, if we could rightly comprehend any shame in earnest’). The dismissive exaggeration here is evident in the casually qualified tiny number of the Vikings and in the contrasting totality of the huddled English *þeode*, including most assuredly those elements of the nation who shouldn’t be huddled together, nor harried from sea to sea, but facing up to the marauders. Such an attitude was shared by the chronicler in his account of the rapidity of English capitulations in 1013. When Wulfstan then complains of paying back those who humiliate, the audience is bound to think of Danegeld payments of tribute, even though he specifies (yet worse?) that ‘we gylðað mid weorðscipe’ (‘we pay back with honour’). ‘We

<sup>26</sup> See *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, note to her line 78.

him gyldað singallice, 7 hy us hynað dæghwamlice' (EI 125–26, cf. C 123; 'We pay them continuously, and they humiliate us daily'), Wulfstan observes epigrammatically, with the key contrasting verbs grammatically rhyming and sharing semi-assonance, while the quadrisyllabic adverbs grammatically rhyme while they balance one another in their outlandish exaggeration, all introduced by a key chiasmus of pronouns, 'we him [. . .] hy us'. Wulfstan's rhetoric points to the villainy of the Vikings — as he does in the listing of grammatically rhyming emphatic verbs: 'Hy hergiað 7 hy bærnað, rypaþ 7 reafiað 7 to scipe lædað (EI 126–27, cf. C 124–25;<sup>27</sup> 'They ravage and they burn, plunder and rob, and carry off to their ships') — but he is careful to be far more dismissive of the pusillanimity of the English than condemnatory of the Vikings, whose violent activity, he insists, is merely the visible manifestation of 'Godes yrrer ofer þas þeode' (EI 128, C 126; 'God's anger over this people'). All these signs of Viking activity would be broadly appropriate to early 1014.

Other details within the sermon also resonate with the first performance context. Wulfstan's contrast of responsible religious practices *on hæþenum þeodum* ('in heathen nations') as opposed to the barbarous neglect of Christian practice by the English (EI 27–37, cf. C 28–38, BH 23–32), for example, gains added force from a sense of the threatening *hæþen* at the door, as also, perhaps, from the exemplary community of settlers in the Danelaw. I wonder, too, if the fault lines emerging in Æthelred's family, to be reflected in the break of Edmund Ironside, gave extra force to the imprecation against filial and familial disloyalty (EI 61–63, C 69–73, BH 56–60), even though this rhetoric here derives from the biblical signs of chaos at Matthew 10. 21.<sup>28</sup>

Wulfstan's conclusion to his sermon is predictable, mellifluous, and characteristically vague: do right, love God and follow his laws, perform what was promised at baptism, order word and deed rightly, keep oath and pledge carefully, '7 sume getrywða habban us betweenan butan uncræftan' (EI 197, C 173, BH 125–26; 'and have some loyalty among us without deceit') — all in anticipation of the Last Judgement. While vague, many of these exhortations are just what a responsible counsellor guiding a contentious legislative assembly might prescribe, particularly one who had earlier drafted the pious legislation of VII Æthelred, as well as what a conscience-driven archbishop would call for.

The sermon as a whole, then, fits well in the circumstances of early 1014. The analysis and exhortation Wulfstan provides would be applicable to all the people (to echo the rubric of the shortened version in Napier XXVII, to be considered below), at least to all the people who self-identified as downtrodden and defeated, if now reprieved, members of the English *þeod* ('nation'/'people'), yet it would provide an even more appropriate framework and moral recapitulation for the councillors gathered at the *witenagemot*. In one of the major thrusts of the sermon, underremarked in

<sup>27</sup> In this case C preserves an augmented version of the effect with two more verbs creating more rhetorical effects: 'Hi hergiað 7 heawað, bændað 7 bismriað, etc.'

<sup>28</sup> Probably by way of Wulfstan's earlier statement in *Bethurum* V, 98–100.

the scholarship on it,<sup>29</sup> Wulfstan reflects upon how a sense of embarrassment is in danger of replacing appropriate moral action. He suggests that there are *hocorwyrde dysige* ('foolish deriders') everywhere in the nation who mock what is appropriate to God's laws: 'And þy is nu geworden wide 7 side to ful yfelan gewunan, þæt menn swyþor scamað nu for góddædan þonne for misdædan; forþam to oft man mid hocere góddæda hyrweð 7 godfyrhte lehtreð ealles to swyþe, 7 swyþost man tæleð 7 mid olle gegreteð ealles to gelome þa þe riht lufiað 7 Godes ege habbað be ænigum dæde' (EI 147–52, cf. C 144–50, BH 103–08; 'And therefore the altogether bad state of affairs has now occurred far and wide that people are now more ashamed on account of good deeds than on account of bad deeds; and so good deeds are too often derided with contempt and the godfearing reviled all too much, and most of all those who love right and have the fear of God to any extent are reproached and greeted with scorn all too often'). Wulfstan is establishing the paradox that people 'ne scamað na þeah hy syngian swyðe [. . .] ac for idelan onscytan hy scamað þæt hy betan heora misdæda, swa swa bec tæcan' (EI 155–58, cf. C 153–56, BH 111–14; 'are not ashamed at all although they sin greatly [. . .] but on account of vain assaults they are ashamed that they atone their misdeeds as books teach'). This relates the embarrassment complex to his essential point, the need to *betan*, that is forestalled by the fear of misplaced shame. The point is recapitulated in EI, but not in the other versions, through a further list of sinners tolerated *Her* with the same moralizing conclusion: 'And þæs us ne scamað na, ac us scamað swyþe þæt we bote aginnan swa swa bec tæcan' (EI 166–68; 'And for that we are not at all ashamed, but we are greatly ashamed that we begin the remedy just as books teach'). As always with Wulfstan, the point has broad moral significance, but the recurring message to accept appropriate shame and not to be frozen from doing good deeds on account of the fear of contempt, derision, or embarrassment — that message might have resonated particularly among a group that had so recently reconciled itself to accepting, or even been instrumental in engineering, their king's exile, and yet who were now about to consider inviting that same king back.

It is tempting to read other elements of the sermon as laying out in moral terms Wulfstan's negotiating position at the discussions of the *witan* in mid-February 1014. It is notable that he places great stress on keeping one's word and maintaining a pledge and not being deceitful. 'Mænige synd forsworene 7 swyþe forlogene, 7 wed synd tobrocene oft 7 gelome' (EI 96–98, cf. C 93–95, BH 82–83; 'many are forsworn and greatly perjured and pledges are broken again and again'), he observes of his audience (cf. also EI 138–40, C 137–38, BH 95–97). The climax of this thread comes in the closing exhortation: 'And utan word 7 weorc rihtlice fadian 7 ure ingeþanc clænsian georne 7 að 7 wed wærlice healdan 7 sume getrywða habban us betweonan butan uncræftan' (EI 195–97; cf. C 171–73, BH 123–26; 'And let us rightly arrange word and deed and eagerly cleanse our inner thoughts and keep oath and pledge carefully and have some loyalty among ourselves without deceit'). Some

<sup>29</sup> But see now Alice Cowen, this volume, for a fuller account of shame in the sermon.

breaking of *að 7 wed* must have been involved in displacing the reigning king, itself surely an act of disloyalty. In the charged context of February 1014 and an address to the *witan*, it is hard not to read this as a condemnation of the group for its past actions and a hint at possible shady practices (*uncræftan*) among the councillors, along with the need now to act without embarrassment.

Another of the signs of English shame seems to indict the *witan* in particular: 'Ful earhllice laga 7 scandlice nydgyld þurh Godes yrrē us syn gemæne' (EI 106–07, cf. C 103–04, a passage lacking from BH; 'Very cowardly laws and shameful compulsory tribute are general among us through God's anger'). This lamentable state of affairs is attributed to God's anger, which at this point clearly refers to Viking attacks, since the broad context of this whole development is one of lamenting various breakdowns in good order brought about by the Vikings. Such disparaging comment on the laws might resonate particularly in the assembly that drew up law-codes, just as the negative comment on paying tribute also implicates the councillors who presumably advised and consented to this course.

The breakdown in law and order throughout the nation suggested by the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* — the rhetorically forceful account of English lack of prosperity, success, and victory — might serve as an explanation of Wulfstan's willingness to exile Æthelred back in 1013. Indeed, his picture of an unwise king, presented in the abstract discussion of kingship in *Polity*, sounds like an account of Æthelred:

13 Þurh unwise cyning folc wyrð geyrmed for oft, næs æne, for his misræde. 14 Þurh cyninges wisdom folc wyrð gesælig and gesundful and sigefæst [. . .]. 20 And þanan him sceal swyðost æfre arisan word and weorðscipe ægðer ge on life ge æfter life, þæt he Godes riht lufie and unriht ascunie and godcunde lare georne gehyre oft and gelome him sylfum to þearfe. (*II Polity* 13–20)<sup>30</sup>

Wulfstan does not spell out in *Polity* what the good Christian councillor ought to do with an unwise king, who fails to 'Godes riht lufie and unriht ascunie and godcunde lare georne gehyre'. The original expulsion of Æthelred when faced with the victory of Swein may have been Wulfstan's practical solution. Yet such an action is powerfully presented as *ungetrywþa micle* in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*.

Given Wulfstan's generally conservative message of social order, implicit especially in his law-codes and in the *Institutes of Polity*, it might not be surprising that he would favour re-establishing an ousted monarchy. Yet this must have been a conflicted position in early 1014. A near-hagiographic account of Wulfstan in the *Liber*

<sup>30</sup> 'Institutes of Polity', ed. by Jost, pp. 47 and 50, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121. 'Through an unwise king, the people will be made wretched not once but very often, because of his misdirection. Through the king's wisdom the people will become prosperous and successful and victorious [. . .]. And thus both in life and after life he shall in particular always gain reputation and respect to the extent that he love God's law and abhor injustice, and for his own good willingly attend to divine teaching over and again' (trans. Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, p. 188). *I Polity* may date from this time, *II Polity* from later, but the precise chronology of the revisions in *Polity* is hard to establish.

*Eliensis* records that the kings Æthelred, Edmund, and Cnut loved him like a brother and honoured him like a father.<sup>31</sup> Such a comment has the strong flavour of hindsight: back in 1014, it was necessary to make a choice between competing forces, and being enamored by any one of these contenders would likely bring down hostility from the other two. If, as seems most likely, Wulfstan was a leading party in negotiating appropriate terms for Æthelred to return, he decided in favour of Æthelred and partook in an about-turn that re-established a displaced king through negotiation. Paradoxically this particular conservative choice enacted a revolutionary new turn of political theory. Frank Stenton observes of the negotiations leading to Æthelred's return that they 'are of great constitutional interest as the first recorded pact between an English king and his subjects'.<sup>32</sup>

Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* shows the Archbishop using his consummate rhetorical skills to passionately propose a decisive if conflicted solution to the constitutional crisis of early 1014. As such it is a work of practical political engagement to parallel the abstract political engagement of *Polity*. From here, the sermon went on to have other uses that were less politically engaged, to understand which it is necessary to distinguish more fully between the three different forms in which it has survived.

### *The Three Versions of the Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*

The *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* survives in three versions of differing lengths: a long version in EI, an intermediate version in C, and a short version in BH. The question of the order of the three versions is both more complicated and also less significant than it might be on account of Wulfstan's demonstrable tendency to tinker with his work. Wulfstan was an inveterate reviser, constantly rewriting his own utterances with a rhythmical predictability but looseness of detail that is characteristic of traditional oral style, as Andy Orchard has well shown.<sup>33</sup> This process is in evidence before our very eyes in Nero A.i (MS I), where Wulfstan adds to a concern that godparents and godchildren kill each other far too often within the nation an expansion in his own handwriting:<sup>34</sup> 'toeacan [oðran ealles t]o manega[n þe man] unscyld[gige]

<sup>31</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by E. O. Blake (London, 1962), pp. 155–57 (ii.87). Wulfstan was a benefactor of Ely and buried there (see John Crook, this volume).

<sup>32</sup> Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 386.

<sup>33</sup> A. P. McD. Orchard, 'Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 21 (1992), 239–64. See also Wormald, 'Laws', on the difficulty of establishing a chronology.

<sup>34</sup> See Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31; repr. in N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. by Andrew G. Watson (London, 1985), pp. 9–26.



forfor [ealles to wide]' (EI, 79–80 [with text cropped from I in brackets]; 'in addition to all too many others who are destroyed guiltless all too widely'). This generalizing addition is carried into the text of E, but not into other manuscripts. MS I may well have circulated both without and with the addition. In a similar manner, other phrases and improvements unique to one or more manuscripts are likely to result from similar marginal or interlinear improvements by the author. Some add details, but many just improve prose rhythm or add a favorite Wulfstanian phrase. Such tinkering with his prose leads every specific version to have unique differences, some of which are authorial, in addition to non-authorial scribal changes, and so makes difficult the drawing up of a textual stemma.

The most important case of such tinkering for this essay is the omission of the clause 'Ʒ Æþelred man dræfde ut of his earde' from all copies except BH in describing the *hlaforðswice* as described above. This does not give evidence for the priority of the BH version, since the clause is essential to the context and therefore necessarily integral to the original, yet the omission is too fraught with significance to explain away as a chance textual error. Rather, I see its omission in three manuscripts as simply confirmation that all three manuscripts do not quite precisely reflect the text as first preached in February 1014. Somewhere between that original and the form preserved in EI and C, Wulfstan chose to delete this clause. An obvious reason to do so would be as a question of tact, and perhaps even accuracy, between the time of Æthelred's re-establishment in 1014 and his death in 1016. Wulfstan does not fudge his broad point since the indictment of the English who drive their lord living from the land is still there, but the specific explanation that Æthelred was driven out of his homeland might seem both heavy-handed and also slightly deceptive after a time when the same group of councillors had negotiated that same lord's return.

The omission of this clause alone, then, does not give priority to any particular version, and yet this was the strongest evidence that led Whitelock and Bethurum to assume that the sermon developed from the shorter version in BH, through the intermediate version in C, to the longer version in EI.<sup>35</sup> It is true that, in the case of other sermons, the laws, and *Polity*, Wulfstan often revised his work through expansion.<sup>36</sup> In this case, though, it is more likely that the sermon went from the longer to the shorter version, with Wulfstan abbreviating the text for more general circulation later in its life. The argument was put forward convincingly by Stephanie Hollis and is supported by the analysis of the use of the sermon presented here.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 22–24, and, very tentatively, *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, pp. 3–5.

<sup>36</sup> See Wormald, 'Laws'.

<sup>37</sup> As Stephanie Dien, '*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*: The Order and Date of the Three Versions', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 64 (1975), 561–70, and expanded upon in Hollis, 'Thematic Structure'. Godden, 'Apocalypse', revives a case for the opposite order. He supports this with five numbered assertions (p. 144), each of which is convincing but does not make the case for the order. Taking these briefly in turn: (1) 'The longest version is clearly Wulfstan's own

In the case of this, Wulfstan's most circumstantial sermon, I suggest that the likely form of revision is abbreviation as Wulfstan reused his formulation in circumstances less specifically appropriate than its first performance context. I will suggest soon that the process is visible even beyond the three versions that are usually recognized, but I will begin with them. The longest version, in EI, is the impassioned and thoughtful form that most nearly represents the sermon originally delivered in February 1014, and it has been discussed above. The second longest version, in C, incorporates some material surely by Wulfstan yet lacking from EI, such as further injunctions about the curtailed rights of freemen and slaves (C 49–56), which are compatible with Wulfstan's injunctions in his law-codes.<sup>38</sup> It includes the extensive material about Viking raids analysed above (C 97–126 = EI 100–28), all presented in the present tense, as in EI. This suggests first performance for this underlying version before 1016, although there is clear evidence that the particular copy in C was written after Æthelred's death in 1016 by someone with a historical interest since it includes the opening contextualization: 'Þis wæs on Æðelredes cyninges dagum gediht, feower geara fæce ær he forðferde. Gime se ðe wille hu hit þa wære 7 hwæt siððan gewurde' (C 9–12; 'This was composed in the days of King Æthelred, four years before he passed on. Pay heed who will how it was then and what happened afterwards'). In other words, the copy in C is explicitly a cautionary tale from history, although this explanatory comment could have been added late in the course of transmission.<sup>39</sup>

---

work throughout' in view of Wulfstan's handwriting in MS I. This is certainly true, but does not make I the latest version, just one with Wulfstan's authority. (2) Wulfstan's usual pattern is to lengthen his works. There are, however, particular reasons why he would have shortened this particularly topical work, a process which is continued in Napier XXVII and XLVII (first part) discussed below. (3) MS I includes a possible hint about the way it was copied, with a passage at first omitted. All the same, this manuscript is unlikely to contain Wulfstan's compositional process in detail apart from the brief added clause described above; rather, see below on the likely status of this manuscript as a collection compiled by the Archbishop later in his life. (4) The short version relates closely to Wulfstan's own earlier eschatological homilies and survives in MS B, which is early. This doesn't have dating implications beyond suggesting that Wulfstan could return later in his career to certain fundamental preoccupations. The early homilies are generally dated to around the turn of the millennium, as Godden accepts, while Godden suggests a 1014 date for the BH version, which involves a significant hiatus. Survival in MS B is entirely compatible with a date for the shorter revised version of 1018–23 as suggested here, rather than 1014 as suggested by Godden. (5) The survival of the clause about Æthelred's expulsion. This suggests tinkering but not priority, as suggested above. Godden's arguments lead him to suggest (pp. 151–52) that all three versions of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* were produced in the course of 1014, which gives an improbably compressed period of circulation and revision.

<sup>38</sup> See *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, note to her line 48.

<sup>39</sup> Whitelock suggests, reasonably enough, that this is a marginal comment absorbed into the text in process of transmission (*Sermo Lupi*, p. 5), although there is nothing in the language to prohibit it being composed by Wulfstan.

The shorter version in BH omits the whole diatribe on English weakness in the light of Viking attacks, clearly signalling rewriting post-1016 and most probably after the re-establishment of order in 1018, when that particular issue would cease to reverberate with the audience. As suggested above, this version's removal from a specific set of historical circumstances is evident in the unspecific rubrics — 'Lár Spell' (homily) in B, and 'Sermo' (sermon) in H — which don't reproduce the historically grounded detail of EI and C. The whole force of this abbreviated version presents a powerful call to the audience to repent, reinforced through heightened emphasis on the sins of the English, as, for example, in the lists of sinners, but, in the absence of both the extensive account of Viking attacks (EI 100–28) and the reference to Gildas (EI 176–90), this whole sense of apocalyptic breakdown is no longer placed in the particular circumstances of Viking invasion that threatened in 1013–16. This shortest version provides Wulfstan's broad message not tied to the particularities of 1014.

I am suggesting, then, that the original version of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* was performed in February 1014 and is best reflected by the longest version; that subsequently, between 1014 and 1016, a slightly abbreviated form of the sermon was preached; and that after 1016, or more likely after 1018, a more substantially abbreviated version was found to be useful. I am not suggesting that any surviving manuscript precisely reflects these first performance texts — and that is not surprising. As is usual with Wulfstan's works, the manuscripts in which they survive represent essentially file versions — copies preserved for subsequent reference in various specific circumstances — rather than performance copies of the texts. Indeed, further inferences can be made about each of the surviving manuscripts. Nero A.i, part B (i.e. MS I) probably represents a gathering of the Archbishop's materials assembled under his close direction, with some entries begun in his own hand, gathered as a compendium to aid in the formulation of the major law-codes, I and II Cnut, compiled around a meeting of the *witan* at Winchester at Christmas 1020 or 1021.<sup>40</sup> The other long version, preserved in Hatton 113 (i.e. MS E), occurs in the context of a sequence of Wulfstanian material copied out at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, probably under the influence of the Archbishop's godson, St Wulfstan of Worcester, perhaps reflecting renewed interest in the apocalyptic rhetoric of conquest in light of the Norman Conquest.<sup>41</sup> Assumptions about the other three manuscripts are more speculative. The middle version in Corpus 201 (i.e. MS C) occurs in the context of other Wulfstanian material in a manuscript perhaps copied at Winchester and often associated with either Worcester or York and copied out in the mid-eleventh

<sup>40</sup> See *A Wulfstan Manuscript*, ed. by Loyn. On each of the manuscripts, see Ker, *Catalogue*, and the accounts and bibliographies in the continuing series of *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, ed. by A. N. Doane and others (Binghamton, NY, 1994–).

<sup>41</sup> On Archbishop Wulfstan's godson, see Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990).

century. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 (i.e. MS B) preserves a shortened version in a somewhat anomalous south-eastern-inflected collection of preaching texts, mostly not grounded to specific occasions, of the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>42</sup> Finally Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (i.e. MS H) is interesting for extending the temporal range for reuse of the shortened sermon to the second half of the twelfth century, when it was copied out in some centre in the West Midlands.<sup>43</sup>

### *Reuse of the Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*

Five manuscripts is a relatively high rate of survival for a Wulfstan sermon and this may reflect the work's contemporary appeal. There is further evidence that Wulfstan himself reused the work, even after the most grounded elements of the jeremiad became dated. At least two abbreviations of the sermon were made by Wulfstan himself for use after Cnut's conquest. The most popular of these was the brief sermon, 'To eallum folce' (Napier XXVII) which circulated as an independent item in Corpus 201 (MS C), London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii (from Canterbury from the middle of the eleventh century, where this is part of a collection of short sermons by or influenced by Wulfstan), and London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii (a bishop's book written at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century, where this piece survives in only fragmentary form). Napier XXVII contains a description of the sins of the nation and a call to repent and to reject sin that repeats the point of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, but in massively abbreviated form, taking about one quarter the length of the original.<sup>44</sup> The compiler has culled sentences and phrases from the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, augmenting them with a few independent sentences, such as: 'forðam ær þisum wæs gehwar swicdom swiðra, þonne wisdom, and þuhte hwilum wisost, se þe wæs swicolast and se þe litelicost cuðe leaslice hiwian unsoð to soðe and undom deman oðrum to hynðe' (Napier XXVII, 128/7–10; 'because before this deception was everywhere greater than wisdom, and he seemed once wisest who was most deceitful, and he who most craftily could lyingly dissemble untruth into truth and figure bad judgements as a humiliation to others'), which bears all the hallmarks of Wulfstan in its thought and in its phrasing, such as the pattern of oppositions, the punning connection of *swicdom* and *swicolast*, the parallel superlatives,

---

<sup>42</sup> For an inconclusive attempt to understand the nature of this somewhat odd compilation, see my 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 419 and 421' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cambridge University, 1987).

<sup>43</sup> The best account is the introduction to *Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343*, ed. by Susan Irvine, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 302 (Oxford, 1993).

<sup>44</sup> Napier XXVII occupies some forty lines in Napier's edition, where the composite *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* occupies some 180 lines of text. Citations from Napier's edition are by page/line number.

and the word-play on *unsoð/soð*.<sup>45</sup> For all its alarming brevity, Napier XXVII was most likely made by Wulfstan himself.<sup>46</sup>

Predictably enough, this abbreviated form of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* omits the major indictment of Viking attacks from the original. What perils remain are carefully marked as in the past. Notice that in the passage cited above, the evils are positioned *ær þisum* and there are numerous other movements into the past. A passage of generalized evils — ‘Ne dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute, ac wæs here ȝ hunger, bryne ȝ blod-gyte’ (*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* EI 55–56, C 63–64, BH 50–51) — is presented in *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* with a past tense that nevertheless applies into the continuing present in view of the adverbial marker *nu lange*.<sup>47</sup> The same passage is put into the undeniable past in Napier XXVII through the substitution of the very different adverbial marker *ær þisum* (128/14–129/2). Similarly, an account of the general evils (*unriht fela ȝ tealte getrywða*), placed firmly in the present in *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* through the phrase *nu fela geara* (EI 59–61, cf. C 67–69, BH 54–56), is positioned in the past in Napier XXVII through the omission of precisely that phrase (129/5–7). Napier XXVII, then, is a version of pessimistic apocalypse that has lost some of its forceful punch through adaptation to the apparently more optimistic times of Cnut's England.

The abbreviated version, Napier XXVII, received the same kind of continuing attention from Wulfstan as the original, confirming his authorship and his interest in it. Apparently Wulfstan tinkered with its form as it circulated: the surviving copies contain two different endings, both clearly by Wulfstan. Wulfstan also worried at the distancing in time, changing the tense at one point: the generalizing comment ‘and þi is þissere þeode feala hearma onsæge’ (‘and therefore many harms are attacking this nation’) in Tiberius A.iii (adapted from Bethurum XX, EI 54, C 62, BH 49–50) is altered to ‘and þi wæs þisse ðeode fela hearma onsæge’ (‘and therefore many harms were attacking this nation’, 128/14) in C.

Further evidence of Wulfstan's interest in the abbreviated version lies in his reuse of parts of Napier XXVII in the late sermon, Napier L. Napier L is a fascinating composition, surviving only in the Exeter additions of the third quarter of the eleventh century in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421.<sup>48</sup> Its sources are analyzed by Jost, who suggests it may have been intended for performance before the *witan*. Its authenticity is accepted by Jost, Whitelock, and Bethurum, although they suggest Wulfstan

<sup>45</sup> Compare Bethurum IX, 76–77, 134–35, and Bethurum XI, 176–77.

<sup>46</sup> Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 199–200, sees the work as Wulfstan's language but not put together by him; Bethurum (*Homilies*, p. 38) and Whitelock (*Sermo Lupi*, p. 22) implicitly accept the attribution to Wulfstan.

<sup>47</sup> Godden, ‘Apocalypse and Invasion’, p. 147, n. 30, ignores the implications of this adverbial marker when he criticizes Whitelock for translating the phrase with a present tense in *English Historical Documents*, p. 931, although a past perfect that incorporates the present would be more accurate.

<sup>48</sup> On this sermon, see now the essay of Joyce Tally Lionarons, this volume.

may not have finished polishing the work since it includes passages taken over from Ælfric without Wulfstan's characteristic rewriting of them.<sup>49</sup> Its place in Cnut's reign late in Wulfstan's life is indicated by its borrowings from the law-codes I and II Cnut. Throughout Napier L, Wulfstan draws on his laws and homilies to broadcast a generalized call for repentance alongside itemizing some specific sins of the present, in a manner similar to, but longer than, the late homilies contained in the York Gospels, Napier LIX–LXI.<sup>50</sup> In the midst of these homiletic calls, Wulfstan provided a condensed account of the needs for repentance in view of the sins of the English, and to do so he turned not to the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* but to Napier XXVII (Napier L, 268/12–32 derives from Napier XXVII, 128/4–129/10). Presumably this provided him with a desirably condensed account, already suitably temporally updated.

The temporal displacement was clearly an issue. Napier L retains two markers of pastness from Napier XXVII — ‘forþam ær þysan wæs gehwar swicdom swyðra, þonne wisdom’ (268/15–16; ‘because deceit was greater than wisdom everywhere *before this*’), and ‘ne dohte hit ær þysan inne ne ute’ (268/20; ‘it didn’t avail at home or abroad *before this*’) — although a third temporal distancing apparently represented a reassurance too many for the savvy Archbishop. Here Wulfstan reintroduces a (different) move into the present for the *unrihta fela and tealte getrywða*: ‘forþam on þison earde wæs *and git is*, swa hit þincan mæg, unrihta fela and tealte getrywða æghwar mid mannon’ (268/24–26; ‘therefore there was *and still is* in this homeland, as it may seem, many wrongs and wavering loyalties everywhere among people’). The added qualification and the doubling of tense (‘wæs and git is’) are somewhat inelegant but presumably Wulfstan does not want his audience to feel too comfortable — even in the apparently ameliorated conditions of Cnut's established reign, when law-codes like I and II Cnut made England as much of an ordered Christian *þeod* as Wulfstan could ever make it.

Wulfstan was such a prolific reuser of his own works that he probably turned to *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* one more time for a different and still more radical abbreviation. This version survives as the first half of a composite sermon, Napier XLVII, surviving only in the original part of Corpus 421 (i.e. the same as MS B) attached to a second half which is completely unrelated concerning the time when the end of the world will come and the symbolic significance of numbers, written by a different known author, namely Byrhtferth.<sup>51</sup> The first part (Napier XLVII, 242/23–243/21) comprises a different selection of general sentences about the sins of society taken

<sup>49</sup> See Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 249–61; *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 39–41; *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, pp. 21–22.

<sup>50</sup> These last have recently received merited attention as late formulations of what Wulfstan considered important, preserved with care and corrected by the Archbishop: see Keynes, ‘Additions’, and Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 195–97.

<sup>51</sup> Napier XLVII, 243/22–245/24, i.e. the second part, is found also in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 328 as the end of Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*.

from throughout the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, concluding with the image that good fruit seldom comes from an evil seed and that things will never improve until men cease to sow evil. Once again, the selections from the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* are augmented by original sentences and phrases that bear the hallmarks of Wulfstan's style; the closing image, for example, while unique here, parallels an image of the bad seed used by Wulfstan in a different context at Bethurum Xc, lines 138–40. The whole short work has every indication of Wulfstan's own authorship.<sup>52</sup>

Napier XLVII (first part) is quite distinct from Napier XXVII, but the effect is similar. This time the work is even more abbreviated — the whole piece is only some eighth the length of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*<sup>53</sup> — and yet gets across the same general idea of current sin deserving future doom. Specific references to the details of the Viking raids are again lacking.<sup>54</sup> The temporal markers are again interesting. This time the whole passage is placed into the present, again with a particular insistence that the bad fate is, indeed, recurring: 'and þy is ónsæge oft, næs æne, here and hunger, bryne and blóðgyte' etc. (243/1–3; 'and therefore devastation and hunger, burning and bloodshed, etc, are often attacking, not just once'). This derives from similar suggestions in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (Bethurum XX, EI 54–56, C 62–64, BH 49–51) but with the addition in the rephrasing of that insistent *næs æne*. Napier XLVII (first part) shares part of a summary comment with Napier XXVII: 'forðam swicdom is swiðra, þonne sy wisdom, wide geond þas þeode, and swa wæs to lange' (243/13–15; 'therefore treachery is greater than wisdom may be, widely throughout this nation, and so has been for a long time'), where the contrast of *swicdom* and *wisdom* is probably derived from the fuller expression at Napier XXVII, 128/7–9, cited above, perhaps drawn from memory, and here moved to the present with an insistence on the continuity with the past through the added *and swa wæs to lange*. Once again Wulfstan had adapted his generalized rhetoric of the nation's sins too successfully to the post-Æthelred years and discovered the need to revise so as not to distance his condemnation too far from his audience.

Wulfstan's rhetoric of national disaster in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, then, may be specifically grounded in the uneasy events of the readoption of Æthelred in February 1014 but remained of utility for Wulfstan throughout the rest of his life of rewriting. The sermon served its own writer in various forms, as also the compilers of the manuscripts in which it survives, for whom it kept its value into the twelfth century.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Wulfstan's authorship is accepted by Jost (*Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 240–43, who suggests it is part of a lost homily), Bethurum (*Homilies*, p. 42), and Whitelock (*Sermo Lupi*, p. 20).

<sup>53</sup> It comprises twenty-three printed lines in Napier's edition.

<sup>54</sup> There is one lexical choice that hints that it is drawn from the later C or BH rather than EI: 'smeade' at Bethurum XX, EI 14, has been replaced by 'hogode' at C 15 and BH 9, and the latter is reflected by 'hogie' at Napier XLVII, 243/8.

<sup>55</sup> On the reuse of Wulfstan's works generally, see my essays 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks,

## Conclusion

Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* was very much born of the specific conditions of its day, namely the crisis of early 1014 which needs to be placed in the context of the extreme instability of 1012–16 — a period which saw the martyrdom of an archbishop, conquest of the nation, the return of an ousted king, civil war, the death of three monarchs, and reconquest. This state of virtual nation-collapse and near anarchy provoked in Ealdorman Eadric Streona reversals of loyalty that are presented as a dizzying sequence of repeated betrayals by the chronicler, yet which presumably reflect a *realpolitik* that the chronicler is unable to understand. Archbishop Wulfstan is, by contrast, something of a pillar of stability — but even he must have gone through reversals, inspired, perhaps, not by *realpolitik* but by principled political theory which he laid out at unusual length. In the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, these conditions provoked in Wulfstan an outpouring of rhetoric that promotes a conservative, ordered, structured, stable, law-bound vision by portraying its reverse in detail. Just as Wulfstan's reaction in 1009 to a harrying Viking army was to organize a whole nation into prayer, so his reaction to still more chaos by 1014 was to reintroduce order into the universe with more and more and better and better rhetoric.

And ultimately Wulfstan was successful. His impassioned rhetorical tour de force presumably encouraged the *witan* into a reasoned and perhaps surprising course of action — inviting back the old king on terms that he rule *rihtlicor*. Wulfstan went on to make sense of a frightening and fractured universe through the balance and reason of effective rhetoric in his fruitful final period, climaxing in the considered statements of I and II Cnut. The *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* went on being useful with continued rhetorical force, if decreased specificity, at any time of crisis and perceived apocalyptic collapse — in other words at any time that its language was comprehensible — right up to the twelfth century. This world is always in haste and therefore calls for the rhetorical brilliance of a Wulfstan to serve as a counterbalance to the otherwise ever imminent end.

---

Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 199–217, and 'Wulfstan and the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Treharne, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 30 (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 83–97.



## *Byrstas* and *bysmeras*: The Wounds of Sin in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*

ALICE COWEN

**T**he status of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as the best-known of Wulfstan's compositions must be largely owing to the insights it offers into that most marketable of early medieval phenomena, the Viking invasions.<sup>1</sup> Three of the five manuscripts that transmit the sermon in its several forms contain rubrics labelling it as the product of a climactic moment in the war of conquest; for instance, the text of London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i, that on which my discussion focuses, is headed 'Sermo lupi ad Anglos quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos quod fuit anno millesimo XIII ab incarnatione domini iesu cristi' ('the sermon of the wolf to the English when the Danes were most oppressing them, that was in the year 1014 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ').<sup>2</sup> The *Sermo Lupi* is a particularly eloquent witness's response to the violence and suffering inflicted by the invaders. It is also, however, first and foremost a rebuke to the English for their sins. In the present essay, I will follow Allen Frantzen's lead by placing the *Sermo Lupi* in a context of penitential literature.<sup>3</sup> I will look at the way the Vikings and their violence function as topic and imagery within the structure of a call to repentance, arguing that Wulfstan's treatment of the violence of Vikings against the English can be linked to

---

<sup>1</sup> *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, rev. edn (Exeter, 1976). References are to this edition by line number; all translations are my own.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts are London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, of which the first three contain rubrics. The dates given for the sermon vary. For fuller discussion of the rubrics and date of the sermon, see Jonathan Wilcox, this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983), pp. 176–78.

a metaphor common in penitential texts, that of the wounds of sin. I will then go on to discuss the relationship of Viking attack on the one hand and sin on the other to another prominent theme in the sermon, shame.

The basic interpretation of the invasions advanced by Wulfstan conforms to the tradition explored by Simon Coupland: the Vikings are the instruments of divine punishment.<sup>4</sup> ‘Hy hergiað 7 hy bærnað, rypaþ 7 reafiað 7 to scipe lædað; 7 la, hwæt is ænig oðer on eallum þam gelimpum butan Godes yrrer ofer þas þeode swutol 7 gesæne?’ (*Sermo Lupi*, lines 129–32).<sup>5</sup> This sequence describes in miniature the argument of the sermon, the movement from destruction, misfortune, and the attacks of enemies to the consciousness of sin within the nation. The characteristic alliterative two-stress phrases that list the depredations of the Vikings crescendo into a question that looks past the Vikings to God.<sup>6</sup> The final message of the sermon is an exhortation to repent. In the concluding section, Wulfstan urges his audience ‘utan don swa us þearf is, gebugan to rihte, 7 be suman dæle unriht forlætan, 7 betan swyþe georne þæt we ær brecaþ’ (lines 199–201).<sup>7</sup> The focus here is entirely on the damage the English have wrought and must repair. Their struggle with the Vikings is only a symptom of their relationship with God.

The Vikings in fact are not the main topic of the sermon. Their entry into it is delayed for a hundred lines, and even then they only provide a context for the treachery of an English thrall who runs away to be a Viking, later to kill his lord in battle:

Ðeh þræla hwylc hlaforde athleape 7 of cristendome to wicinge weorþe, 7 hit æfter þam eft geweorþe þæt wæpengewrixl weorðe gemæne þegene 7 þræle, gif þræl þæne þegen fullice afylle, licge ægylde ealre his mægðe; 7, gif se þegen þæne þræl þe he ær ahte fullice afylle, gylde þegengylde. (lines 104–08)<sup>8</sup>

The point here is the collapse of social order *within* the nation, the reversal of the hierarchy of lord and thrall which has the former die uncompensated, betrayed by the latter. The first explicit reference to fighting the Danes as a problem in itself comes a few lines later with the lament that the English are *eal sigelease* (‘wholly without victory’) and the *flotmen* are granted extraordinary strength and success (lines 113–

<sup>4</sup> Simon Coupland, ‘The Rod of God’s Wrath or the People of God’s Wrath? The Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42 (1991), 535–54.

<sup>5</sup> ‘They ravage and they burn, plunder and rob and take to their ships; and lo, what among all these events is anything else except God’s anger towards this nation clear and evident?’

<sup>6</sup> On Wulfstan’s style, see Angus McIntosh, ‘Wulfstan’s Prose’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 35 (1949), 109–42.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Let us do what is needful for us, turn to right, and in some part abandon wrong, and atone very eagerly for that in which we previously transgressed.’

<sup>8</sup> ‘If a thrall runs away from his lord and leaves Christendom to be a Viking, and afterwards it comes to pass that there is an armed encounter between thegn and thrall, if the thrall kills the thegn outright, no wergild will be paid to his kinsmen, and, if the thegn kills outright the thrall he previously owned, he will pay a thegn’s wergild.’

16). The list of Viking outrages culminating in the lines quoted above (*hy hergiað 7 hy bærnað*) is the last explicit reference; indeed, all mention of the *sæmen* or *flotmen* is confined to a short section taking up only thirty lines in Whitelock's edition (lines 102–32).

However, Wulfstan plays on the fears of the times. Read or heard in the consciousness of the overwhelming threat of invasion, the warning to repent is sharpened with the terror of war. The text constantly hints at the invasions; the topic lies under the water, always seemingly about to break the surface. At the opening Wulfstan warns that *hit is nu on worolde aa swa leng swa wyrse*, (lines 5–6; 'now in the world the more time passes, the worse it gets'). This has an obvious application to the worsening English political situation of the early eleventh century. Wulfstan goes on to talk specifically about sins prevailing *wide gynd þas þeode* (line 14; 'widely throughout this nation'). In consequence, he tells us, the English have suffered *fela byrsta 7 bysmara* (line 15; 'many injuries and insults'). What could these injuries be but Danish attacks? But Wulfstan carries on discussing sin and its remedy:

mid miclan earnungan we geearnedan þa yrmða þa us onsittað [. . .] we witan ful georne  
þæt to miclan bryce sceal micel bot nyde, 7 to miclan bryne wæter unlytel [. . .] And  
micel is nydþearf manna gehwylcum þæt he Godes lage gyme. (lines 18–19 and 21–25)<sup>9</sup>

The *bot*, the remedy of which Wulfstan talks repeatedly, is repentance and obedience to God; but the images of breach and fire evoke the assaults of the Vikings, the destruction of town walls, the burning of property (burning is one of their activities listed in lines 129–32, quoted above). The violence suffered by the English is not only a consequence of their sin but becomes an image of it. It is because of sin that the English suffer breaking and burning, and breaking and burning are Wulfstan's metaphors for the sins that must be repaired.

The *Sermo Lupi* is punctuated by great lists of ills, in which Wulfstan's insistent rhythms and his argument equally achieve a crushing weight. In such passages also external attack collapses into internal wrong:

Ne dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute, ac wæs here 7 hunger, bryne 7 blodgyte on  
gewelhwylcum ende oft 7 gelome; 7 us stalu 7 cwalu, stric 7 steorfa, orfwealm 7 uncoþu,  
hol 7 hete 7 rypera reaflac derede swyþe þearle; 7 us ungylda swyþe gedrehtan, 7 us  
unwedera foroft weoldan unwæstmā; forþam on þysan earde wæs, swa hit þincan mæg,  
nu fela geara unrihta fela 7 tealte getrywða æghwær mid mannum. (lines 55–62)<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> 'With great deserving we earned the miseries that now afflict us [. . .] we know full well that a great breach must have a great repair and a great burning no little water [. . .] there is a great necessity for each man that he observe God's law.'

<sup>10</sup> 'Nothing has prospered within or without now for a long time, but there have been in nearly every district *here* and hunger, burning and bloodshed often and frequently; and stealing and slaying, plague and pestilence, cattle-fever and disease, malice and hate and the rapine of robbers have harmed us very severely, and excessive taxes greatly afflicted us, and very often bad seasons have caused crop failure; because/therefore, as it may seem, in this land now for many years there have been many wrongs and everywhere loyalty tottering among men.'

Again, Wulfstan seems to be about to discuss the Vikings. The *here* could refer to the Viking army; in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *here* nearly always denotes the Vikings, though it can refer to any armed force.<sup>11</sup> *Here 7 hunger, bryne 7 blodgyte* suggest devastation inflicted by outsiders and the famine consequent on it. However, the Vikings are not mentioned explicitly, and the list as a whole portrays chaos and destruction arising as much internally as externally.

Many items could point to either Danish attack or English disorder. *Hol 7 hete* could express the fury of the foes, but they also chime with the kin-strife described in lines 62–64 and the failure of social bonds lamented throughout the sermon. *Stalu 7 cwalu* and *rypera reafloc* could equally refer to raiding and killing by foreigners or criminal activity by natives. Ælfric's Letter to Wulfgeat distinguishes *dyrnan stala* ('secret theft') from *opene reafloc* ('open robbery').<sup>12</sup> In the annal for 793 in the D and E versions of the Chronicle, Lindisfarne suffers *reafloc* from the Vikings. Searching in the online Old English Corpus, I have not found any references to Vikings committing *stalu*.<sup>13</sup> *Reafloc* and *stalu* are two sides of the same crime, but *reafloc*, taking openly by force, points more towards violence from outside, while *stalu* points to crime within the community. Both *stalu* and *reafloc* can be internal problems, since both appear in law-codes.<sup>14</sup> Moving on, *ungylða* ('unfair taxes') can plausibly be interpreted as a hostile comment on the levying of tribute to pay off the invaders and thus as a reference to the ills brought by the Danes. However, in conjunction with failing loyalties, *ungylða* suggest a general breakdown in adequate government and social order. Moreover, are problems like unjust taxation to be regarded as punishments or sins? The list also encompasses natural disasters such as

---

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., MS E s.a. 992, 993, 994, 997, 998, 999, 1001, 1003, 1004 (*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. by John Earle and Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892–99), I (1892), 127–36). Wulfstan uses *here* later in the *Sermo Lupi* of the English invaders who overcame the Britons (line 187), and in Bethurum VI he says that God allowed a *hæpenne here* to overcome the Israelites (*The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 142–56, at lines 115–17). In both these cases the *here* is a heathen force opposing disobedient servants of God. However, for the instance under discussion, 'devastation' is the gloss suggested in *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 15th edn (Oxford, 1967), p. 344; 'devastation' is also Swanton's rendition in *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, trans. by Michael Swanton, rev. edn (London, 1993), p. 180.

<sup>12</sup> Ælfric, 'Ælfric's Sendschreiben an Wulfget zu Ylmondun', in *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. by Bruno Assmann, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 3 (Kassel, 1889; repr. with a supplementary introduction by Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 1–12 (p. 8, lines 187–88).

<sup>13</sup> *The Complete Corpus of Old English in Electronic Form*, ed. by Antoinette di Paolo Healey, Dictionary of Old English Project, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, <http://ets.umd.umich.edu/o/oec/> (updated April 2000).

<sup>14</sup> For example, *stalu* VI Æthelred, 28.3, *reafloc* VIII Æthelred, 4, in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16), I (1903), 254 and 264.

poor weather and cattle disease. The punishments visited on the English blend with the crimes committed by them; in some cases the two are impossible to distinguish. The passage is shot through with a sense of violence heightened by Wulfstan's incantatory style, but the killings, robbing, and devastation are not only an implicit portrayal of war but an image of the horror of sin.

The use of an imagery of violence to talk about sin can be paralleled in the metaphor of sin as wound commonly found in penitential texts. This metaphor recurs through the penitential extracts reproduced in the complex of manuscripts which, thanks to Patrick Wormald, we can now see as reflecting a systematic collection of canonical and other regulatory material assembled by Wulfstan.<sup>15</sup> For example, the idea appears in a developed form in the text reconstructed by Roger Fowler as the 'Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor'. The following passage occurs in six manuscripts, including Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265, the starting point for Mary Bateson's pioneering study.<sup>16</sup>

On wisum scryfte bið swiðe forðgelang forsyngodes mannes nydhelpe, ealswa on godan læce bið seoces mannes lacnung. [. . .] Se læca þe sceal sare wunda wel gehælan, he mot habban gode sealf to. Ne syndon nane swa yfele wunda swa sindon synwunda, forðam þurh þa forwyrð se man ecan deaðe buton he þurh andetnesse and þurh geswicenesse and þurh dædbote gehæled wurðe [. . .]. Ðurh gode lare man sceal ærest hi lacnian, and mid þam gedon þæt man aspiwe þæt attor þæt him oninnan bið: þæt is þæt he geclænsige hine selfne ærost þurh andetnesse.<sup>17</sup>

The image of the wound is used to establish an analogy between the confessor and a doctor, the penitential process and the process of healing. Sin must be cured with *dædbot* ('atonement'); similarly in the *Sermo Lupi* Wulfstan exhorts his audience to atone for or *betan* their sins. The image of the wound is closely associated with the ideas of sickness and pollution; confession is a process of cleansing and of

---

<sup>15</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in his *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51 (pp. 231–40).

<sup>16</sup> Mary Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections Made c. 1000 A.D.', *English Historical Review*, 10 (1895), 712–31, described the relationship between the main Wulfstanian manuscripts without associating them with Wulfstan; see also Dorothy Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 57 (1942), 916–29.

<sup>17</sup> Roger Fowler, 'A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor', *Anglia*, 83 (1965), 1–34 (pp. 26–27, lines 305–07 and 317–25). 'The help of a sinful man is very dependent on a wise confessor, just as the healing of a sick man is on a good doctor. [. . .] The doctor who must properly heal serious wounds needs a good salve for the purpose. There are no wounds as evil as the wounds of sin, because through them a man sickens unto eternal death, unless he is healed through confession and repentance and penance [. . .]. One must first heal them through good teaching, and with that cause [the sinner] to spew up the poison that is inside him: that is, he must first cleanse himself through confession.'

purging away poison. The medical metaphor, as Allen Frantzen calls it,<sup>18</sup> opens up a complex of ideas about the mechanisms of sin and, as in the *Sermo Lupi*, there is slippage between external and internal agency. The wounded body is passive, incapacitated, the object of others' actions. The 'Handbook' and other extracts collected by Wulfstan are directed at ecclesiastical readers; stress is laid upon the confessor's responsibility for the souls of sinners, as the one who applies the salve of instruction. The wound indicates also the role of assaulting devils. The formula for confession incorporated into the 'Handbook' depicts sin as a product of demonic prompting: 'Ic andette ælmihtigum Gode [. . .] ealle þa synna þe me æfre þurh awirgede gastas on besmitene wurdon.'<sup>19</sup> Even as it points to external agents, however, the medical metaphor powerfully teaches that sin is grounded in the self, that it is a corruption *oninnan* ('within'). Sin marks and changes the soul as sickness or wounding alters the body. In a manner that again instructively parallels the *Sermo Lupi*, the distinction between active and passive is brought into question. The idea of the moral life as a struggle against supernatural powers is a commonplace of medieval Christianity, rooted in the letters of Paul and particularly popular with writers of hagiography, who depict saints such as Martin of Tours and Guthlac as *milites Christi* ('soldiers of Christ').<sup>20</sup> Though these saints may bow meekly under physical violence, they display their virtue in vigorous resistance to demonic tempters. The wounded sinner in succumbing to attack has failed to show similar virtue; passivity itself figures for sinfulness. The role of the confessor is to lead the penitent back to activity, the performance of *dædbot*.

In the 'Handbook' the passive and wounded body is invoked as a concrete image of the soul damaged by sin. The association of sin with the body goes further, however, than literary metaphor. Particularly in hagiographical texts, we find the literal body is read as a visual index to the soul. In Ambrose's *Life of St Sebastian*, for example, Chromatius cannot be healed of physical sickness until he has cast off every vestige of heathenism, including his astrological instruments: the physical body is a precise indicator of Chromatius's spiritual state.<sup>21</sup> The saints, however, reveal a tension in the symbolism of wounding in that torture, mutilation, and violent death are often essential to the demonstration of their holiness. It is through enduring bodily destruction that the martyrs show their spiritual strength. Katy Cubitt has argued with regard to the royal saints of Anglo-Saxon England that a violent, undeserved death could be in itself the

---

<sup>18</sup> Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 159 (for example).

<sup>19</sup> Fowler, 'Handbook', p. 17, lines 35–36. 'I confess to almighty God [. . .] all the sins that ever defiled me through fiendish spirits.'

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., Ephesians 6. 11–12; Sulpicius Severus [Sulpice Sévère], *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. by Jacques Fontaine, 3 vols, Sources Chrétiennes, 133–35 (Paris, 1967–69), I (1967), 260; *Felix's Life of St Guthlac*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), ch. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Ambrose, *Acta S. Sebastiani Martyris*, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1844–55), xvii, cols 1021–58 (cols 1044–47).

initial stimulus for a cult.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, saints are often shown as untouched by torture: wheels burst asunder and severed breasts grow back.<sup>23</sup> An uncorrupted corpse is a common sign of sanctity. Holiness wards off bodily disintegration. The tension between wounds and wholeness as signs of sanctity is neatly summarized in the state of the body of St Edmund at its translation. His severed head has reattached itself and there is no decay, the wholeness of the body proclaiming the king's perfect chastity, but a thin red line remains around the neck to recall the sufferings of the martyr.<sup>24</sup>

The body not only displays sinfulness and virtue but takes an active part in both sin and penance. The attribution of Edmund's incorruption to his chastity links the decay of the corpse to the body's central part in sexual sin; the scrutiny and classification of sexual behaviour is a prominent theme of the penitentials and indeed of Wulfstan's canon law collection.<sup>25</sup> In the Old English poem *Soul and Body I*, the focus is on a different bodily appetite, that for food. As Allen Frantzen shows, the poem develops a contrast between the sinful body that feasts and starves the soul and the good body that fasts in penance and thereby nourishes the soul. The damned soul revisits its corpse to reproach it for sins that are displayed and punished in hideous post-mortem decay; though, as Frantzen notes, some awkwardness arises from the fact that the corpses of the virtuous (if not actually saints) are also subject to decay. The body in *Soul and Body I* is at once the site of the commission, penance, display, and punishment of sin. Just as it is permeable and open to pollution by sexual contact and forbidden food, the body is a point of access to and intervention in the state of the soul.<sup>26</sup>

In the law-codes that Wulfstan produced for Æthelred and Cnut we find him committed to the practical application of the ideas of the legible body and the body as a

---

<sup>22</sup> Catherine Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 53–83 (pp. 79–81).

<sup>23</sup> St George, St Agnes: see *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols in 4 parts, *Subsidia hagiographica*, 6 (Brussels, 1898–1901), 1 (1898–99), 27–28 and 502–07, items 156–67 and 3363–3406. The bursting wheel was later associated most notably with St Katherine, but Ælfric tells this tale of St George (who also drinks poison, is scourged, and endures various other tortures unhurt): *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat, 2 vols in 4 parts, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 76, 82, 94, and 114 (London, 1881–1900), 1 (1881–85), 306–19 (lines 92–94).

<sup>24</sup> Abbo, *Life of St Edmund*, in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. by Michael Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972), pp. 65–87 (chs 14 and 17).

<sup>25</sup> *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, Anglo-Saxon Texts, 1 (Cambridge, 1999), Recension A, items 38, 59–61, 84–88, 90–93, and 99; Recension B, items 16, 98–99, 117, 120–50. The canon law collection as edited by Cross and Hamer is the body of material formerly known as the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti*; it does not in itself represent the whole of Wulfstan's activities in collecting and arranging penitential and other regulatory material.

<sup>26</sup> See Allen J. Frantzen, 'The Body in *Soul and Body I*', *Chaucer Review*, 17 (1982), 76–88; for the permeable body in this poem, see Michelle Hoek, 'Violence and Ideological Inversion in the Old English *Soul's Address to the Body*', *Exemplaria*, 10 (1998), 271–85 (pp. 279–80).

point of intervention in the soul. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe argues that the late tenth and early eleventh centuries saw an increase in the use of mutilation as a punishment for crime. Mutilations — scalping, blinding, and the severing of body parts — inscribed the crime on the body of the criminal. Wulfstan promotes such penalties as an alternative to death and a means of saving the souls of miscreants by allowing them to expiate their sins with suffering; the loss of eyes, ears, or other parts is also prescribed as a severe form of penance in the 'Handbook'.<sup>27</sup> As Victoria Thompson observes, it is perhaps more appropriate to view this penitential interpretation of mutilation punishment as characteristic of Wulfstan than to argue, as does O'Brien O'Keeffe, for a wider cultural shift extending the purview of the law to the criminal's soul: O'Brien O'Keeffe's evidence is striking but concentrated in only a few sources.<sup>28</sup> We may therefore see Wulfstan's approach to judicial violence as an instance of the way his reading of penitential literature informed his activities as a statesman; he applies to the physical body the ideas about sin, wounding, and agency that we find in the 'Handbook for the Use of a Confessor'. If mutilation as penance 'makes the criminal a partner in his own punishment',<sup>29</sup> then Wulfstan's law-codes destabilize the distinction between the passive and the active, the wounded and the wounding just as does the medical metaphor.

The collapse of crimes into punishments in the *Sermo Lupi* by which the violence of the invading Vikings becomes an image for the destructiveness of sin can thus be linked to Wulfstan's collection of penitential and canonical materials and his distinctive contribution to Anglo-Saxon law. The *Sermo Lupi* reflects the metaphor of the sinner as one wounded or sick, which in turn belongs to a wider, though shifting and various, discourse of the body as a site and index of sin or virtue. It should be noted of Wulfstan's contributions to this discourse, both in the laws and in the *Sermo Lupi*, that his focus is on the public sphere and on the community: that for him the moral life of the individual is structured by the scrutiny and interventions (including violent interventions) of others, and that sin can be tackled at the level of the community, through shared law and shared repentance. The English sin and are punished as a group; Wulfstan repeatedly uses the first person plural: *we* sin, God's anger is shown towards *us* (lines 101–02, 133–35, 180–83, and elsewhere). The wounded body of the *Sermo Lupi* is a collective body — the body of the nation. As Patrick Wormald has it, Wulfstan's desire was to build a 'Holy Society'.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 27 (1998), 209–32 (pp. 215–18); Fowler, 'Handbook', p. 28–29, lines 341–54.

<sup>28</sup> V. J. Thompson, *Death and Dying in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, forthcoming, 2004), ch. 6; I am grateful to Dr Thompson for discussing this point with me and for making available her unpublished work.

<sup>29</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Body and Law', p. 230.

<sup>30</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', pp. 244–46.



I now turn to explore further the relationship of sin and society in the *Sermo Lupi* as it is expressed through the concept of shame. The vocabulary of shame, in particular *sceamu* (here normally spelt *scamu*), *bysmor*, and their compounds, recurs through the text; interestingly, the *Sermo Lupi* in its several versions is almost the only one of Wulfstan's sermons to employ this vocabulary.<sup>31</sup> The use of Viking violence as an imagery for sin and the collapse of the offences of the English into their punishment are means by which Wulfstan impresses his audience with the consciousness of sin. By appealing to shame he exhorts them to an active response.

It is useful to start from the theoretical distinction between shame and guilt cultures, here as formulated by Ruth Benedict in her influential study of Japan, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*:

True shame cultures rely on external sanctions for good behavior, not, as true guilt cultures do, on an internalized conviction of sin. Shame is a reaction to other people's criticism [. . .]. It requires an audience or at least a man's fantasy of an audience. Guilt does not.<sup>32</sup>

Shame has to do with social standing and gaining or losing the respect of others, and it entails acute consciousness of how one's actions are perceived. Guilt, on the other hand, rests on a concept of an interior moral reality. One may be universally admired and deferred to and still be secretly guilty (like Claudius in *Hamlet*); guilt is ultimately between the individual and God. The following points about shame seem of particular importance for a reading of the *Sermo Lupi*: shame has to do with the life of the community and of relative status within it; it is closely concerned with appearance and display; and it involves a notion of worth bound as much to how one is treated by other people as to whether one knows one's actions to be right or wrong. The theme of shame thus offers a route back to ideas already addressed in relation to the medical metaphor: the legible body and the relationships between active and passive, agency and blame. The concept of shame helps to explain the way the wounded body is read as blameworthy or degraded.

This said, it must be acknowledged that in practice guilt and shame tend to blur into each other. It is doubtful whether there is any such thing as a pure guilt culture; as J. A. Burrow observes, the idea of God seeing one's sins itself involves, in Benedict's phrase, the 'fantasy of an audience'.<sup>33</sup> (William Ian Miller presents the thought-provoking thesis that the English-speaking world has moved from a culture of shame

---

<sup>31</sup> The only other Wulfstan homilies in which I have found *sc(e)amu* or its compounds are Bethurum XXI, line 18 and VIIIc, line 147. *Bysmor* (*bismor*, *bismer*) and *sc(e)andlic* are apparently confined to the *Sermo Lupi* (search on *Complete Corpus of Old English*).

<sup>32</sup> Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 1946), p. 233.

<sup>33</sup> J. A. Burrow, 'Honour and Shame in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', in his *Essays on Medieval Literature* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 117–31 (p. 125).

to one not of guilt but of embarrassment.<sup>34</sup>) The shame vocabulary of Old English is slippery and it is sometimes hard to tell whether or not a distinction can be made between guilt and shame. Ælfric often appears to use *sceamful*, *bysmorlic*, and related words to mean simply 'wrong' or 'sinful'; for example in the *Life of Julian and Basilissa* God blinds some of the torturers: *sume eac ablende of þam bysmorfullum þenum*.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, it is easy to find contexts in which shame is connected to how one appears in the eyes of others. In *Beowulf* the hero's status and merit is confirmed by the generous gifts he receives from Hrothgar: *no he þære feohgyfte / for sceotendum scamigan ðorfte*.<sup>36</sup> Without wishing to caricature *Beowulf* as a pagan Germanic survival,<sup>37</sup> one can use these examples to illustrate the creative tension in late Anglo-Saxon culture between an honour-based warrior tradition, with its emphasis on reputation and display, and the Christian stress on the purity of the soul. Wulfstan's use of the Viking invasions as part of an argument for repentance is one product of this creative tension. Shame in the *Sermo Lupi* is not exactly the emotion formulated by Ruth Benedict. Nonetheless, the distinction between guilt and shame remains a useful way of thinking about the relationships between the moral and the social self as they are articulated through the wounded body, the body suffering violence.

To return to the phrase highlighted in my title, the punishment visited on the English is summarized as *fela byrsta 7 bysmara* (line 15; 'many injuries and insults'). Definition 1 of *bysmor* in the *Toronto Dictionary of Old English* is 'shame, disgrace, humiliation'; definition 3 covers actions that bring shame on the recipient, 'insult, mockery, contempt'.<sup>38</sup> Injuries (*byrstas*) go with shaming (*bysmor*) and shaming is a form of injury. Moreover, to be injured is to be shamed. For Wulfstan, the essential feature of the Viking invasions is that they shame the English. After listing the hurts that the English suffer at the hands of the Danes, slaughter in battle, rape, and enslavement, Wulfstan exclaims 'ac ealne þæne bysmor þe we oft þoliað we gylðað mid weorðscipe þam þe us scendað' (lines 127–29).<sup>39</sup> The opposition of *bysmor* to

<sup>34</sup> William Ian Miller, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 179.

<sup>35</sup> Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. by Skeat, I, 90–115 (line 398): 'Also blinded some of the wicked thegns.'

<sup>36</sup> *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. by Fr. Klaeber, 3rd edn with 1st and 2nd supplements (Boston, 1950), lines 1025–26. 'He had no cause to feel shamed by the rich gift-giving before the fighting men.'

<sup>37</sup> The issue of the origins of *Beowulf* and of the mixture of Germanic and pagan with Christian strands in the poem is the subject of a large critical literature. For a brief introduction, see Edward B. Irving, Jr, 'Christian and Pagan Elements', in *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. by Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles (Exeter, 1997), pp. 175–92.

<sup>38</sup> Antoinette diPaolo Healey and others, *The Dictionary of Old English*, Fascicle 3: B (Toronto, 1991), pp. 2659–61.

<sup>39</sup> 'But all the shame that we often suffer we repay with honour to those who humiliate us.'

*weorðscipe* establishes a link between how one is treated and what one is worth. If respect is not given, it has to be claimed. By repaying insults with honour, the English confirm their own humiliation. There is no suggestion of turning the other cheek; insults need to be neutralized and one's worth reasserted.

The mechanism of shame and its implications for both social standing and the workings of violence are illustrated by Wulfstan's description of Vikings committing gang-rape against the womenfolk of an English thegn.

ȝ oft tyne oððe twelfe, ælc æfter oþrum, scendað to bysmore þæs þegenes cwenan, ȝ hwilum his dohtor oððe nydmagan, þær he onlocað, þe læt hine sylfne ranene ȝ ricne ȝ genoh godne ær þæt gewurde. (lines 116–20)<sup>40</sup>

Although the object of *scendað to bysmore* is the wife, the focus of this passage is on the injury to the thegn. The *Sermo Lupi* recalls early Anglo-Saxon laws in presenting rape chiefly as an affront to the woman's husband or male kin.<sup>41</sup> This husband is passive, looking on while the outrage is committed and unable to prevent it, and his passivity exposes his degradation. The language of social status (*rice*) mingles with that of self-esteem (*ranc*) and that of inherent worth (*god*).<sup>42</sup> The attack on the thegn's family deprives him of the claim to worth he made previously (*ær þæt*). As in the 'Handbook for the Use of a Confessor', the passive, wounded body is a devalued body. However, whereas in penitential literature the passive body is a metaphor for one who has done something wrong, the thegn is not in a position to do anything: one man against 'ten or twelve', he presumably has no chance of protecting his kinswomen and his rights. He is reduced not in the first place by his own action but by the insulting valuation placed on him by others, which is marked on the bodies of his womenfolk. His failure to retaliate confirms that valuation. Shame and the medical metaphor thus provide slightly different ways of reading the victims of violence in the *Sermo Lupi*: in the context of the spiritual fight, the wounds of the English express the destructiveness of their own sins, but, insofar as Wulfstan reflects a shame culture, passivity and victimhood are felt to be a loss of worth in themselves. In passages such as the one just discussed, Wulfstan powerfully stresses the sheer humiliation of enduring Viking attack.

The impotent body of the thegn and the abused bodies of his womenfolk figure the wounded body of the nation as a whole, the English who are addressed in the sermon. This is a highly visible body: shame is to do with exposure to the judging gaze of others. Parts of the *Sermo Lupi* read almost like a goading scene from the Icelandic

<sup>40</sup> 'And often ten or twelve, one after another, disgracefully insult the thegn's wife, and sometimes his daughter or close kinswoman, while he looks on — he who considered himself proud and powerful and sufficiently good before it happened.'

<sup>41</sup> Julie Coleman, 'Rape in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Guy Halsall (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 193–204.

<sup>42</sup> On the changing implications of *rice*, see M. R. Godden, 'Money, Power and Morality in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 41–65.

sagas, in which a dependent, typically a woman, taunts a man with the outrages he has suffered, imparting a painful sense of how he appears to critics both inside and outside his household.<sup>43</sup> Wulfstan refers repeatedly to the shame inflicted on the English, emphasizing visibility and exposure. The anger of God against the English is *swutol 7 gesæne* (line 132; ‘clear and evident’), and it generates *woroldscame* (line 1221; ‘world-shame’, ‘public shame’). The world beholds the degradation of the English.

Wulfstan goads the English with their passivity before violence. The action he specifically advocates, however, is not vengeance but repentance; he appeals to shame, the loss of social worth, but uses it to address the problem of guilt for sin. The *Sermo Lupi* moves in a transitional space between guilt and shame.

Shame is the punishment received by the English, but it is also part of the problem.

is nu geworden wide 7 side to ful yfelan gewunan þæt men swyþor scamað nu for  
goddædan þonne for misdædan, forþam to oft man mid hocere goddæda hyrweð [. . .]  
swa þæt hy ne scamað na, þeh hy syngian swyðe 7 wið God sylfne forwyrcan hy mid  
ealle, ac for idelan onscytan hy scamað þæt hy betan heora misdæda swa swa bec  
tæcan, gelice þam dwæsan þe for heora prytan lewe nellað beorgan. (lines 152–55 and  
161–65)<sup>44</sup>

Again the imagery of attack, in this case verbal attack, joins that of sickness. The opinions of others, when corrupted, corrupt the moral behaviour of the individual. Men are deterred from right deeds and from penance for wrong deeds by social pressures, by ‘what people will say’. Allen Frantzen analyses shame in the *Sermo Lupi* as a purely negative force working against the call to penance;<sup>45</sup> the humiliation of penance is a deterrent. Mary Mansfield, in her work on thirteenth-century France, discusses the possibilities for gossip and speculation attending confession and penance; the clergy continued to fear that shame would deter people from disclosing their sins even to a priest.<sup>46</sup> However, they also saw the shame of confession as part of the necessary punishment, and, like Wulfstan, they used the dread of still greater shame — exposure to the whole of creation at Doomsday — as an incentive to confess.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> See, e.g., William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 210–15; Judith Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 189–91.

<sup>44</sup> ‘And now there have arisen far and wide customs too exceedingly evil, so that men are now more ashamed about good deeds than misdeeds, because too often men mock good deeds with derision [. . .] so that they are not ashamed though they sin greatly and offend even against God himself; but because of idle attacks they are ashamed to atone for their misdeeds as the books teach, like the foolish who because of their pride will not seek a cure for their infirmities.’

<sup>45</sup> Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 178.

<sup>46</sup> Mary Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), pp. 78–91.

<sup>47</sup> Mansfield, *Humiliation*, pp. 52–54; Frantzen (*Literature of Penance*, p. 176) discusses the fear of shaming before all creation at Doomsday in an Anglo-Saxon context.

Wulfstan does not show that shame *is* wrong but that it has *gone* wrong. Shame among the English has become disordered; it regulates behaviour in precisely the opposite way to how it should do, censuring good deeds instead of bad ones. But Wulfstan clearly implies that shame should and could reinforce virtuous behaviour. Shame should be yoked to a sense of what it is to sin against God. What Wulfstan calls *scamu* or *bysmor* refers to both humiliation in the social sphere and the awareness of sin. The theme of shame in the *Sermo Lupi* illuminates Wulfstan's understanding of the Holy Society: sin cannot be divorced from the social context that can both produce it (many of the sins of the *Sermo Lupi* are the sins of groups — gang-rape, for example) and regulate it, through laws and through the pressure of opinion.

To summarize, in the *Sermo Lupi*, the violence of the Vikings operates both as an image of the sins of the English and as a punishment for those sins. The English are effectively self-wounding, bringing their own humiliation down on their heads. Wulfstan, as Jonathan Wilcox has shown, saw it as the duty of an archbishop to make wrongs known, to 'cry out' and not 'mumble with his jaw'.<sup>48</sup> He proclaims the shame of the English, goading them to the action of penitence. However, this is not all he is goading them to: the *Sermo Lupi* also implicitly delivers a more martial message.

As has already been argued, the Vikings are not the main topic of the sermon. Their role is functional: they provide a way of talking about the sinfulness of the English. One of the points that emerges strikingly from Simon Coupland's valuable article on Frankish interpretations of Danish attack is that this is a widespread pattern.<sup>49</sup> Regarded as a punishment sent by God, the Danes are not so much a focus of interest in themselves as a signal to look inwards at the ills of the nation. The other side of the Frankish paradigm, however, is the image of the Danes as God's enemies, foes of the Church whom it is a duty to fight. Certainly in the *Sermo Lupi* the Vikings are what lies outside and opposed to the Christian society. As in the episode of the runaway slave, mentioned earlier, the Danes stand for the disruption of proper hierarchy and order. They enslave, kill, and destroy. Stephanie Hollis has argued that the threatened Danish conquest is equated with the rule of Antichrist prophesied in the opening lines of the sermon.<sup>50</sup> Given the parallels that can be detected between the imagery of the wounds of sin and the violence of the *Sermo Lupi*, which represents at once the sins and the sufferings of the English, it is tempting to equate the Vikings with the devils who assail sinners with temptation and wound them in

---

<sup>48</sup> In the *Sermo Lupi* Wulfstan castigates the bishops of the Britons who *clumedon mid ceaflum þær hy scoldan clypian* (line 192; 'mumbled with their jaws where they should cry out'); for a discussion of this recurrent concern in Wulfstan's writings, see Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Wolf on Shepherds: Wulfstan, Bishops, and the Context of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*', in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse (New York, 2000), pp. 395–418.

<sup>49</sup> Coupland, 'The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath?'.

<sup>50</sup> Stephanie Hollis, 'The Thematic Structure of the *Sermo Lupi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 175–95 (pp. 184–86).

the spiritual fight. However, the relationship between the English and the Danes in the sermon seems to me to be more complex than that of human and devil.

The Vikings, I would suggest, act as a kind of dark *alter ego* for the English. The threat that the English will lose their political autonomy to the Vikings is anticipated by a sense that they are already losing their distinct identity; the moral boundaries that divide English from Dane are beginning to break down. The ambiguity between the description of attack and the description of crime in the lists of the nation's ills entails a lack of any clear distinction between the activities of Vikings and those of the English. The episode of the rape of the thegn's womenfolk (lines 116–20) has been discussed above as an exemplary Viking outrage. It is closely paralleled in an earlier passage in which Wulfstan describes and condemns the sinful custom by which English men band together to buy, abuse, and sell a woman:

ȝ scandlic is to specanne þæt geworden is to wide, ȝ egeslic is to witanne þæt oft doð to manege, þe dreogað þa yrmðe, þæt sceotað togædere ȝ ane cwenan gemænum ceape biggað gemæne, ȝ wið þa ane fylpe adreogað, an æfter anum, ȝ ælc æfter oðrum, hundum geliccast, þe for fylpe ne scrifað, ȝ syððan wið weorðe syllað of lande feondum to gewearde Godes gesceafte ȝ his agenne ceap, þe he deore gebohte. (lines 87–93)<sup>51</sup>

A verbal echo arises from the emphasis in both cases on repetition of the sexual act, the men taking turns *ælc æfter oþrum* (lines 90 and 116–17). Both episodes are also presented in terms of shame, the shame that the Vikings inflict on their victims and the shame that makes the buying of a woman in common *scandlic* [. . .] *to specanne* ('shameful to tell'). In both cases, the shame is born by the English: to speak of their crimes as of their humiliations is to show how they have lost the proper integrity of Christian people. It is also noteworthy that the purchasers of the woman are in collusion with the Danes in that the latter are presumably the enemies to whom she is sold; the insistence that the woman is Christ's purchase implies that she is being delivered up to pagans, imperilling her soul. Another passage in which the Vikings and the English are implicitly compared is the reference to Gildas:

An þeodwita wæs on Brytta tidum, Gildas hatte, se awrat be heora misdædum, hu hy mid heora synnum swa oferlice swiþe God gegræmedan þæt he let æt nyhstan Engla here heora eard gewinnan ȝ Brytta dugeþe fordon mid ealle. (lines 184–88)<sup>52</sup>

While the contemporary English face the same awful fate as the Britons, the Vikings undertake the avenging role that was formerly played by the *Engla here*.

<sup>51</sup> 'And it is shameful to recount what comes to pass too widely, and awful to know what too many often do, who commit that crime that they club together and together buy one woman as a common purchase, and against that one commit filth, one after another and each in turn, most like dogs who don't care about filth, and afterwards for money they sell God's creature, his own purchase whom he bought dearly, out of the land into the power of enemies.'

<sup>52</sup> 'There was a learned man called Gildas in the time of the Britons, who wrote about their misdeeds, how they so excessively greatly angered God with their sins that at last he allowed the army of the English to conquer their land and wholly destroy the British host.'

The sense that the same people can take on different roles in the drama of invaders and defenders, and the assertion that the seamen are made strong by God, opens up the possibility that the Danes might rightfully succeed the English as the English did the Britons. This goes some way to explaining how Wulfstan felt able to have the *Sermo Lupi* recopied during the reign of Cnut, a question raised by Malcolm Godden.<sup>53</sup> The patterns and roles it describes are not essentially attached to these particular peoples but can have a more general application. This is one way of reading the text in its manuscript context. However, if we place the *Sermo Lupi* in its context of composition, prior to the Danish conquest, it can be read as conveying a strong if not absolutely explicit message of resistance.

For Wulfstan, builder of the Holy Society, the religious was political and the political religious. The exhortation to penitence was itself a serious response to the threat of invasion. Indeed, the document printed by Liebermann as Æthelred's seventh law-code imposes a national day of fasting and prayer in order that 'us God ælmihtig gemiltsige 7 us geunne, þæt we ure fynd ofercuman motan'.<sup>54</sup> Those who failed to join in were to be fined.

Moreover, and in conclusion, the sermon takes its place not only in a body of penitential literature but as part of a contemporary debate over defence policies evidenced in other sources including the writings of Ælfric. With reference to this debate, it should be noted that the *Sermo Lupi* does not preclude a physical defence against the invaders. Just as the language of sin points both to internal and external violence, the language of repentance is a language of defence against both hellfire and Viking burning.

utan don swa us neod is, beorgan us sylfum swa we geornost magan, þe læs we ætgædere ealle forweorðan. (lines 181–83)<sup>55</sup>

Such passages can be read, and should be read, as an instruction to repent and thereby avoid defeat, but they are also warnings against complacency or false pride in both moral and military matters. The scorn of passivity expressed in the sermon applies as much to physical passivity as to the failure to repent. Here we may look again at the humiliated thane, incapable of defending his women against violence, the scorn evinced towards 'repaying insults with honour', and the implicit hostility to the payment of tribute. Wulfstan expects the English to fight the Vikings with weapons of iron, not only the weapons of the spirit.

---

<sup>53</sup> Malcolm Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130–62 (pp. 158–59).

<sup>54</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 262, §8. 'God almighty may have mercy on us and grant us that we overcome our enemies.'

<sup>55</sup> 'Let us do as is necessary for us, protect ourselves as well as we may, lest we all perish together.'





## Napier Homily L: Wulfstan's Eschatology at the Close of his Career

JOYCE TALLY LIONARONS

Wulfstan first established his reputation as an outstanding orator and rhetorical stylist with his early eschatological homilies while he was still Bishop of London;<sup>1</sup> he ended his career some twenty-odd years later as Archbishop of York and the elder statesman of Cnut's regime, author of the king's law-codes and architect of what he hoped would become a 'holy society'.<sup>2</sup> But the course of Wulfstan's career should not be seen simply as a progression 'from herald of Antichrist and the end of all things, through apprentice welder of an English canonical tradition, to prophet and engineer of social reconstruction and political transition',<sup>3</sup> in which each stage was left behind for the next; rather, 'Wulfstan was all of these things, not just successively but to an extent concurrently'.<sup>4</sup> The roles of homilist and statesman were rarely if ever separated in Wulfstan's mind or in his works: his law-codes became increasingly homiletic as the reign of Æthelred gave way to that of Cnut, while his homilies in turn became legalistic in terminology and method. The same themes recur in both: loyalty to God and king; adherence to secular and divine law; the keeping of Christian feasts and fasts; the payment of Church dues and tithes; social justice for the poor; almsgiving; absolute clerical celibacy and sexual continence for

---

<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 24 (1942), 25–45 (p. 39); cf. *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London, 1963), p. 10; and *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 101–02.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by David A. E. Pelteret (New York, 1999), pp. 191–224.

<sup>3</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), p. 464.

the laity; repentance, prayer, and penance; and the continual reminder — both pre- and postmillennium — that the end of the world is close at hand.

This is not to say that Wulfstan's writings and thought did not change or develop throughout the course of his career. Malcolm Godden, for example, has argued cogently that the three successive versions of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* demonstrate how the impact of the Danish invasions forced Wulfstan to rethink his eschatological expectations. Although Wulfstan initially placed the invasions within his standard New Testament paradigm of the end of the world, identifying them 'with the turmoil and tribulation which, according to the Gospels, or rather medieval interpretation of them, would precede Antichrist's time',<sup>5</sup> he came to see them instead as part of an evolving Old Testament paradigm that cast the English as God's chosen people, suffering divine retribution for their sins in a continuing cycle of punishment and repentance.<sup>6</sup> The result, as Godden points out, is that 'The sense of an approaching end of all things, so strong in the earlier homilies on the last days and still very evident in the first version of the [*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*], gives way to a sense of the longer and continuing movement of history'.<sup>7</sup> With the accession of Cnut and the Archbishop's new role as architect of a restored English society at peace, however, Wulfstan's eschatology re-emerged, albeit altered in emphasis and tone, in what is possibly the last of his extant homilies.

Napier Homily L combines Wulfstan's political and legal ideas with a restatement of themes from the earlier eschatological homilies and the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. Although the sermon is a composite text made up for the most part of citations from Wulfstan's previous writings, many of its phrases have been reworked to form new constructions that still have what Dorothy Bethurum calls Wulfstan's 'own authentic ring'.<sup>8</sup> It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to find that Bethurum also calls the homily 'the most puzzling' of the extant works containing writing by Wulfstan.<sup>9</sup> She expresses no doubts that the text is Wulfstan's own, both in terms of composition and compilation, and most scholars have agreed with her attribution. Nevertheless, Bethurum excludes it from her edition of the homilies because, as she puts it, 'it does not seem to me to be a sermon'.<sup>10</sup> Instead, she describes Napier L as 'near to being a condensation' of the *Institutes of Polity*, and she suggests that 'this collection of material represents Wulfstan's notes, from which he intended to write a polished and

---

<sup>5</sup> Malcolm Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. by Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130–62 (p. 154).

<sup>6</sup> Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion', p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion', p. 152.

<sup>8</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 40.

well-ordered address, and that lack of time or infirmity prevented his doing so'.<sup>11</sup> She adds that the text was probably 'published in the same way Polity was', but declines to say how such publication took place; most likely she imagines the text as circulating, apparently in unfinished form, among secular and ecclesiastical authorities. To a certain extent Bethurum seems to be trying to have it both ways in her commentary: the text is at one and the same time a set of notes for an address — presumably a sermon — that was never preached, and an authorial condensation of one of Wulfstan's works that is not a sermon at all. It is little wonder that she found the text puzzling.

Much of Bethurum's puzzlement stems from her insistence on drawing firm distinctions among the genres of homily, religious or political tract, and law-code based on content rather than form — distinctions that are both artificial and thoroughly anachronistic when applied to Wulfstan's writing. Her attempt to differentiate among the three genres leads to her reluctance to call the text of Napier L as it stands a sermon, making it necessary for her to categorize the text in another fashion — as a 'condensation' of *Polity*, as 'notes', or as an unspecified form of 'address' — and then to explain away the admittedly homiletic elements. But the example of Wulfstan's Latin homilies, which Bethurum herself characterizes as 'outlines' and 'notes' for specific vernacular sermons,<sup>12</sup> suggests that Wulfstan's notes were most often written in Latin rather than in English,<sup>13</sup> and the Archbishop's usual practice was to expand on rather than to condense his earlier writings, as is evidenced in his early series of eschatological homilies, which grow progressively longer and more complex when read in their probable order of composition, and in the three extant versions of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. Moreover, as Patrick Wormald has demonstrated, Wulfstan himself made little if any distinction in content between genres, citing his homilies in his law-codes and his law-codes in his homilies, so that his entire oeuvre may best be regarded 'from a unitary perspective'.<sup>14</sup> It would be unfair to say that Bethurum did not recognize these points; rather, she felt strongly that, although 'the interrelation between sermons and law codes in the eleventh century makes it difficult to draw the line between them [. . .] we must try to make some distinction'.<sup>15</sup>

Most other commentators, however, have not shared Bethurum's concerns as to the genre of Napier L. Arthur Napier, of course, published the text in his 1883

---

<sup>11</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 41.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 282 (on Homily Ia), 302 (on Homily VIIIb), 306 (on Homily Xb), and 348 (on Homily XVIa). See further Thomas N. Hall, this volume.

<sup>13</sup> The same may possibly be said of his law-codes. See Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 334–35.

<sup>14</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 464.

<sup>15</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 37.

edition of Wulfstan's homilies;<sup>16</sup> almost a century later Jonathan Wilcox included Napier L in his 1992 listing of authentically Wulfstanian homiletic works.<sup>17</sup> Karl Jost also considered the text a sermon, but believed it to have been composed, along with Napier homilies LX and LXI, by a later compiler,<sup>18</sup> in part on the grounds that all three texts include excerpts from Cnut's laws, which Jost did not attribute to Wulfstan. Jost's grounds for denying Wulfstan's authorship of Cnut's laws have been refuted by Dorothy Whitelock,<sup>19</sup> while his objections to Wulfstan's authorship of Napier LX and LXI have been further controverted by Neil Ker's attribution of manuscript corrections to those homilies to Wulfstan himself.<sup>20</sup> Jost's speculation that the sermon may have been compiled for and preached at Edward the Confessor's coronation<sup>21</sup> is also untenable; Wormald's more recent suggestion that the homily is connected with 'a law-making council, perhaps that of 1018',<sup>22</sup> provides a more realistic possibility for its venue.

Nevertheless, Jost's work on Napier L remains invaluable for his meticulous cataloguing of the sources and analogues to the text. Jost posits somewhere in the neighborhood of twenty sources for the sermon, commenting extensively on individual sentences in which he believes the compiler painstakingly combined single words and phrases from as many different Wulfstan texts as possible:

Entnimmt er in 272,20 dem einen Text das Subjekt, einem andern das Prädikat und einem dritten ein weiteres Prädikat mit seinem Objekt; in 272,15 ersetzt er das Verb seiner Hauptvorlage durch dasjenige eines ähnlichen Textes, und in 272,3, bedient er

---

<sup>16</sup> *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, *Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*, 4 (Berlin, 1883; repr. with a supplement by Klaus Ostheeren, Dublin, 1967).

<sup>17</sup> Jonathan Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, *Harlaxton Medieval Studies*, 2 (Stanford, 1992), pp. 199–217 (p. 201).

<sup>18</sup> Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, *Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten*, 23 (Bern, 1950), p. 266. Napier LX and LXI are two of the additional Old English texts found in the York Gospels manuscript (York, Minster Library, Additional 1). For a discussion of the homilies, see Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London, 1986), pp. 81–99 (pp. 93–96).

<sup>19</sup> See Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *English Historical Review*, 63 (1948), 433–52, and 'Wulfstan's Authorship of Cnut's Laws', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 72–85.

<sup>20</sup> Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 315–31 (pp. 330–31).

<sup>21</sup> Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, p. 260.

<sup>22</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 463.

sich einer weiteren Stelle derselben Vorlage, um den zwei Objekten seines Satzes je ein passendes adjektivisches Attribut beigeben zu können.<sup>23</sup>

Such a procedure would probably have been necessary for anyone except Wulfstan himself in the composition of the sermon, but a Wulfstanian imitator or homiletic compiler would have been unlikely to attempt it. Rather, as Bethurum points out, in those sentences the Archbishop was most likely quoting himself from memory rather than consciously interweaving earlier texts.<sup>24</sup> Even so, the most important of Jost's source-attributions still stand: among them are the *Institutes of Polity*, VI Æthelred, I Cnut, Ælfric's Old English letters to Wulfstan, the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, and three of Wulfstan's eschatological homilies.

The homily is extant in a single manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, where it occurs as one of three additional sections of the manuscript that Ker identified as having been written at Exeter.<sup>25</sup> The text is rubricated *Lar Spell* and is immediately followed by Wulfstan's eschatological homily *Secundum Lucam* (Bethurum III; Napier XV). Both texts are written in the same 'Exeter'-style script, in a hand that occurs nowhere else in the manuscript. Napier L begins at the top of the first page of a new quire; *Secundum Lucam* concludes two pages short of the end of the next quire, but those two pages have been left blank. Thus, the quires containing the two homilies make up an independent unit within the manuscript as a whole, a conclusion strengthened by the fact that although they are currently bound as quires 15–16, that is, pages 209–26 of the manuscript, offset writing on page 98 — a blank page at the end of what is currently quire 7 — reveals that the two quires were at one time adjacent to that page and at that time followed another Exeter addition to the manuscript in a different hand.<sup>26</sup>

Napier L and *Secundum Lucam* are separated on page 221 of the manuscript by a single blank line that shows signs of erasure, making it difficult to tell whether the scribe intended the texts to be read as one homily or two. Napier L does end with a conventional closing formula: 'On godes naman we biddað þæt cristenra manna gehwīlc [. . .] gemanan habban mote on hefena rice þær is ece blis. 7 æfre bið. mid

<sup>23</sup> Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, p. 259. 'In 272.20 he takes a subject from one text, the predicate from another, and from a third a second predicate with its own object; in 272.15 he puts the verb of his main source into similar texts, and in 272.3 he gives a second passage from the same predecessor, to be able to attach an attributive adjective to the two objects of his sentence.' Numbers refer to page and line of the Napier text.

<sup>24</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 39. As a source for this point, Bethurum cites the first edition of Whitelock's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, p. 25; see p. 37 in the 3rd edition.

<sup>25</sup> N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 118 (no. 69). The manuscript is no. 109 in Helmut Gneuss's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001).

<sup>26</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 117. Ker attributes the observation to Enid Raynes.

þam þe leofað. 7 rixað. a butan ende. Amen’;<sup>27</sup> however, the beginning of *Secundum Lucam* has been emended in such a way that it can easily be seen as a continuation of the previous homily. The text is missing both its rubric, found only in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, and the Latin quotation from Luke 21 (‘Erunt signa in sole & luna & stellis. & reliqua’<sup>28</sup>) that begins the homily both in Hatton 113 and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201. In all three manuscripts the quotation is followed immediately by an opening to the Old English text that refers directly to the full passage from Luke: ‘Ðis godspel segð. 7 swutelað. þæt fela fortacna sculon geweorðan wide on worulde. ægðer ge on heofonlicum tunglum. ge on eorðlicum styrungum ærðam þese dom cume. þe us eallum wyrð gemæne.’<sup>29</sup> The Corpus 421 scribe has adapted his text to accommodate the missing rubric and quotation by replacing the original Old English opening phrase with wording that does not presuppose a prior quotation: ‘Crist cwæð on his halgan godspelle. þæt fela fortacna sculon geweorðan wide on worulde.’<sup>30</sup> The adaptation suggests that the scribe intended the two texts to be read together, despite the conventional closing formula at the conclusion of Napier L. When read as two parts of a single work, the merging of the two homilies makes the text into a largely eschatological sermon. It may be significant that Archbishop Parker’s table of contents for the manuscript does not list *Secundum Lucam* as a separate work; perhaps, given the missing rubric and the eschatological content of the final paragraphs of Napier L, Parker also considered the two to be a single homily. The most important point for my purposes is that the manuscript context of Napier L places the sermon in a firmly eschatological setting, indicating that for at least one reader in Anglo-Saxon England, the eschatological ending of the sermon was not perceived as a merely conventional homiletic conclusion, but rather as an important part of the text as a whole.

Bethurum dates the homily to sometime after 1020 on the basis of its quotations from I Cnut.<sup>31</sup> Wormald places it two to three years earlier, regarding the sermon as associated in some way with Cnut’s 1018 Oxford code and as a possible source-text for I Cnut.<sup>32</sup> Such an association raises the possibility that the sermon was intended

---

<sup>27</sup> All quotations from Napier L are transcribed from the manuscript and cross-referenced to Napier’s edition by page and line number; all translations are my own. Common abbreviations have been silently expanded. ‘In God’s name we ask [. . .] that each Christian remember that in heaven there is and always will be eternal bliss with the one who lives and rules, world without end, amen’ (Corpus 421, pp. 220–21; Napier, pp. 273, lines 32–33, 274, lines 3–5).

<sup>28</sup> Hatton 113, fol. 49<sup>v</sup>. ‘There will be signs in the sun and moon and stars, etc.’

<sup>29</sup> Hatton 113, fol. 49<sup>v</sup>. ‘This gospel says and makes clear that many portents must occur widely in the world, both in the heavenly stars and in earthly movements, before the judgement comes that is common to us all.’

<sup>30</sup> Corpus 421, p. 221. ‘Christ said in his holy Gospel that many signs must occur widely in the world.’

<sup>31</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 40.

<sup>32</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 335 and 356–60.

to be preached in Oxford at the 1018 meeting, perhaps as a preliminary announcement of the laws that Wulfstan wanted to be enacted. It is certainly addressed to an aristocratic audience made up of both secular and religious figures, one of whom was explicitly the king himself. The sermon begins with an address to *urum cynehlaford* ('our lord the king') and proceeds in turn to address the secular nobility, then judges and reeves, and finally the clergy, taking up the rights, duties, and possible failings of each in turn, and paying particular attention to the problem of non-celibate priests. After a short glance at the necessity for just weights and measures and the proper observance of feasts and (especially) fasts, the homily ends with an exhortation for all to remember that the age of Antichrist is coming, and for the clergy to prepare the faithful for the inevitable last day.

In addition to its association with I Cnut, a second reason for the late dating of the homily lies in Wulfstan's repeated references to the evil times that occurred before the writing of the sermon, indicating that the text was compiled after Cnut was established as king and the land was at peace. Wulfstan tells us, for example, that the church must be honored and protected better than it was 'before this'; that judges and reeves should help the clergy more than was done 'before this'; that the *witan* must take care that the devil not lead them astray or divide them, as he has done 'before this'; and that the clergy themselves must uphold God's law better than was done 'before this'. The words *ær bysan* and *ær bysum* echo throughout the text from beginning to end. Wulfstan's perennial concern with the status and treatment of the church and clergy is obvious in the examples given, as is his corresponding concern that the clergy live up to the treatment he feels they should be accorded. Overall, however, the homily appears to be a warning that peace brings responsibilities with it, and that if God's law and the political principles that govern a just, Christian society are not acted upon by both laymen and clerics now, when things are good, the nation can expect even more calamities to follow.

In her discussion of the sermon, Bethurum states somewhat dismissively that Wulfstan 'can rise to an impassioned reminder of the Last Judgement at the end of any homily, no matter how pedagogical its content',<sup>33</sup> but in fact Wulfstan prepares for the eschatological ending of Napier L throughout his text. Explicit reminders of the final days occur in the early part of the homily twice: the first is in a sentence for which Jost could discover no immediate source and that was therefore most likely composed for this sermon, in which Wulfstan admonishes the lay aristocracy to atone for their sins if they want 'on þam myclan dæge heom sylfum gebeorgan. bet þonne þa dydon. þe beforan wæron'.<sup>34</sup> The second comes in a quotation from the *Institutes of Polity*, in which Wulfstan asks those priests who are not celibate to remember what reward they can expect from God (*hwylces leanes hig him wenan*

<sup>33</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 40.

<sup>34</sup> Corpus 421, p. 212; Napier, p. 268, lines 10–11; 'to protect themselves better on that great day, than did those who came before them'.

*magon*), and assures them that it will be an evil one (*hig yfel lean habban scylan*) unless they change their ways.<sup>35</sup> With these references one can perhaps put another quotation from VI Æthelred — a plea for the clergy as a whole to protect themselves from the surging fires of hell (*þone weallendan bryne þe wealleð on helle*).<sup>36</sup>

Not explicitly eschatological, but no less thoroughly collocated with the Last Judgement and its herald Antichrist in Wulfstan's mind and sermons, are two of the major themes of Napier L: the dangers to the individual soul and to the society at large of both the sins of the flesh and those of deception, lies, and hypocrisy. Wulfstan introduces the theme of deceit in the section of the homily addressed to judges and reeves by asserting that 'ær þysan wæs gehwar swicdom swyðra þonne wisdom. ȝ þuhte hwilcum wisast se þe wæs swicolost. ȝ se þe lytelicost cuðe leaslice hiwian unsoð to soðe'.<sup>37</sup> The homily's relentless repetition of 'before this' gives striking rhetorical emphasis to Wulfstan's sudden switch, two sentences later, from what *was* to what *still is*: 'Forþam on þison earde wæs and git is [. . .] unrihta fela [. . .]. Fela syn forsworene and swyðe forlogone and wedd eac abrocene oft and gelome'.<sup>38</sup> The implication of these sentences — that by continuing to commit the sins that Wulfstan believed brought on the Danish invasions, the English are once again courting divine punishment — is strengthened by the fact that they are cited directly from the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, and would probably have had an even greater impact on those who recognized the allusion.

The theme of clerical celibacy and of chastity in general is treated in the next section of the sermon, which is addressed particularly to God's servants, including bishops, abbots, monks, priests, and nuns ('godes þeowas. biscopas. ȝ abbodas. munecas ȝ mynecena. preostas ȝ nunnan').<sup>39</sup> Wulfstan chastises priests not only for marrying, but also, as he tells us, for what 'is þe wyrse. þe sume habbað twa. oððe ma. ȝ sume forlætað þa hig ær hæfdon. ȝ be lifiendre cwenan eft oðre nimað. swa ænigum cristennum men ne gedafenað to donne'.<sup>40</sup> In addition, he sets out the degree of consanguinity permissible in marriage, forbids the marriage of nuns, and reminds the laity that a man may marry only one wife, with whom he must remain *þa hwile þe heo*

<sup>35</sup> Corpus 421, pp. 215–16; Napier, p. 270, lines 25–27.

<sup>36</sup> Corpus 421, p. 214; Napier, p. 269, lines 19–20.

<sup>37</sup> Corpus 421, p. 212; Napier, p. 268, lines 15–18; 'before this, there was everywhere more deceit than wisdom, and at that time he was thought wisest who was most deceitful and knew most cunningly how to pretend falsely that lies were truth'.

<sup>38</sup> Corpus 421, pp. 212–13; Napier, p. 268, lines 24–28. 'Because in this land there were and still are [. . .] many wrongs [. . .]. Many are forsworn and greatly perjured and also oaths are broken time and again.'

<sup>39</sup> Corpus 421, p. 213; Napier, p. 269, lines 1–2.

<sup>40</sup> Corpus 421, p. 214; Napier, p. 269, lines 21–24; 'is even worse, that certain ones have two or more [wives], and some leave behind the one they had before, and while the woman is still living take another, as is not right for any Christian man to do'.



lybbe ('while she is alive').<sup>41</sup> Although such statements are clearly not eschatological, violations of chastity — along with lies and hypocrisy — are sins particularly associated in Wulfstan's earlier homilies with Antichrist and his advent, and it is with Antichrist that Wulfstan concludes Napier L.

Antichrist is, of course, the arch-hypocrite and arch-deceiver. His greatest deception will lie in his assertion that he is God, a fraudulent claim that he will back up with sorcery — false miracles in an age when God will allow no true miracles to be performed. Wulfstan develops the theme of Antichrist's deceit most fully in *De temporibus Anticristi* (Bethurum IV; Napier XVI), giving examples of deceptions taken from Ælfric's Old English *Preface* to the *Catholic Homilies* and Adso of Montier-en-Der's *De ortu et tempore Anticristi*,<sup>42</sup> including Antichrist's apparent ability to rain down fire from the sky and to heal the sick — but only if he is the one who has made them sick in the first place. That Wulfstan is concerned to emphasize deception as Antichrist's greatest power and greatest sin is illustrated in that homily by his reworking of a passage from Adso that enumerates the three ways in which Antichrist will try to corrupt the Elect, that is, through bribery, through terror, and through signs and wonders:

Quos vero non poterit muneribus corrumpere, superabit terrore. Quos autem terrore non poterit, signis et miraculis seducere temptabit. Quos nec signis poterit, in conspectu omnium miserabili morte cruciatos crudeliter necabit.<sup>43</sup>

Wulfstan rewrites the passage to accentuate the theme of deceit:

Se gesawenlica deofol wyrð fela wundra and segð þæt he God sylfa beo, and mid his gedwimerum mæst ælcne man beswicð; and þa þe he elles beswican ne mæg, þa he wyle neadunga genydan, gyf he mæg, þæt hi Godes ætsacan and him to gebugan. Gyf hi ðonne þæt nellað, þonne sculan hi ehtnessa mycle and eac earmlicne deað gepolian.<sup>44</sup>

Wulfstan not only omits the reference to bribery entirely, so that the faithful are left to face a choice between believing (or hypocritically pretending to believe) in Anti-

<sup>41</sup> Corpus 421, p. 217; Napier, p. 271, line 15.

<sup>42</sup> Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 17 (Oxford, 1997); Adso *Dervensis: De ortu et tempore Anticristi necnon et tractantur qui ab eo dependunt*, ed. by D. Verhelst, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 45 (Turnhout, 1976).

<sup>43</sup> Adso, ed. by Verhelst, p. 25. 'Those whom he cannot corrupt with money, he will terrorize. Those whom he cannot terrorize, he will try to seduce through signs and miracles. Those whom he cannot seduce with signs, he will torture cruelly and miserably put to death in the sight of all.'

<sup>44</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 130–31. 'The visible devil will work many miracles and say that he is God himself, and with his illusions deceive each man; and those whom he may not deceive otherwise, he will compel by force, if he may, so that they renounce God and worship him. If they will not do so, then they will suffer great persecution and miserable death.'

christ's lies or facing torture and martyrdom, he also adds a reference to Antichrist's ultimate lie that he himself is God, something that neither Adso nor Ælfric mention in conjunction with this particular passage.

Perhaps even more terrifying than the straightforward prospect of Antichrist's illusions and persecutions, however, is Wulfstan's prediction in *De temporibus Anticristi* that

deofol wyle ælces mannes geðanc, gyf he mæg, swyðe gelettan þæt he hit na ne understande, þeah hit him man secge, ne hine wið þæt ne warnige and ðurh þæt wyrð mæst manna beswicen þe hy ne beoð swa wære ne swa wel gewarnode ær swa hy beðorfton.<sup>45</sup>

The same sort of caution recurs in Napier L, where Wulfstan warns that even now the *deofol dwelað manna geþohtas* ('the devil hinders men's thoughts'),<sup>46</sup> so that they no longer think about the coming age of Antichrist.

In the time before Antichrist's birth, however, the greater danger to Christian society comes from his many servants and limbs — the 'antichrists' whom Wulfstan speaks of in his Latin version of *De Anticristo* (Bethurum Ia), where he makes the assertion, quoted from Isidore although its original source is most likely Augustine's third homily on John,<sup>47</sup> that 'Omnis qui secundum cristiane professionis rectitudinem aut non uiuit aut aliter doctet quam oportet, Anticristus est'.<sup>48</sup> It is a theme that Wulfstan develops at some length in *De septiformi spiritu* (Bethurum IX, Napier VII), his rewriting of an Ælfrician homily on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (Napier VIII). That homily is worth looking at briefly before returning to Napier L.

Although Ælfric's sermon was originally credited to Wulfstan by Napier, later scholars agree that the attribution to Ælfric is correct; Bethurum notes the possibility that Wulfstan asked Ælfric to prepare the original text.<sup>49</sup> Both sermons detail the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit as well as the seven evil gifts of the devil (the so-called *ungifta*) that stand in opposition to them. The beginning of Wulfstan's version follows Ælfric's text fairly closely, albeit with small changes and additions.<sup>50</sup> Wulfstan then adds a fairly lengthy conclusion concerning Antichrist and his relationship to

---

<sup>45</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 132. 'The devil will oppress each person's thoughts, if he may, so that he does not understand, although men tell him, what he is warned against, and in this way most people will be deceived who are not as mindful or as well-warned in advance as they need to be.'

<sup>46</sup> Corpus 421, p. 219; Napier, pp. 272, line 31 – 273, line 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 283.

<sup>48</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 113. 'All those who profess correct Christianity, but do not live by it or teach it to others as is proper are antichrists.'

<sup>49</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 305–06.

<sup>50</sup> See *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 306, where she lists several of Wulfstan's changes, omitting, however, the changes specified here.

the seven evil gifts in a text that may have circulated independently from the homily itself, for it appears in one manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419, as the conclusion to Napier Homily XL, *In die iudicii*, an anonymous — albeit 'Wulfstanized' — eschatological sermon that is at base a version of Vercelli Homily 2. Bethurum comments that Wulfstan treats the Antichrist theme 'more generally and more maturely'<sup>51</sup> here than in his earlier eschatological sermons, by which I believe she means that Wulfstan focuses in *De septiformi spiritu* on the spiritual dimensions of Antichrist's influence rather than on his supernatural character or the specific physical and psychological terrors of his advent. The importance for Wulfstan's developing eschatology and for Napier L, however, lies in the fact that the ending of *De septiformi spiritu* concentrates on the same themes that recur in Napier L: first, hypocrisy, lies, and deception; and second, the sins of the flesh.

In his reworking of Ælfric's description of the *ungifta*, Wulfstan's small additions to the text once again underscore his emphasis on deception and hypocrisy: whereas Ælfric merely states that sinners often disguise the evil gifts by feigning to possess their opposites, Wulfstan adds in each case a variant of *and eac þæt gyt wyrse is* ('and also what is yet worse'), thus implying that the hypocrisy is a greater sin than that occasioned by the 'ungift' itself. Wulfstan's first additional paragraph to the text makes that implication explicit in its initial sentence: 'Nis næfre nan wyrse yfel ne Gode laðre þonne þæt gehiwode yfel, forðan deofol sylf hit gefadað and gehywað to þam.'<sup>52</sup> Antichrist is, of course, the prime example of hypocrisy, for 'ne weorþeð on worulde ænig woruldsnotera ne on wordum getingra ne on heortan wyrsa and lytelice swicolra þonne he wyrðeþ'.<sup>53</sup> Wulfstan gives Antichrist the epithet *þeodlicetere* ('arch-hypocrite') — a word that appears in this sermon for the first time, although, as Bethurum notes, 'If it had been in Wulfstan's vocabulary when he wrote the eschatological homilies, he probably would have used it'.<sup>54</sup> By way of comparison, those who habitually practice hypocrisy in their own lives are termed *rihtliceteras* ('downright hypocrites'), and, as Wulfstan reminds his audience, 'mid ðam unwrencean eallan bið huru se earmscapena man Antecrist eal afylled'.<sup>55</sup> Contemporary hypocrites are not called literal 'antichrists' here as they are in *De Anticristo*; rather they are designated Antichrist's precursors (*forboda*) and slaves (*þrælas*), who unwittingly prepare the way for his advent ('þe his weg rymað, þeah hy swa ne wenan').<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 322.

<sup>52</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 189. 'There is no worse evil or one more hateful to God than that hypocritical evil, because the devil himself guides and forms it.'

<sup>53</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 189. 'There will never be anyone in the world more worldly-wise nor more fluent in words nor worse in heart and more deceptively deceitful than he.'

<sup>54</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 322.

<sup>55</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 190; 'with all those stratagems the miserable man Antichrist is indeed entirely satisfied'.

<sup>56</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 190; 'who clear a way for him, although they do not think so'.

One way in which the hypocrites and liars who are Antichrist's servants clear a way for him is by deceiving others into sin, specifically by teaching them to indulge in their carnal desires: 'Cweþað [. . .] to worde þa ðe syndan stunte þæt mycel for-hæfednes lytel behealde, ac þæt mete wære mannum gescapen to ðam anum þæt men his scoldan brucan, and wimman eac to hæmede þam ðe þæs lyste.'<sup>57</sup> And once again, Wulfstan reiterates that 'mid eal swylcan laran Antecrist cwemeð' ('with all such teachings Antichrist is pleased').<sup>58</sup> Clearly, the themes of hypocrisy, deception, sexual misconduct, and Antichrist are collocated in Wulfstan's mind, and their treatment would almost inevitably assure an eschatological ending to a homily that, like Napier L, also dealt with those themes.

The final paragraphs of Napier L are devoted entirely to eschatological themes and are for the most part made up of sentences taken from three of Wulfstan's early eschatological homilies: the Old English version of *De Anticristo* (Bethurum Ib, Napier XII), *De temporibus Anticristi* (Bethurum IV, Napier XVI), and *Secundum Marcum* (Bethurum V, Napier XIII). There is also, however, a passage that is substantially new within the corpus of Wulfstan's writings that deserves closer examination:

**Þeos worold is sorhful. 7 fram dæge to dæge a swa leng, swa wyrse.** Hwæt we magon geseon **hu læne and hu lyðre þis lif is.** hu sarlic. 7 hu sorhful. 7 hu geswincful. 7 hu teonful. hu tealt. 7 hu wrað. hu wiðerweard. 7 hu swicful; **Heo is þeos woruld on ofstum** 7 on stormum. 7 on adlum. 7 on ungewyderum. þæt nu ne beoð naht fela manna ætsamne þæt heora sum ne si seoc. 7 samhal. 7 þeah þæt gelimpe þæt men sume hwile syn her on worolde. swaþeah hig beoð aa on geswince. 7 mid sorge. forþan **þeos woruld nære wyrðe þæt man to hire lufe hæfde ealles to swiðe.**<sup>59</sup>

The phrases in boldface are the only parts of the passage that Jost was able to source directly: each has a parallel in the 'Wulfstanized' conclusion of *In die iudicii* as it occurs in three of the text's four manuscripts — Corpus 201; Hatton 113; and London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii — but not in the conclusion that appears in Corpus 419, where, as noted earlier, the ending is made up at least in part by the concluding passages of *De septiformi spiritu*. In his study of the dissemination of Wulfstan's homilies, Jonathan Wilcox describes the ending of *In die iudicii* in these

<sup>57</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 190. 'They say [. . .] in words that those who hold to great abstinence are foolish, but that food was created for men only so that they could enjoy it, and women to have sex with as they desire.'

<sup>58</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 190.

<sup>59</sup> Corpus 421, p. 219; Napier, p. 273, lines 3–14. 'This world is sorrowful and from day to day always the longer the worse. Indeed, we may see how transitory and how corrupt this life is, how painful and how sorrowful and how toilsome and how evil, how precarious and how cruel, how perverse and how deceitful. This world is in haste and in storm and in sickness and in foul weather, so that now there cannot be many people together of whom certain ones are not sick and weak. And although it may happen that people will remain here in the world for a certain while, nevertheless they will be always in toil and in sorrow, because this world is not worthy that a person love it all too much.'

three manuscripts as comprising 'short, rather obvious and somewhat approximate borrowings from Wulfstan's homilies', and he suggests that the compiler probably composed it from memory rather than from citations out of specific texts.<sup>60</sup> The relevant passage from *In die iudicii* (with parallel passages again in boldface) reads as follows:

Uton gecnawan, **hu læne and hu lyðre þis lif is** on to getruwianne, and hu oft hit wurð raðost forloren and forlæten, þonne hit wære leofost gehealden. **Deos woruld is sorhful and fram dæge to dæge a swa leng swa wyrse, forþam ðe heo is on ofstum,** and hit nealæcð þam ende, and **þi heo wære wurðe, þæt hig ænig man ne lufode ealles to swiðe.**<sup>61</sup>

Jost points out that the phrases from *In die iudicii* that Wulfstan uses in Napier L have, for the most part, 'sie Wulfstanschen Sprachcharakter',<sup>62</sup> even though they are not used in precisely the same way elsewhere in Wulfstan's extant works: the thoroughly Wulfstanian 'fram dæge to dæge a swa leng swa wyrse', for example, is used in conjunction with *sorhful* only in these two passages, and Wulfstan's other uses of 'this world is in haste' have *ofste* rather than *ofstum*. In addition, Wilcox, following Jost, notes that the words 'hu læne and hu lyðre þis lif is on to getruwianne, and hu oft hit wurð raðost forloren and forlæten, þonne hit wære leofost gehealden' are also closely related to a passage from Wulfstan's *Sermo ad populum* (Bethurum XIII, Napier XIX–XXII): 'Eala, lytel is se fyrst þyses lifes, and lyðre is, þæt we lufiað and on wuniað, and for oft hit wyrð raðost forloren þonne hit wære leofost healdan.'<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, the exact correspondences between *In die iudicii* and Napier L — that is, the word *sorhful* and *ofstum* instead of *ofste* in its phrase, as well as the two clauses 'hu læne and hu lyðre þis lif is' and 'þeos woruld nære wyrðe, þæt man to hire lufe hæfde ealles to swiðe' — are not attested verbatim in any extant Wulfstan text, and this could suggest that both the Wulfstanizing compiler of the end of *In die iudicii* and Wulfstan himself in Napier L were citing from memory a now-lost Wulfstan homily that contained the parallel phrasing.

More problematic, however, is the unsourced list of adjectives following *hu læne and hu lyðre* in Napier L, which clearly contains non-Wulfstanian vocabulary. As Jost points out, five of the eight adjectives — *geswincful*, *teonful*, *wrað*, *wiðerweard*,

<sup>60</sup> Wilcox, 'Dissemination', p. 206.

<sup>61</sup> *Wulfstan*, ed. by Napier, p. 180, lines 3–9. 'Let us recognize how transitory and how wretched this life is to trust in, and how often it is most quickly lost and abandoned when it is held dearest. This world is sorrowful and from day to day always the longer the worse, because it is in haste and nears its end, and it is worthy that no person love it at all too much.'

<sup>62</sup> Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, p. 257; 'the Wulfstanian rhetorical style'.

<sup>63</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 226. 'Alas, short and wretched is the time of this life that we love and inhabit, and often it is most quickly lost when it is held dearest.' Jonathan Wilcox, 'Napier's "Wulfstan" Homilies XL and XLII: Two Anonymous Works from Winchester?', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 90 (1991), 1–19 (p. 7).

and *swicful* — are otherwise unattested in the Wulfstan canon.<sup>64</sup> Wulfstan rarely leaves quotations from other sources unrevised to fit his own idiosyncratic style, and because so much of the rest of the homily is made up, like other ‘Wulfstanized’ but non-authorial sermons, of a patchwork of citations and Wulfstanian references, Jost regards this sentence as further evidence that the homily is the work of a compiler. However, if the sentence is a quotation, it is not the only unrevised quotation within the sermon: Wulfstan quotes Ælfric’s Pastoral Letters several times without revision in the part of the homily devoted to clerical celibacy. Bethurum, although she does not comment specifically on the non-Wulfstanian adjectives, does suggest that the unrevised quotations from Ælfric, rather than casting doubt on Wulfstan’s authorship of the sermon, instead raise the possibility that ‘the occasion for which Wulfstan assembled this document dictated haste’.<sup>65</sup> If she is correct, there is no reason why Wulfstan could not have left a quotation from another source unrevised. To think otherwise is to leave ourselves back with Jost’s painstaking compiler, labouriously interweaving a word from one text with a phrase from another, and perhaps two or three words from a third — an unlikely possibility at best.

It is equally possible, indeed likely, that the phrase containing the unsourced adjectives is not a quotation at all, for the sentence as a whole is thoroughly Wulfstanian in its alliteration and its rhythm. The new vocabulary may therefore signal instead a new development in Wulfstan’s eschatology, manifested primarily in a change in tone and emphasis from the Archbishop’s previous sermons. Certainly Wulfstan’s lamentation for the pain and sorrow and toil of the world at the end of Napier L evokes a feeling quite different from that produced in the early eschatological homilies by his emphasis on the terror and persecutions that will come with the age of Antichrist or by his thundering condemnation of the sins and crimes of the present day in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. The shift in emphasis stems, I believe, from two sources: first, the extended view of history that Wulfstan gained during the Danish invasions, and second, the Archbishop’s consciousness of his own advancing age and, perhaps, frailty.

Wulfstan’s longer view of history is demonstrated in part by his admission that ‘þæt gelimpe þæt men sume hwile syn her on worolde’,<sup>66</sup> suggesting that he no longer believes the last day is immediately imminent. This idea does, of course, have precedent in one of his early eschatological homilies: Wulfstan acknowledges in the Old English version of *De Anticristo* that ‘fela manna Antecrist sylfne næfre his eagum ne geseo’;<sup>67</sup> in the same homily he prefaces his demand that the clergy

---

<sup>64</sup> Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, p. 257.

<sup>65</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 40.

<sup>66</sup> Corpus 421, p. 219; Napier, p. 273, lines 11–12; ‘it may happen, that people will remain here in the world for a certain time’.

<sup>67</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 116; ‘many people will never see Antichrist with their own eyes’.

admonish the faithful about the end of the world on a regular basis by conceding 'þæt geweorðe þæt ure ænig þe nu leofað þonne ne libbe'.<sup>68</sup> But as the series of eschatological homilies progressed, Wulfstan became increasingly convinced that the age of Antichrist was in fact immediately at hand, even suggesting in what is probably the final sermon of the series, *Secundum Marcum*, that it had already begun: in describing the evil days that will herald the advent of Antichrist, Wulfstan clearly implies that those days have arrived when he announces that 'nu is se tima þæt ðeos woruld is gemæncged mid mænigfealdan mane 7 mid felafealdan facne [...] nu syndon Satanases bendas swyðe toslōpene, 7 Antecristes tima is wel gehende'.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, whereas in *De Anticristo* the idea that the end might not come during the lifetimes of those present is combined with a clear statement that *sy þam timan swyðe gehende* ('the time is very near at hand'), in Napier L it is coupled instead with the prediction that people's lives will continue to be lived 'aa on geswince. 7 mid sorge'.

The passage is also linked with Wulfstan's most specific and extended treatment of the classical and patristic idea that as time passes and the end of the world comes closer, human beings deteriorate, for as the macrocosm of the world ages and becomes weak, so too does the microcosm of the human being:<sup>70</sup> 'Heo is þeos woruld on ofstum 7 on stormum. 7 on adlum. 7 on ungewyðerum. þæt nu ne beoð naht fela manna ætsamne þæt heora sum ne si seoc. 7 samhal.' Although once again this idea is not entirely new to Wulfstan's work — he makes reference to the theme in *Secundum Marcum* when he substitutes the word *wacre* ('weaker') for his more usual *wyrse* in the phrase 'hit is on worulde a swa leng swa wacre'<sup>71</sup> — here it seems to indicate that Wulfstan has come to envision a long, slow process of degeneration preceding the still-inevitable end.

<sup>68</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 118; 'that it may happen that none who are now alive will be alive then'.

<sup>69</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 136–37; 'now is the time that this world is involved with manifold crimes and with many evils [...] now Satan's bonds are very loose, and Antichrist's time is close at hand'.

<sup>70</sup> For an extended discussion of this theme, see J. E. Cross, 'Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm in Old English Literature', in *Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur*, ed. by Stanley B. Greenfield (Eugene, OR, 1963), pp. 1–22.

<sup>71</sup> Cross, 'Aspects of Microcosm', p. 5. The same idea may underlie another passage in *Secundum Lucam*, where Wulfstan writes that *clæne wæs þeos eorðe on hyre frumsceaft* ('this earth was pure at its creation'; *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 124), and proceeds to talk about how the earth has since been increasingly befouled by human sin, so that all of nature wars against humanity, sending *stormas* that *æceras swyðe amyrræð* ('destroy the fields entirely'; *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 125). Compare the description of the world as *on stormum* both in the passage from Napier L cited above and in an earlier passage taken from the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, where Wulfstan argues that because of the people's sins, *unwederu for oft weoldon unwæstma* ('foul weather has often produced failed crops'; *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 257, 263, 269).

It may be relevant that Wulfstan's own life would end within a few short years of the composition of this homily, for his tone betrays a weariness with the world and its troubles, an omnipresent awareness of human frailty and of the spiritual and physical hardships of life on earth in what he fully believed to be its last age. When he concludes with his usual reminder that no one can possibly say how evil the world will become at the end ('Nis se man on life, þe mæge oððe cunne swa yfel hit asecgan. swa hit sceal gewurðan on þam deoflican timan'),<sup>72</sup> the line seems less conventional than heartfelt. His eschatological expectations have not lessened, nor has his insistence that only prior warnings, present repentance, and finally the direct intervention of God can protect human beings against the wiles of Antichrist. But the aging Archbishop of Napier L is no longer the firebrand preacher of Bethurum homilies I–V. If the homily contains his hopes for the social reconstruction of England and the creation of a 'holy society' governed by the laws that he had written, it also expresses his unshakable conviction of that society's end. One wonders if, in writing Napier L, Wulfstan believed that he would live long enough to see either his societal hopes or his eschatological expectations fulfilled.

---

<sup>72</sup> Corpus 421, p. 220; Napier, p. 273, lines 30–32. 'No living person can know or speak of how evil it will become in that devilish time.'



## Wulfstan and Ælfric: ‘the true Difference between the Law and the Gospel’

ERIC STANLEY

My text is taken from a discourse by the learned and eloquent seventeenth-century divine of Queens’ College, Cambridge, the Platonist John Smith:<sup>1</sup>  
[W]e shall endeavour to unfold *the true Difference between the Law and the Gospel*, as it seems evidently to be laid down every where by S. Paul in his Epistles:<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The full title of Smith’s discourse is: ‘A Discourse Treating Of LEGAL Righteousness, [Of] EVANGELICAL Righteousness, Or [of] the Righteousness of Faith; The Difference between the LAW and the GOSPEL, [The Difference between the] OLD and NEW COVENANT; JUSTIFICATION and DIVINE ACCEPTANCE; The CONVEIGHANCE of the EVANGELICAL Righteousness to us by FAITH’ (John Smith, ‘The Legal Difference between the Legal and the Evangelical Righteousness, etc.’, in John Smith, *Select Discourses* (Cambridge, 1660), pp. 308–25 (p. 311)). The distinction between the regulatory Law of Moses and the perfection of that law through Christ goes back to the Sermon on the Mount, ‘Thinke not that I am come to destroy the lawe or the Prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill’ (Matthew 5. 17 in *Authorized Version, The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New* (London, 1611)). Smith puts it strongly, earlier in his sermon (*Select Discourses*, p. 303): ‘And by the way we may observe what a *Lean and Spiritless Religion* this of the *Jews* was, and how it was nothing else but a Souleless and Liveless form of External performances, which did little or nothing at all to reach the Inward man, being nothing but a mere Bodily kind of drudgery and servility: and therefore our Saviour when he modell[s] out Religion to them Matth. 5. he points them out to *Something fuller of inward life and spirit*, and such a one as might make them *Perfect, as their Father in heaven is Perfect*.’ That difference is a commonplace of seventeenth-century theology, notably discussed by Archbishop John Tillotson in two of his discourses, with a summary title given on the title-page as ‘Christianity not destructive; but perfective of the Law of Moses’ (John Tillotson, *Sermons and Discourses [The Works]*, 2nd edn, 14 vols (London, 1699–1706), iv (1700), Sermon III, 85–111, Sermon IV, 113–37).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably, what John Smith has in mind in St Paul’s Epistles is, e.g., Romans 2 and 3, culminating in ‘the law of Faith’.

and the Difference between them is clearly this, *viz.* That the *Law* was merely an *External* thing, consisting in such Precepts which had only an *Outward administration*; but the *Gospel* is an *Internal* thing, a *Vital* Form and Principle seating it self in the Minds and Spirits of Men. And this is the most proper and formal *Difference* between the *Law* and *Gospel*, that the one is considered only as an *External* administration, and the other as an *Internal*.

It would be too simple a view of Wulfstan and Ælfric to regard the one as standing for the Law and the other as standing for the Gospel, and yet Wulfstan's part in formulating the laws of England of his time gives him juridical authority, and that is reinforced by the frequency with which in his preaching he insisted that their 'Outward administration' was so central to good Christian citizenship as to constitute an 'Internal thing'. His ideas must not be reduced in our cynical age as a politicization of religion. The cardinal virtue Justice is central to God's ways when considered juridically, as, I presume, they were by Wulfstan, and as they are in Deuteronomy 32. 4:<sup>3</sup> 'The workes of God be perfect, and al his waies iudgementes: God is faithful, and without any iniquitie, iust and right.'

As often, when principles and ideas are under consideration, lexical complexities prevent simple generalizations: the words we use to translate into Modern English do not exactly answer to those used by the Anglo-Saxons to express concepts in their language. We translate Wulfstan's *Godes gerihta* by 'God's dues', where 'dues' are what is owing to God; but *gelæstan Godes gerihta*, which together with *riht* is the lexical focus of the concept, is not merely the payment of a debt to God, or the payment of an imposition levied by God; *gelæstan* means more than 'to pay' as it is rendered *simpliciter* by Wulfstan scholars. *Godes gerihta* are not divine exactions, in money or goods, but are the rightful service owed to God because of his supreme place in the eternal scheme of justice. Insistence on that service, performed by man to God's supremacy, arises many times in Wulfstan's theology, as in the statement, loud and clear coupled with *mid rihte* ('by divine right' or 'by divine justice') in *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*:<sup>4</sup>

micel is nydbearf manna gehwīlcum þæt he Godes lage gyme heonanforð georne ȝ  
Godes gerihta mid rihte gelæste. On hæpenum þeodum ne deor man forhealdan lytel

<sup>3</sup> Deuteronomy 32. 4 in *The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, out of the Authenticall Latin*, 2 vols (Doway, 1609–10), I (1609), 462. The Vulgate, which it translates literally, has (*Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*, 18 vols (Rome, 1926–95), III (1936), 512):

Dei perfecta sunt opera et omnes  
Viae eius iudicia  
Deus fidelis et absque ulla ini-  
quitate iustus et rectus.

<sup>4</sup> *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London, 1963), p. 49, lines 24–28. Not all editorial details, such as punctuation and diacritics, have been followed in the quotations from Old English texts. The translations, unless otherwise stated, are mine.

ne micel þæs þe gelagod is to gedwolgoda weorðunge; ⁊ we forhealdað æghwær  
Godes gerihta ealles to gelome.<sup>5</sup>

The date of composition of the homily is 1014.<sup>6</sup> A few years before that, in 1008, a law-code gives details of what constitutes *Godes gerihta*:<sup>7</sup> namely (with Whitelock's rendering), *sulhælmessan* ('plough-alms'), *geogoðe teoðunge ⁊ eorðwæstma* ('the tithe of young animals and of the fruits of the earth'), *Romfeoh* ('Rome-money' (i.e. Peter's Pence)), *leohtgescot* ('light-dues'), and *saulsceat* ('payment for the soul').

The last of these, *saulsceat*, calls for elucidation of the meaning of *saul*, which lies at the heart of an understanding of late Anglo-Saxon Christianity. The wording 'payment for the soul' sounds offensive to post-Reformation ears, reminiscent of a popular German couplet that goes back to the time of Luther (though in its popular form the wording has been much altered):<sup>8</sup> 'As soon as the coins clink in the box the

<sup>5</sup> Whitelock translates this statement: 'great is the necessity for every man that he keep henceforward God's laws eagerly and pay God's dues rightly. Among heathen peoples one dare not withhold little or much of what is appointed to the worship of false gods; and we everywhere withhold God's dues all too often' (*English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, c. 500-1042, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979), pp. 929-30).

<sup>6</sup> *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Dorothy Whitelock's note on 'God's dues' (*Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 49) draws attention to paragraphs in the law-code for Æthelred II the Unready V Æthelred 11-12 that clarify what these dues are: '⁊ gelæste man Godes gerihta georne æghwylce gear. Ðæt is sulhælmessan XV niht onufan Eastran ⁊ geogoðe teoðunge be Pentecosten ⁊ eorðwæstma be Ealra Halgena Mæssan ⁊ Romfeoh be Petres Mæssan ⁊ leohtgescot þriwa on gear. ⁊ saulsceat is rihtast þæt man symle gelæste æt openum græfe' (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903-16; repr. Aalen, 1960), I, 240). She translates these paragraphs (*English Historical Documents*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 444): 'And God's dues are to be readily paid every year. Namely, plough-alms 15 days after Easter, and the tithe of young animals by Pentecost, and of the fruits of the earth by All Saints' day, and "Rome-money" [i.e. Peter's Pence] by St Peter's day [29 June] and light-dues three times a year. And it is best that payment for the soul be always paid at the open grave.'

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in *Geflügelte Worte und Zitatenschatz*, ed. by Georg Büchmann, rev. edn (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 368:

Sobald das Geld im Kasten klingt,  
Die Seele aus dem Fegfeuer springt.

This version goes back ultimately to Hans Sachs, *Die wittenbergisch nachtigall*, | *Die man ietzt höret überall* (Eilenburg, 1523), cited from *Hans Sachs*, ed. by Adelbert von Keller (Tübingen, 1872), VI, 368-86 (p. 374, lines 31-34 [= lines 249-52]):

Legt ein! gebt ewer hilff und stewr  
Und löst die seel auß dem fegfewr!  
Bald der gülden in kasten klinget,  
Die seel sich auff gehn himel schwinget.

('Deposit! Give your help and support, and so release the soul from purgatory! As soon as the florin clinks in the box the soul flies up heavenwards.')

soul jumps up out of purgatory.’ The Old English word *sawol*, *saul*<sup>9</sup> does not, however, mean ‘soul’ merely as that difficult concept is now understood, specifically the soul in its transition from life on this earth. For the Anglo-Saxons it appears to have been a person’s essence of life in this world as much as in the next. The legal term *saulsceat* is the payment made at burial by the next of kin of the person buried, a (monetary) tribute to the Church as a memorial for a life here and hereafter. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines this sense of *soul* well under sense 1., obsolete: ‘The principle of life in man or animals; animate existence [. . .] (freq. in OE. in Scriptural passages).’ In this sense, as far as it applies to humans and not to animate beings more widely,<sup>10</sup> *soul* is close to sense 9.: ‘The spiritual part of man considered in its moral aspect or in relation to God and His precepts.’<sup>11</sup> Ælfric is eloquent on this moral aspect, especially so in his homily on the raising of Lazarus:<sup>12</sup>

Is swaþeah oðer ærist on urum sawlum  
þe ure Hæland deð dæghwamlice on mannun,  
þonne seo sawul arist of ðære synna deaðe,  
for ðam se ðe syngað, hys sawul ne leofað,  
buton heo þurh andetnysse eft acucige,  
and þurh dædbote hyre Drihten gladige.<sup>13</sup>

My impression is that Ælfric’s attitude to what in Old English is expressed by *wundor* is fundamentally different from that of Wulfstan. For Ælfric’s homilies the glossaries give only ‘miracle, wonder, wonderful thing’,<sup>14</sup> and in Old English this sense is paramount — in celebration of God’s might, as in the raising of Lazarus, a

---

<sup>9</sup> The Germanic word renders *anima*; its etymology is ultimately obscure (cf. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, ed. by Sigmund Feist (Leiden, 1939), p. 406, s.v. *saiwala*).

<sup>10</sup> The implication of animals is irrelevant, and theologically difficult.

<sup>11</sup> In smaller typeface *OED* goes on: ‘Freq. with implicit reference to the fate of the soul after death.’

<sup>12</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, 2 vols, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 259–60 (London, 1967–68), I (1967), 318, lines 137–42. Pope’s annotations show that Ælfric’s wording here is suggested by, but does not literally follow, St Augustine.

<sup>13</sup> ‘There is, however, another kind of resurrection affecting our souls which our Saviour brings about every day to human beings whenever the soul arises from the death of sinfulness, because he who sins, his soul does not live, unless it is brought back to life through confession, and unless it propitiates our Lord through penance.’

<sup>14</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, II, 941–42; Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 18 (Oxford, 2000), p. 792.

cause for delighting in God's might rather than marvelling at the miracle in which that might is demonstrated, and here Ælfric follows closely St Augustine:<sup>15</sup>

Betwux eallum þam wundrum þe ure Hælend worhte  
ys þyss miccle wundor mærlīcost geþuht,  
þæt he þone stincendan<sup>16</sup> Lazarum to life arærde;  
ac gyf we behealdað hwa hyne arærde,  
þonne mage we blissian swiðor þonne wundrian:  
se arærde þone man se ðe man geworhte.<sup>17</sup>

In the Mid-Lent Homily XII of the First Series of the *Catholic Homilies*, too, Ælfric makes use of the Augustinian idea that miracles should be a cause for joy rather than a cause for marvelling that God had the power to perform the miracle of Feeding the Five Thousand.<sup>18</sup> 'Ne bið na genoh þæt we ðæs tacnes wundrian, oððe þurh þæt God herian buton we eac þæt gastlice andgit understandan.'<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, I, 317, lines 111–16. This, as Pope's apparatus shows, is taken over from the opening of St Augustine's Tractate XLIX on the Gospel according to St John (*Augustinus: In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. by Radbod Willems, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 36 (Turnhout, 1954), p. 419): 'Inter omnia miracula quae fecit Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Lazari resurrectio praecipue praedicatur. Sed si adtendamus quis fecerit, delectari debemus potius quam mirari. Ille suscitauit hominem, qui fecit hominem; ipse enim est Unicus Patris, per quem, sicut nostis, facta sunt omnia' ('Among all the miracles performed by our Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection of Lazarus is pre-eminently a subject for preaching. If, however, we consider who has performed it we should delight in it rather than marvel at it. He who made man has raised a man: he is the only one of the Father by whom, as you know, all things were made').

<sup>16</sup> Augustine does not at this point mention the putrefaction of Lazarus; it goes back to John 11. 39, and was used by Ælfric a few lines earlier in the homily (*Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, I, 316, lines 87–88):

Martha cwæð to Criste, 'Hlaford leof, he stincð,  
for ðam ðe feower dagas synt syððan he bebyrged wæs.'

('Martha says to Christ, "Beloved Saviour, he stinks because it is four days since he was buried."')

<sup>17</sup> 'Among all the miracles which our Saviour performed this great miracle is considered much the most glorious, that he raised to life that stinking Lazarus; but if we contemplate who raised him, then we can rejoice rather than marvel: he who created man raised that man.'

<sup>18</sup> *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 17 (London, 1997), p. 277, lines 71–73 gives the text; Godden, *Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, p. 98, gives the source; cf. Malcolm R. Godden, 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 16 (1985), 83–100 (pp. 85–86 and 93–94).

<sup>19</sup> 'It is not at all enough that we marvel at the miracle, or praise God on account of it unless we also understand the spiritual significance.'

Ælfric seems to reduce the miraculousness and the extraordinariness of miracles, or rather he advances, with Gregory the Great and Haymo of Auxerre but departing significantly from them,<sup>20</sup> the wonderment of the divine grace that, as he saw it, daily enfolds the soul; thus in Catholic Homily XXI of the first series, on the Ascension:<sup>21</sup>

Se man ðe plantað treowa oððe wyrta swa lange he hi wæterað oð ðæt hi beoð ciðfæste. Syððan hi growende beoð he geswicð ðære wæterunge: swa eac se ælmihtiga God swa lange he æteowede his wundra þam hæðenum folce oð ðæt hi geleaffulle wæron. Syððan se geleafa sprang geond ealne middaneard syððan geswicon þa wundra. Ac ðeahhwæðere Godes gelaðung wyrcoð gyt dæghwomlice þa ylcan wundru gastlice þe ða apostoli ða worhton lichamlice: ðonne se preost cristað þæt cild, þonne adræfð he þone deofol of þam cilde, for þan ðe ælc hæpen man bið deofles, ac þurh ðæt halige fulluht he bið Godes gif he hit gehylt.<sup>22</sup>

Wulfstan uses *wundor* only of the miracles of God and of the saints, the bodily miracles.<sup>23</sup> He nowhere extends the range of that word to the spiritual miracles that

<sup>20</sup> The commentary (Godden, *Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, pp. 172–73) gives the underlying sources, Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangelia*, Homilia XXIX, and Haymo's *Homiliae de Tempore*, Homilia XCVI, and indicates that Ælfric departs from them significantly. See the study Godden, 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives', centrally on this passage in the Catholic Homily on the Ascension, and showing how it applies to the saints' lives more generally. Godden's account deals especially with the credibility and authenticity of each miracle based on the authority, and therefore reliability, of whoever may have told it.

<sup>21</sup> *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: First Series*, ed. by Clemoes, pp. 350–51, lines 157–67.

<sup>22</sup> 'Whoever plants trees or other plants waters them for so long till they are firmly rooted. As soon as they are established in growth he ceases from watering them: likewise Almighty God manifested his miracles so long to the heathen, until they were believers. As soon as the Faith spread throughout all the world the miracles ceased. Yet God's Church, however, performs every day the same miracles spiritually which the apostles then performed bodily. Whenever the priest baptizes a child he casts out the devil from that child because every heathen is the devil's, but through holy baptism he is God's if he observes it.'

<sup>23</sup> Wulfstan does use the word *wundor* in the negative locution *nis [. . .] nan wundor þeah* ('it is no wonder that') (*Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 60, line 133). The unpublished very late version of *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, fols 143<sup>v</sup>–144<sup>v</sup>, has *felæ wundræ misdæde* where the earlier reading is *fela misdæda* ('many sins'); collated by Whitelock (*Sermo Lupi*, p. 60, line 137), *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, *Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben*, 4 (Berlin, 1883; repr. with a supplement by Klaus Ostheeren, Dublin, 1967 (issue consulted, however, dated Berlin, 1966)), p. 163, line 20). If a noun, the word *wundor* here might have the sense 'abominable deed, atrocity' developed in late Old English (cf. *MED: Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, John Reidy, and Robert E. Lewis (Ann Arbor, 1952–2001), s.v. *wonder* n., 7. (a)). John Strong Perry Tatlock ('The "Chronicle" Misunderstood', *American Historical Review*, 41 (1936), p. 703), who drew attention to this sense in the Peterborough Chronicle annal for 1137 (*The Peterborough Chronicle 1070–1154*, ed. by Cecily Clark, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970), p. 55, line 11), suggests the attractive rendering 'outrage and enormity'

Ælfric sees in the daily happenings among Anglo-Saxon Christians through God's might and their faith.

Several of Wulfstan's other locutions call for comment. He often uses *lagu* for 'law'; the verbs *gelagian* and rarely *lagian* ('to appoint or ordain by law') are almost confined to writings by or close to Wulfstan.<sup>24</sup> The political situation under Æthelred the Unready, Swein Forkbeard, and Cnut may have led him to prefer the word of Scandinavian origin to the native word for 'law', *æ(w)*; it might have reinforced the semantic shift towards 'marriage' of the native word;<sup>25</sup> or, alternatively, the semantic shift of *æ(w)* towards 'marriage' might have reinforced the political wish to have a Scandinavian word for 'law'. What is more, the native word is a very short utterance for such a weighty matter. Often both the noun *lagu* and the verb *gelagian* collocate with *riht* in its several uses and derivatives.

For Ælfric the concept of transgression of God's Law was of great importance also when applied to non-Christians or pre-Christians, pagans or Old Testament figures: for Christians he regards as important any failure to understand what is divinely stated in the Bible or divinely transmitted through prophets or those who have the knowledge to teach Christian doctrine without falling into error, that is, into heresy. For members of the first group he uses the characteristic locution *forægān* (*Godes* *æ*, as, for example, in the homily on Theodosius and Ambrose; the speaker is St Ambrose and he addresses the emperor Theodosius:<sup>26</sup> 'wilt þu forægān Godes æ nu | and mid þinum riccetera wendan ongean God?' ('wilt thou transgress God's law now, and with thy tyrannous insolence turn against God?').<sup>27</sup> Elsewhere Ælfric

---

for this sense. A noun would, however, be syntactically difficult for the use in Bodley 343; an early use of the adjective, meaning 'unnatural, dreadful' (cf. *MED* s.v. *wonder* adj., 1. (a) or 4.), would fit better into the syntax of the phrase. This very late reading is, of course, very unlikely to go back to Wulfstan.

<sup>24</sup> The Scandinavian word *lagu*, the etymon of Modern English *law*, may well have been used at first for the laws of the Danes in England, as in IV Edgar 2.1 (see *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, III, 141). The native word for 'law' is *æ(w)*, which, like the cognate German *Ehe*, Old High German *ewa*, had come to mean 'marriage' in many legal and religious contexts, and is often so used by Ælfric. See *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> It is thought that Old English was the first Germanic language in which the semantic change from 'law' to 'marriage' took place in the word *æ(w)*; thus Heinrich Beck ('Ehe', in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. by Johannes Hoops, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1986), VI, 5–6, 478–79 (p. 478)); presumably the change in Old High German was the result of Anglo-Saxon monastic influence. The German word, Middle High German *ee*, was felt to be amorphous by speakers of a language in which more nominals are disyllabic (with at least one consonant beginning the second syllable) than monosyllabic, and so, without necessarily changing the pronunciation, they came to write it <Ehe>, or <Eh> in verse.

<sup>26</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, II, 767, line 109.

<sup>27</sup> This is taken over from the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, to which Cassiodorus lent his name (*Cassiodori: Epiphaniī Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, ed. by Walter Jacob and

adapts a source with similar turns of phrase, for example, *Lives of Saints*, Macca-bees, ‘we synd gearwe to sweltenne swyðor þonne to forgæenne | ures scyppendes . æ . þe he gesette þurh [Moysen]’ (‘we are ready to die rather than to transgress our Creator’s law which he ordained through Moses’).<sup>28</sup>

Every transgression against God’s commands reperforms Adam’s original sin, in Ælfrician terms *Adames forgægednesse*, regardless of whether it belongs to the world before Christ or outside Christendom, as in the Nativity homily of the second series of Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*,<sup>29</sup> beginning with Gabriel’s words to Daniel:

‘Feower hund geara and hundnigontig geara sind getealde of ðysum dæge ofer ðe and ofer ðinum folce and ofer ðære byrig Hierusalem; and þonne bið se ealde forgægednys geendod, and synn underfehð geendunge, and unrihtwisnys bið adylegod, and bið gebroht ece rihtwisnys, and gesihð and witegunga beoð gefyllede, and bið gesmyrod ealra halgena Halga.’ Ealle ðas ðing sind gefyllede þurh Cristes menniscnysse æfter þam fyrste and andagan þe se heahengel Gabrihel gecwæð to Danihele. Þurh Crist is geendod Adames forgægednys and his synn, and Crist adylegode ælce unrihtwisnysse and astealde ða ecan rihtwisnysse, and he gefylde ealle witegunga þurh hine sylfne.<sup>30</sup>

In Ælfric’s handling the events of biblical narrative are deliberately brought to new life. As in much Christian exegesis, the Old Testament, here Adam and Daniel, is brought into harmony with the Gospel, and the Gospel is shown by Ælfric to live on in the daily life of Christians, negatively their transgressions and positively their observance of all that their sponsors undertook for them in baptism.

---

Rudolf Hanslik, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 71 (Turnhout, 1952), IX. 30. 19, pp. 543–44, quoted by Pope: ‘At ille tyrannicam dicebat eius esse praesentiam et contra Deum vesanire Theodosium [. . .] calcare leges’ (‘but he said his presence would be tyrannical and that Theodosius would be railing against God treading His laws underfoot’).

<sup>28</sup> Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat, 2 vols in 4 parts, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900), II (1881), 74, line 114. See II Machabees 7. 2 (*Biblia Sacra*, XVIII (1995), 191): ‘parati sumus mori magis quam patrias Dei leges praevaricari’ (‘we are ready to dye rather than to transgress the lawes of God, coming from our fathers’): *The Holie Bible*, II (1610), 962).

<sup>29</sup> Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, ed. by Malcolm R. Godden, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 5 (London, 1979), p. 7, lines 148–60.

<sup>30</sup> “‘Four hundred and ninety years are numbered from this day upon thee (Daniel) and upon thy people and upon the city of Jerusalem, and then the old transgression shall be ended, and sin shall be brought to its end, and unrighteousness shall be wiped out, and everlasting righteousness shall be brought in, and the vision and the prophecies shall be fulfilled, and the Holy one of all holies shall be anointed.” All these things are fulfilled through Christ’s incarnation, in accordance with the specified space of time which the archangel Gabriel announced to Daniel. Through Christ Adam’s transgression is brought to an end, and his sin, and Christ has wiped out every unrighteousness and established everlasting righteousness, and he has fulfilled through himself all the prophecies.’



Wulfstan's attitude to those who observe and to those who break God's laws manifests itself in expressions that have been recognized as part of his style. Jost lists among Wulfstan's words *lagu* and *lahlic*, and notices that his words for 'crime, guilt' are *synn*, *misdaed*, *gewyrht*, and not *gylt* (except once the technical term *heafodgylt*, 'capital sin').<sup>31</sup> Jost's article showing that two rhythmical passages in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are in the style of Wulfstan is summarized by Whitelock:<sup>32</sup>

Wulfstan's authorship has been claimed by Jost for the 'poems' in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 959 D E and 975 D (where E has substituted a prose summary). There are the familiar Wulfstan phrases, e.g. in 959 *hit godode georne* 'things improved greatly', *swa him þearf wæs* 'as was needful to him', *Godes lage lufode* 'he loved God's law'; while in 975 there is a Wulfstan ring about *Godes wiþærsacan Godes lage bræcon* 'God's adversaries broke God's laws'. This is, however, clearest in the passage: *Ʒ wydewan bestryptan oft and gelome, Ʒ fela unrihta Ʒ yfelra unlaga arysan up siððan Ʒ dā æfter þam hit yfelode swiðe*, 'and they plundered widows oft and again, and many wrongs and evil injustices rose up afterwards, and it grew greatly worse ever after'.

The 'Wulfstan ring' is a strident appeal to divine righteousness and the even greater stridor in condemnation of the unrighteousness of God's adversaries, confirmed by his style, those insistent and reiterative phrases of his characteristic idiom. But unless one believes Buffon's hackneyed *mot, le style est l'homme même*,<sup>33</sup> the essence is the message, the thing which according to Buffon lies outside the man who is speaking: the essence does not lie in the integument, the style in which the message is expressed. Here the message includes the notion that the verb *lufian* ('to love') can have as its object *Godes lage* ('God's law(s)'). To love God and to love one's neighbour, these are recurring themes in Christian thought, including Ælfric's thought,

<sup>31</sup> Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 23 (Bern, 1950), p. 156; cf. Günter Büchner, 'Vier altenglische Bezeichnungen für Vergehen und Verbrechen (firen, gylt, man, scyld)' (doctoral dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1968), p. 75. Wulfstan does use *forgyltan* ('to make (oneself) guilty of') (Büchner, 'Vier altenglische Bezeichnungen', p. 88). See also Wulfstan's use in *Sermo de cena Domini* (*The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), p. 236, lines 5–6): 'men þe mid openan heafodgyltan hy sylfe forgyltað' ('people who make themselves guilty with manifest capital sins'). Bethurum (*Homilies*, p. 347) suggests that, since this is not a literal rendering of his source, 'Wulfstan is translating *peccati capitalis* of the penitentials'.

<sup>32</sup> Karl Jost, 'Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', *Anglia*, 47 (1923), 105–23; Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 24 (1942), 25–45 (p. 38). I have corrected the punctuation slightly. For the text of these annals in Chronicle D, see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. VI, *MS D*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 45 and 46–47; and set out in rhythmical lines, see *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from British Museum, Cotton MS., Tiberius B. IV*, ed. by Ernest Classen and Florence E. Harmer (Manchester, 1926), pp. 48–49 and 51.

<sup>33</sup> Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, 'Discours sur le style', reprinted in *Buffon Discours sur le style a facsimile of the 1753 12<sup>mo</sup> edition*, ed. by Cedric E. Pickford (Hull, 1978), p. xvii.

neatly summarized in the Gregorian words used in two of his *Catholic Homilies*.<sup>34</sup> ‘Swa is eac an lufu, 7 twa bebodu: þæt we sceolon lufian God 7 menn’ (‘In this way too there is one love, and two commandments: that we shall love God and men’).

Wulfstan too mentions the love of God.<sup>35</sup> To love virtue is commended, and to love the world or to love sin is inveighed against by Ælfric and by many other Christian writers. Wulfstan uses words of love far less often than Ælfric, and with him negative uses are common, that is, love where one should hate; thus:<sup>36</sup>

Sume hy wurdon æt nyhstan swa þurh deofol ahyrde þæt hi næfdon to Gode naðer ne lufe ne ege swa swa hy scoldan, ac ðurh deofles lare unriht lufedon ealles to swyðe.<sup>37</sup>

And more positively, love of God leads to keeping his laws:<sup>38</sup>

Leofan men, utan spyrian be bocan georne 7 gelome hwæt þa geforan ða þe God lufedon 7 Godes lage heoldan, 7 hwæt þa geforan ða þe God gremedon 7 Godes lage bræcon, 7 warnian us be swylcan.<sup>39</sup>

Such thoughts end and crown the first of the two homilies just quoted.<sup>40</sup>

Eala, leofan men, utan we don swa us mycel þearf is, lufian Godd eallum mode 7 eallum mægene 7 healdan his bebodu georne: þonne geearnige we us ece blisse æt ðam sylfum Gode þe leofað 7 rixað a butan ende, amen.<sup>41</sup>

And similarly *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*<sup>42</sup> and elsewhere as Wulfstan concludes his homilies, so that the very frequency with which he used such words indicates the

<sup>34</sup> Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies: First Series*, ed. by Clemoes, p. 309, lines 61–62, and p. 362, line 223. Godden, *Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, p. 130, gives Ælfric's source, Gregory's homily on St John's Gospel.

<sup>35</sup> Especially in the adjuratory *ic bidde / lære for Godes lufan* (‘I beg / instruct for God's love’), etc.; e.g. *Die ‘Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical’: ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Bern, 1959), p. 113, §§74, 150; p. 176, §9.

<sup>36</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 149, lines 112–15.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Some were at last so hardened that they felt neither love of God nor fear as they ought, but through the devil's teaching they loved wrong all too much.’

<sup>38</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 251, lines 3–6.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Dearly beloved, let us find out eagerly and continually from the books what happened to those who loved God and kept God's laws, and what befell those who angered God and broke God's laws, and let us be warned by their example.’

<sup>40</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 156, lines 214–17.

<sup>41</sup> ‘O, dearly beloved, let us do as is a great need for us, to love God with all our mind and all our might and eagerly keep his commandments: then we shall merit eternal bliss for ourselves from that selfsame God who lives and rules world without end, amen.’

<sup>42</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 259, lines 119–23; so also p. 275, lines 190–95.

importance he attached to them, an importance enhanced by placing them in the crowning, final position at the very end of several of his vigorous exhortations.<sup>43</sup>

And utan don swa us þearf is: gebugan to rihte 7 be sumum dæle unriht forlætan 7 betan swiðe georne þæt we ær bræcon. And utan God lufian 7 Godes laga fyltan 7 gelæstan swiðe georne þæt þæt we behetan þa we fulluht underfengon, oððon þa þe æt fulluhte ure foresprecan wæron.<sup>44</sup>

Wulfstan's *Polity* stresses, with varied wording, how anyone in spiritual or secular authority should *Godes riht lufian* ('love divine justice') or should *riht lufian for Gode and for worulde* ('love justice for the sake of God and the state').<sup>45</sup> Yet nowhere else is the love of God's laws so bluntly commended as in the praise of King Edgar in the rhythmical Chronicle annal for 959, ascribed to Wulfstan,<sup>46</sup> who contrasts this strong praise with mild dispraise of the king. I set it out in rhythmical lines,<sup>47</sup> and the translation is Anna Gurney's, the most elegant of translations of the Chronicle known to me, though not the most literal:<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The editors of *Sermo Lupi* point out (*Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 96, 364; *Sermo Lupi*, ed. by Whitelock, pp. 66–67) how this ending became a convention with Wulfstan. Such wording is to be found also in the body of his homilies (thus at *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 141, line 115, p. 163, line 144). Compare his wording on baptismal vows in *Polity* ('*Institutes of Polity*', ed. by Jost, p. 158, §§120, 226, and note; p. 162, §§125, 231); and the Wulfstanian law (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 368 (II Cnut 84)).

<sup>44</sup> 'And let us do as is needful for us: turn to what is right (*or* to justice) and (at least) to some extent leave off what is wrong (*or* abandon injustice), and amend very strenuously what we had broken. And let us love God and observe God's laws and perform very eagerly what we vowed when we received baptism, or those (vowed) who at baptism stood sponsor for us.'

<sup>45</sup> '*Institutes of Polity*', ed. by Jost, pp. 42, §5, 43, §§6a and 7, 50, §20, 62, §41, 78, §§57 and 85. See also the Wulfstanian law (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 242 (V Æthelred 26), 244 (V Æthelred 33.1), 254 (VI Æthelred 30), 256 (VI Æthelred 40.1), 300 (I Cnut 19.3)).

<sup>46</sup> Jost ('Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik', p. 111) states that (*Godes*) *lage lufian* is to be found nowhere else in Old English.

<sup>47</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Tiberius B. IV*, ed. by Classen and Harmer, p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> *A Literal Translation of the Saxon Chronicle*, trans. by A Lady in the Country [Anna Gurney] (Norwich, 1819). Ever since Wolfgang Keller (*Die litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in angelsächsischer Zeit*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, 84 (Strassburg, 1900), pp. 37–39) — thus Jost ('Wulfstan und die angelsächsische Chronik'), and Whitelock (*English Historical Documents*, p. 225, n. 4; and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. and trans. by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas, and Susie I. Tucker (London, 1961), p. 74, n. 10) — this annal has been shown to be close to Ælfric's epilogue to Judges in *The Old English Version of The Heptateuch* (*The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament, and his Preface to Genesis, ed. by S. J. Crawford, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 160 (London, 1922), pp. 416–17; and cf. *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 928). This closeness involves *arærde Godes lof*; but *Godes lage lufode* is not in Ælfric, and may well be foreign to his way of thinking.

On his dagum hit godode georne,  
 and God him geuðe  
 þæt he wunode on sibbe  
 þa hwile þe he leofode,  
 and he dyde, swa him þearf wæs,  
 earnode þæs georne:  
 he arærde Godes lof wide  
 and Godes lage lufode  
 and folces frið bette  
 swyðost þara cyninga  
 þe ær him gewurde  
 be manna gemynde.

There was prosperity in his days,  
 and God gave him  
 to abide in peace  
 so long as he lived,  
 and he, as it beseeemed him,  
 strove to merit this favour.  
 He every where exalted the glory of God,  
 and he loved the laws of God,  
 and attended to the peace of the people,  
 more than any King  
 before  
 in the memory of man.

That a king should be commended for loving God's laws may sound to modern ears as if Wulfstan is here a caricature of his legalistic self, whereas it is an echo of such biblical wording as *lufude bebodu þine* ('loved thy commandments') of Psalm 118. 127. That, however, may be too superficial a view. I began with a quotation from seventeenth-century homiletic writings, and I will end with another from that period, from Queen Elizabeth to William and Mary, which I regard as the greatest age for sermons in English after the much briefer time of Ælfric and Wulfstan. I do so not merely to celebrate excellent English homiletic prose, but mainly because at times the sense of something aberrant-seeming to modern ears in Anglo-Saxon sacred rhetoric is made clear in the homiletics of this later age, and Anglo-Saxon eccentricity is, in truth, found to lie at the centre of religious thinking. Thus we may learn to understand Archbishop Wulfstan by reading Archbishop Tillotson, 'Sermon X. The Justice of God in the distribution of Rewards and Punishments'.<sup>49</sup>

It is *essential* to God to love Goodness, and hate Sin, wherever he sees them. It is not necessary there should be a World, or reasonable Creatures in it; but upon supposition that God makes such Creatures, it is agreeable to the Divine Nature, to give them good and righteous Laws, to encourage them in the doing of that which is good, and to discourage them from doing that which is evil, which cannot be done, but by *Rewards* and *Punishments*, and therefore it is agreeable to the Perfection of the Divine Nature, to reward Goodness, and to punish Sin.

If I understand Tillotson correctly, and through him Wulfstan, love of God leads to the recognition of the fundamental concordance of the nature of God and divine justice. The love of God, which is enjoined by all preachers through the ages, implies the love of the laws of God, as praised by Wulfstan in King Edgar. The laws of kings are to be seen as an appendage to and extension of the laws of God, the laws promulgated in the Bible and central to divine justice: whoever seeks to exalt God's glory must praise his justice. The laws of King Alfred, which are, as it were, an

---

<sup>49</sup> Tillotson, *Sermons and Discourses*, VI (1700), 326.

appendage to biblical law, shape the Anglo-Saxon ideal of legislation,<sup>50</sup> and that ideal is such as we may suppose would have moved Wulfstan to praise a king, in the terms of his rhythmical annal 959, as one who exalted the glory of God throughout the land and loved God's laws: *he arærde Godes lof wide and Godes lage lufode*. We may rightly praise Wulfstan too in these terms.

---

<sup>50</sup> See Eric Gerald Stanley, 'On the Laws of King Alfred: The End of the Preface and the Beginning of the Laws', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 211–21.



## ‘The Protection of God and the King’: Wulfstan’s Legislation on Widows

STEPHANIE HOLLIS

The concluding section of Cnut’s law-code begins with an announcement of the King’s desire to mitigate the oppressions which have hitherto afflicted all of the people all too greatly.<sup>1</sup> This section of the code (II Cnut 69–83.2) is thought to represent legislation that originated in 1014 when Æthelred returned to England and, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, swore an oath that he would be a gracious lord to his people and reform all the things which they all hated. As Patrick Wormald puts it, the concluding section of Cnut’s law-code ‘might have corresponded to whatever Wulfstan’s scribes jettisoned from “VIII Æthelred” of that year’.<sup>2</sup> It might also, as Pauline Stafford argues, represent a coronation charter issued by Cnut early in his reign. The ‘mitigations’, she points out, are (loosely) unified by the theme of abuses of lordship, ‘to some extent those of all lordship, but specifically those of the lordship of the king’.<sup>3</sup> This section of the code includes legislation on women, chiefly widows, whose scope extends beyond its ostensible theme. It is the only sustained and considered piece of legislation on women to be found in the Anglo-Saxon law-codes.<sup>4</sup>

The legislation on widows in II Cnut may appear to represent Wulfstan’s success in enshrining his own particular preoccupations as an ecclesiastic in a secular law-

---

<sup>1</sup> II Cnut 69; *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16; repr. Aalen, 1960), I, 278–372 (pp. 356–60).

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. I, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Pauline Stafford, ‘The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 10 (1982), 173–90 (p. 177).

<sup>4</sup> See esp. Æthelberht 73–85; Hlothere and Eadric 6; Ine 7–7.1, 31, 38, 57; Alfred 8–9, 10, 18–18.3, 42.7; VI Æthelstan 1.1; V Æthelred 21–21.1. II Cnut also legislates on female adultery (53–53.1) and a wife’s complicity in her husband’s theft (76–76.1b).

code. In effect, II Cnut's legislation on widows gives specific definition to a promulgation Wulfstan includes in other law-codes he drafted, which offers, in very general terms, royal and ecclesiastical protection for widows and endorsement of their freedom to choose between remarriage and a religious vocation, on condition that they observe the canonical requirement to remain chaste for the year following their husbands' demise: 'And all widows who behave rightly are to be under the protection of God and the king. And each widow is to remain unmarried for twelve months; she is afterwards to choose what she will.'<sup>5</sup>

I want to suggest, however, that it may be more accurate to regard Wulfstan as the drafter rather than the author of II Cnut's legislation on widows — to regard him as formulating legislation which represented the outcome of his negotiations with other influential members of the realm, whose concerns were somewhat different from Wulfstan's and to some extent in conflict with his abiding preoccupations. He does condemn the oppression of widows in his homilies and other writings, but he was by no means alone in this, and the protection of widows' rights of inheritance, which is addressed in clauses 70–72.1, was a matter of widespread concern to both ecclesiastics and ealdormen. There are signs, too, that the alteration to traditional conceptions of the bride price proposed in clause 74 had wider support. It is the prohibition against widows' premature remarriage which clearly represents his own, strongly held view, and, in attempting to enforce this in II Cnut by ruling that widows who remarry within a year are to forfeit their inheritance *and* their morning gift, he is at odds both with established social custom and with the spirit of the surrounding legislation, which seeks to protect widows' rights of inheritance as well as to protect them against compulsion to remarry to advance the financial interests of their guardians. Set against the *Institutes of Polity* and the ecclesiastical pronouncements associated with Wulfstan, his legislation on widows in II Cnut appears to represent not only his success in imposing his own preoccupations but also the extent to which he accommodated to secular views, mediated, presumably, through the secular members of the council.

Omitting the grades of heriot specified in clauses 71–71.5, the legislation on widows reads:

70. And gif hwa cwydeleas of þysum life gewite, si hit þurh his gymeleaste, si hit þurh færligne deað, þonne ne teo se hlaford na mare on his æhte butan his rihtan heregeata.

70.1. Ac beo be hit dihte seo æhte gescyft swyðe rihte wife 7 cildum 7 nehmagum, ælcum be þære mæðe, þe him to gebyrige. [. . .]

72. 7 þær se bonda sæt uncwydd 7 unbegrafoð, sitte þæt wif 7 þa cild on þam ylcan unbesacen.

<sup>5</sup> '7 sy ælc wydewe, þe hy sylf mid rihte gehealde, on Godes griðe 7 on þæs cynges. 7 sitte ælc XII monað werleas; ceose syððan þæt heo sylf wille': V Æthelred 21–21.1 (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 242). See also VI Æthelred 26–26.1, and Cnut's Law Code of 1018, 16. The latter is edited by A. G. Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code of 1018', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 57–81.



72.1. And gif se bonda, ær he dead wære, beclypod, þonne andwyrðan þa yrfenuman, swa he sylf sceolde, þeah he lif hæfde.

73. ȝ sitte ælce wuduwe werleas XII monað ceose syððan þæt heo sylf wylle.

73a. ȝ gif heo binnan geares fæce wer geceose, þonne þolige heo þære morgengyfe ȝ ealra þæra æhta, þe heo þurh ærran wer hæfde; ȝ fon þa nehstan frynd to ðam landan ȝ to þan æhtan, þe heo ær hæfde.

73.1. ȝ si he his weres scyldig wið þone cingc oððe wið þone, þe he his socne geunnen hæbbe.

73.2. ȝ þeah heo nydnyumen weorðe, þolige þæra æhta, butan heo fram þam ceorle wylle eft ham ongean ȝ næfre heo eft his ne weorðe.

73.3. ȝ ne hadige man æfre wudewan to hrædllice.

73.4. And gelæste ælc wuduwe þa heregeatu binnan XII monaðum, butan hyre ær to onhagige, witeleas.

74. ȝ na nyde man naðer ne wif ne mæden to þam, þe hyre sylfre mislicie, ne wið sceatte ne sylle, butan he hwæt agenes ðances gyfan wylle.<sup>6</sup>

The first group of clauses in the legislation on widows (70–72.1) are in line with the mitigation of abuses of lordship announced in clause 69. This section of the legislation offers protection to widows (and their children) against arbitrary seizure of the deceased husband's property by the king (or lord), by specifying the grades of heriot to which he is entitled, and also by ruling that they are not liable for posthumous claims and charges, unless these were outstanding at the time of the husband's death. The legislation also attempts to protect widows against unjust treatment by other heirs — whether the husband's kinsmen or their own sons — by calling on the king (or lord) to ensure that the inheritance is divided according to established custom.

The next clause (73) heralds a shift from the king's responsibility for the just treatment of widows to a consideration of widows' remarriage ('And each widow is to remain unmarried for twelve months; she is afterwards to choose what she herself

---

<sup>6</sup> 'And if anyone departs from this life intestate, whether it is through his heedlessness, or through sudden death, then the lord is not to take more from his possessions than his legal heriot. But by his direction, the property is to be very justly divided among the wife, the children, and the close kinsmen, each in the proportion which belongs to him. [. . .] And where the householder dwelt undisturbed by charges and claims, the wife and children are to dwell on the same property unmolested by litigation. And each widow is to remain unmarried for twelve months; she is afterwards to choose what she herself wishes. And if she chooses a husband within the year's space, she is then to forfeit the morning gift and all the possessions which she had through her former husband; and the nearest kinsmen are to succeed to the lands and to the possessions which she had before. And he is to be liable to pay his wergild to the king or to him to whom he has granted the jurisdiction. And even if she was married by force, she is to forfeit those possessions, unless she wishes to leave the man and return home and never afterwards become his. A widow is never to be consecrated too hastily. And each widow is to pay the heriot within twelve months, without fine, unless it is convenient to her to do so sooner. And neither a widow nor a maid is ever to be forced to marry a man whom she herself dislikes, nor to be given for money, unless he chooses to give anything of his own free will.'

wishes'). Like the legislation on inheritance, the third group of clauses (73.3–74) aims to protect widows; they are regarded as subject to coercion of various kinds, and the legislation is designed to assist their exercise of choice. They must be allowed to choose freely between remarriage and a religious vocation; clause 73.3, 'a widow is never to be consecrated too hastily', is presumably directed against relatives with a financial or dynastic interest in preventing remarriage, or who wanted to avoid the cost of maintaining a widow.<sup>7</sup> They are not to be harassed for payment of the heriot within the first twelve months of widowhood (indirect pressure to remarry in order to raise the amount might be implicit here). And they are not to be forced to marry to advance the financial interests of their relatives.<sup>8</sup> This also applies to unmarried women. Two means to enforce this are promulgated; in effect, clause 74 requires a woman's consent as a condition of marriage, and it takes away the right of a woman's guardian to demand a bride price on his own terms: 'And neither a widow nor a maid is ever to be forced to marry a man whom she herself dislikes, nor to be given for money, unless he chooses to give anything of his own free will.' The legislation does not aim to abolish the bride price but to change its nature — assets are permitted to change hands, but the right to determine the amount is transferred from the guardian to the suitor.<sup>9</sup> This would not prevent a woman from being forced to consent to an unwanted marriage if the suitor were willing to 'offer of his own free will' whatever the guardian demanded; but it has the potential to give rise to protracted, if not irresolvable, haggling between the guardian and the suitor, and a suitor might well have preferred to seek a wife from a guardian who was prepared to accept what he was willing to offer.

In sharp contrast to the legislation that aims to help widows to exercise choice by protecting them against the avaricious coercions of the King, their relatives, and prospective husbands, the intervening legislation (clauses 73–73.2) aims to compel widows to remain unmarried for twelve months in accordance with penitential canons.<sup>10</sup> A

---

<sup>7</sup> Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, 2 vols, *Studies in Early Medieval Britain*, 1 (Aldershot, 2000), 1, 120–25, points out that the Council of Paris in 829 and the Council of Mainz in 888 instructed that widows should not be veiled too quickly, and notes that II Cnut 73.3 has been interpreted as reflecting a low opinion of women's constancy, 'but its context (with other clauses relating to the protection of widows from their avaricious male relatives) suggests that this was a measure designed for the protection rather than the restriction of widows' (p. 125, n. 75).

<sup>8</sup> There is a possibility that clause 74 refers to wards of the king, but that seems inconsistent with the all-inclusive terms in which the legislation is couched.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Anne L. Klinck, 'Anglo-Saxon Women and the Law', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 107–21, who states that clause 74 'specifically condemns [...] the payment of brideprice' (p. 111).

<sup>10</sup> See Theodore's Penitential 2.12.10, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen*, ed. by Paul Willem Finsterwalder (Weimar, 1929), pp. 284–335 (p. 327). This ruling is included in *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, *Anglo-Saxon Texts*, 1 (Cambridge, 1999), Recension A, no. 87.

powerful sanction has been found here against widows who choose to remarry within twelve months. All of their possessions, including the morning gift, are forfeited to their husband's kinsmen: 'And if she chooses a husband within the year's space, she is then to forfeit the morning gift and all the possessions which she had through her former husband; and the nearest kinsmen are to succeed to the lands and to the possessions which she had before' (73*a*). The tendency of a husband's kinsmen to challenge the widow's inheritance, evident in law suits and earlier legal codes, leaves no doubt about their willingness to cooperate in enforcing this.<sup>11</sup> Having done its best to safeguard widow's inheritance against the depredations of the king and their relatives, then, the legislation aims to reduce them to penury if they remarry within a year. A man who contracts a premature marriage with a widow is also penalized; he forfeits his wergild (73.1).<sup>12</sup> Collusion between the husband's kinsmen and a prospective bridegroom to marry a widow in haste and split her property between them does not seem to have been envisaged here. But failing that, the removal of a widow's legal right to her property in the event of premature remarriage would serve to deter men from making unwanted offers of marriage during the first year of widowhood (they would have nothing to gain and a wergild to lose). It also provides a deterrent to forcible abduction of a widow: 'And even if she was married by force, she is to forfeit those possessions, unless she wishes to leave the husband and return home and never afterwards become his' (73.2).

Given the punitively repressive thrust of this piece of legislation, however, it is not surprising that clause 73.2 has been ranked with Alfred's legislation on marriages to nuns taken from their convents without the permission of the king or bishop as an instance of women being held responsible for their own abduction.<sup>13</sup> But whereas Alfred's legislation appears to assume that an abducted nun invariably

---

<sup>11</sup> Conflict between a deceased husband's widow and his kinsmen is implicit in Æthelberht 78, 81; Hlothere and Eadric 6; Ine 38. Julia Crick, 'Men, Women and Widows: Widowhood in Pre-Conquest England', in *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner (Harlow, 1999), pp. 24–36, instances charters demonstrating the ways in which the legacies of widows fell prey to their husbands' kin (p. 27). See, e.g. *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by A. J. Robertson, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1958; repr. Holmes Beach, FL, 1986), nos 59, 63, 78.

<sup>12</sup> Carole Hough, 'The Widow's Mund in Æthelberht 75 and 76', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 98 (1999), 1–16, argues that Æthelberht's code represents an earlier attempt to safeguard a widow's freedom of choice by imposing a heavy financial penalty on any man who attempts to force her into marriage (pp. 15–16).

<sup>13</sup> Alfred 8–8.3 states that, if a nun taken from a convent without the permission of the king or the bishop outlives the man who brought her out, neither she nor any child she bears is to inherit from him, and that if the child is killed the maternal share of the wergild is to be paid to the king. See Mary P. Richards and B. Jane Stanfield, 'Concepts of Anglo-Saxon Widows in the Laws', in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. by Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington, 1990), pp. 89–99 (pp. 95–96).

colluded with her captor, this clause (in keeping with the awareness of widows' liability to coercion) provides for genuine cases of abduction; it requires the widow to prove her unwillingness by leaving the abductor and returning home, and it gives her an incentive to do so by allowing her to reclaim her property.

Determination to prevent widows from remarrying in twelve months may have been the motive underlying this legislation, but it does not simply attempt to force their compliance; it tries to help them to do so by mitigating the various compulsions to which they are subject.<sup>14</sup> Its implementation would chiefly have assisted devout widows to choose a religious vocation. But there is evidently no intention to swell the ranks of vowed widows (they are not to be consecrated too hastily). And the legislation aims to do more for widows than to enable them to remain unmarried for the prescribed period. It also aims to secure benefits for those who do afterwards choose to remarry — not only by safeguarding their inheritance, but by pronouncing that widows are not to be married against their will to advance the financial interests of their relatives.

Success in the implementation of this legislation may well have been a factor in the increased number of vowed widows in the late Anglo-Saxon period demonstrated by Sarah Foot.<sup>15</sup> One of the notable features of the legislation is that its implementation does not depend entirely on the intervention of secular or ecclesiastical authorities; it employs social sanctions, both in the forfeiture of the widow's property to her husband's kinsmen in the event of premature remarriage, and by transferring the right to determine the bride price from the guardian to the suitor (although, as I have indicated, neither of these is wholly watertight). But to a high degree, implementation required a social climate favourable to the protection of widows' rights, particularly the intervention of secular and ecclesiastical powers (to help an abducted widow who did return home to recover her property, to ensure that she was not too hastily consecrated, and so on).

Wulfstan contributed to the creation of a social climate favourable to the protection of widows in his homilies and other writings. It is 'a Wulfstanian theme', but, like many of the mannerisms of his style, it is not uniquely characteristic. Other ecclesiastics, as well as secular magnates, in differing ways, were concerned with the plight of widows, and Ælfric, like other contemporary homilists and hagiographers, frequently exhorts his audience to treat widows with merciful kindness. There are, however, distinctive features of Wulfstan's handling of this essentially Old Testament concern (as distinct from the care of the poor, the sick, and others, with whom Christ identifies himself

---

<sup>14</sup> Similarly, II Cnut's legislation on a wife's complicity in her husband's theft (76–76.1b), echoing Ine 57, decrees that a wife is guilty only if the stolen property is placed in rooms or containers to which she holds the key, on the grounds that she cannot prevent her husband from bringing anything into the house. Cf. also II Cnut 68.2, which echoes the penitential principle that those who act under compulsion are entitled to clemency.

<sup>15</sup> Foot, *Veiled Women*, I, 111–44.

in Matthew 26. 34–46).<sup>16</sup> In advancing the protection of widows (together with orphans and strangers) as the duty of all Christians and a particular responsibility of the king, Wulfstan is part of a Benedictine Reform movement which is associated with Dunstan. But his fundamentally Old Testament conception of God's relationship with the English nation gave particular resonance and urgency to his handling of this theme. Unlike contemporary homilists and hagiographers he does not primarily present widows as one of the groups particularly deserving of alms and Christian charity (in effect, Wulfstan's contemporaries conflate the Old and New Testament categories of those who suffer most).<sup>17</sup> For Wulfstan the just treatment of widows is one of the acid tests of a nation's conformity to God's will, a view he expresses most memorably in *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* where he inveighs against the *unriht* by which widows are forced to marry, and too often afflicted and greatly oppressed.<sup>18</sup> So, too, in presenting the protection of widows as a particular responsibility of the king, he replaces the formulaic exhortation to give aid to widows, orphans, and strangers with more socially specific legislation. The law-codes of Æthelred, from 1008 to 1014, and the code of 1018 repeat the statement that 'All widows are to be under the protection of God and the king. And each widow is to remain unmarried for twelve months; she is afterwards to choose what she herself will.'<sup>19</sup> This statement also appears in a homily on the duties of the king (Napier L), which, Stafford argues, is a draft of the homily that Wulfstan preached for the coronation of Cnut.<sup>20</sup> There are signs, however, that Wulfstan felt it necessary to make widows the responsibility of other social groups, Æthelred's protection presumably having proved itself inadequate.<sup>21</sup> *Polity*

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Exodus 22. 21–24; Deuteronomy 10. 18, 14. 29, 26. 16; Psalm 67. 5; Isaiah 10. 2; Jeremiah 49. 11. The despoliation of widows' property, however, is condemned in Matthew 23. 14.

<sup>17</sup> For citations and discussion of these, see Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr, 'Widows in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Between Poverty and the Pyre: Moments in the History of Widowhood*, ed. by Jan Bremmer and Lourens van den Bosch (London, 1995), pp. 58–88 (pp. 72–76).

<sup>18</sup> *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), XX (EI), p. 268, lines 42–47. See also Homily XI (pp. 211–20, lines 175–80, 197–98) and Homily Xc (p. 208, lines 162–64).

<sup>19</sup> See note 5 above.

<sup>20</sup> *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, 4 (Berlin, 1883; repr. with a supplement by Klaus Ostheeren, Dublin, 1967), pp. 266–74 (p. 271, lines 18–20). As Stafford, 'The Laws of Cnut', pp. 179–80, 186, also points out, Napier L echoes Dunstan's coronation homily (see note 24 below).

<sup>21</sup> Dorothy Bethurum Loomis, 'Regnum and sacerdotium in the Early Eleventh Century', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 129–45, shows that, in the course of time, Wulfstan's view of the king's sanctity and unique position underwent modification (pp. 134–37, 142–43).

accords the king general responsibility for *Godes þearfum* ('God's poor'). The protection of widows and orphans is made the specific duty of the secular powers (*eorlas and heretogan*), and *Institutes of Polity II* adds a condemnation of reeves who strip widows of their property.<sup>22</sup> In the Appendix to VI Æthelred, the exhortation to aid widows and orphans is addressed to the religious orders.<sup>23</sup>

The protection of widows (and orphans and strangers) occupies a prominent place in the homily on the duties of kingship that Dunstan is presumed to have preached for the coronation of Æthelred. (It is second only to the duty to judge justly.)<sup>24</sup> It also figures in the lengthy passage from Exodus quoted in the prologue to Alfred's laws;<sup>25</sup> but there is no legislation on widows in Alfred's code, and (except for a single sentence in VI Æthelstan)<sup>26</sup> there is no mention of widows in post-Alfredian codes until V Æthelred (the earliest of the codes drafted by Wulfstan).<sup>27</sup> Nor do widows figure in Asser's account of Alfred's charity (although he does relate that Alfred was very generous to strangers).<sup>28</sup> Wulfstan himself appears to have regarded the protection of widows as a defining policy of the Benedictine Reform. An addition to the entry for 975 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (D), in Wulfstan's style, condemns the secular leaders of the reaction against the reforms instituted in Edgar's reign for having destroyed the monasteries and for having plundered widows time and again.<sup>29</sup> The effects of Dunstan's promotion of the protection of widows as a

<sup>22</sup> *Polity* I.21 (II.28), I.59 (II.87), II.97: *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Bern, 1959).

<sup>23</sup> VI Æthelred, Appendix 47.

<sup>24</sup> *Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 63 (London, 1874; repr. Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 355–57 (p. 356). See note 20 above. The source of Dunstan's homily is pseudo-Cyprian's *Rex Iniquus*, which is incorporated in a section on the duties of kingship in Abbo of Fleury's *Collectio canonum*; Ælfric also draws on this in his treatise on the duties of a king, *De duodecim abusivis: Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, ed. by R. Morris, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 29, 34 (London, 1867–68), pp. 296–304. See further the discussion of the tradition of preaching on the duties of kingship in M. K. Lawson, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 141–64 (pp. 142–46).

<sup>25</sup> Alfred, Int. 34.

<sup>26</sup> VI Æthelstan 2 records the exemption from payment of a contribution to the peace guild of a poor widow who owned no land.

<sup>27</sup> V Æthelred 21–21.1; see note 5 above.

<sup>28</sup> *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. by William Henry Stevenson (Oxford, 1904; repr. 1959), chs 101–03, 106.

<sup>29</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. VI, MS D, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 46–47. For the identification of Wulfstan's style, see *English Historical Documents*, vol. I, c. 500–1042, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1955), p. 209, n. 1.

definition of just kingship are perhaps demonstrated in two charters of the 990s, which record events that predated Wulfstan's membership of the council. When the widow of Æthelric of Bocking came to pay his heriot at a meeting of the council, Æthelred took the opportunity to bring an accusation of treason against Æthelric.<sup>30</sup> As Dorothy Whitelock observed, 'one wonders why the king apparently took no action in Æthelric's life'.<sup>31</sup> The most probable answer is that when it came to confiscating property, kings found it easier to deal with widows.<sup>32</sup> Æthelred was prevailed upon by the widow's advocate, Archbishop Ælfric, to allow Æthelric's will to stand on condition that she gave her morning gift to Christ Church for the soul of the King and his people. The charter, expressing the hope that God will reward the King, states that he consented to the terms proposed by the Archbishop for the sake of Christ and of St Mary and of St Dunstan and of all the saints that rest at Christ Church. Some kind of appeal to the King's piety appears to have persuaded him against seizing the widow's inheritance, and the reference to Dunstan, coupled with the invocation of Mary,<sup>33</sup> conceivably suggests that the compassionate treatment of widows required by Dunstan's definition of just kingship might have figured in this.

The charter recording the history of land granted by Æthelred to Abingdon in 997 makes explicit reference to the duties that the King owes to God for granting him his kingship. This charter relates that when Ealdorman Ælfric was exiled for treason, the properties forfeited to the King included estates that Ælfric had forcibly taken from a widow named Eadflæd; but, with merciful kindness, Æthelred allowed the widow to possess her inheritance, for the love of his leading men who were her advocates to him, and the widow, in gratitude, willed the lands back to Æthelred on her deathbed.<sup>34</sup> Among these leading men was doubtless Wulfgar, abbot of Abingdon, who was active in urging Æthelred to make this grant to Abingdon; but so too were the King's

---

<sup>30</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930), no. 16/2.

<sup>31</sup> *English Historical Documents*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 535.

<sup>32</sup> Compare, e.g., *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 63; when Wulfbald's father died, he seized all of his stepmother's portable property, as well as land belonging to his kinsman, but although Æthelred sent word to him four times instructing him to return the property he had stolen, each time declaring his wergild forfeit, he did not take action until Wulfbald died. The repossession of the stolen land was, in fact, forcibly resisted by Wulfbald's widow and her son, but without success, and all of Wulfbald's possessions were assigned to the king, including, presumably, the portable property he stole from his stepmother. Given the vulnerability of widows, all confiscation of their property arouses suspicion; the widow who was summarily drowned for practicing witchcraft, for instance, owned land, which Æthelred granted to her accuser.

<sup>33</sup> As Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 2 (Cambridge, 1990), observes, devotion to Mary was 'a hallmark of the reform' (p. 135).

<sup>34</sup> *Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Part 2*, ed. by S. E. Kelly, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 8 (Oxford, 2001), no. 129.

kinsmen, Ordwulf and Æthelmær, and his beloved thegn Wulfgeat. They might therefore have been among the leading men who had earlier prevailed on Æthelred to give the widow's stolen lands back to her.

The appropriation of widows' property by the King was certainly a matter that concerned secular magnates. Wills of married men in the reign of Æthelred express the hope that the King will allow the will to stand in terms that are not merely formulaic. Ælfhelm, for instance, seemingly anticipating a posthumous charge of treason, calls God to witness his enduring loyalty to the King and to the King's father.<sup>35</sup> Æthelric of Bocking (presciently, it would seem) did not express the hope that the King would allow his will to stand; he left him his heriot, but prayed that Bishop Ælfstan would protect his widow and her inheritance.<sup>36</sup> But whether or not Æthelred was particularly prone to deprive widows of their inheritance (that, presumably, is the inference to be drawn from the appearance of legislation addressing this abuse of lordship under a rubric in which Cnut undertakes to mitigate previous oppressions),<sup>37</sup> the appearance of bishops as the protectors of widows against the king predates Æthelred's reign. In the reign of Edgar, the Bishop of Rochester bought back properties forfeited to the King by the widow Brihtwaru and gave her a life interest in them; he appears not to have shared the council's assumption that she had been complicit in her husband's theft of title deeds belonging to the Bishop.<sup>38</sup> The earliest recorded episcopal protector, however, is Dunstan himself, who, in the reign of Eadwig, was entrusted with the guardianship of a widow and her child, together with the property left by her husband, which Dunstan was obliged to buy back after it was confiscated by the King.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Whitelock, no. 13; see also nos 16/1, 17, 19, 25.

<sup>36</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Whitelock, no. 16/1.

<sup>37</sup> In contrast to wills dating from the reign of Cnut (which formulaically damn anyone who overrides the wishes of the testator), the Will of Ælfhelm (*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Whitelock, no. 13) states: 'se man se þe minne cwyde wende. buton þu hyt sy leof. 7 ic hæbbe geleauan þæt þu nelle. god afyrre hine of his rice' ('That man who shall alter my will (unless it be you, Sire, and I am confident that you will not), may God drive him from his kingdom'). The Will of Wulfric (no. 17), similarly, affirms: '7 of ealra cristenra gemanan, se ðe þis awende. butan hit min án cynehlaford sy. 7 ic hópyge to him swa góðan. 7 swa mildheortan [þæt] he hit nylle sylf dón. ne eac nanum oprum menn gepafian' ('And whoever perverts this, may God Almighty remove him from all God's joy and from the communion of all Christians, unless it be my royal lord alone, and I believe him to be so good and gracious that he will not himself do it nor permit any other man to do so') (Whitelock's translation). See also note 32 above.

<sup>38</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 59.

<sup>39</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 44. Dunstan was also renowned for his filial care of a devout, rich widow who took up residence beside the church at Glastonbury when he was the abbot there; see *Sancti Dunstani Vita Auctore B.*, chs 10–11, in *Memorials*, ed. by Stubbs, pp. 3–52. She made Dunstan her executor, and the bulk of her property went to Glastonbury. But it need not be assumed that ecclesiastics who assisted property owning widows



The plight of widows robbed of their inheritance was also a matter that concerned Cnut's wife Emma in the years following Cnut's death in 1035; Emma was Æthelred's widow, and her marriage to Cnut in the spring of 1017 must have coincided rather closely with the first anniversary of Æthelred's death.<sup>40</sup> The *Encomium* she commissioned c. 1042 builds upon the Benedictine reformers' establishment of widows as a class especially deserving of merciful compassion and just treatment, and also upon the development of an affective strain of Marian devotion. The *Encomium* is designed to elicit what might be called a form of ecclesiastical chivalry towards a virtuous and defenceless widow, and, in the narrative of Emma's cruel and unjust treatment by Cnut's son Harold, Archbishop Æthelnoth figures, very properly, as the champion of her cause.<sup>41</sup> The Abingdon chronicler was evidently susceptible to the kind of protective compassion the *Encomium* seeks to arouse; the entry for 1037, recounting her exile from England, describes her as having been 'driven out without any mercy to face the raging winter', despite the fact that her resistance to Harold's recovery of Cnut's treasury is clearly implicit in this account.<sup>42</sup> Obliquely, the prologue to her *Encomium* credits to her influence both Cnut's generosity to the Church and his exercise of just kingship,<sup>43</sup> which is evoked in terms that recall the

---

acted solely out of self-interest in the belief that the property would ultimately fall into the possession of the Church. (It is, indeed, difficult to interpret the Bishop of Rochester's action as self-interested, and, as there is no indication that Æthelred's return of the widow's lands was conditional on their reversion to Abingdon at her death, there is no evident reason to regard Abbot Wulfgar's advocacy as self-interested.) As J. L. Nelson, 'The Wary Widow', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Wendy Fouracre and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 82–113, observes, 'religious beliefs were internalised as motivations' (p. 91).

<sup>40</sup> Æthelred died on St George's day of 1016 (23 April).

<sup>41</sup> *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Alistair Campbell, with a supplementary introduction by Simon Keynes, Royal Historical Society Camden Classic Reprints, 4 (Cambridge, 1998), Bk III, ch. 1.

<sup>42</sup> 'Man draf ða ut [. . .] butan ælcere mildheortnesse ongean þone weallendan winter': *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. X, *The Abingdon Chronicle, AD 956–1066*, ed. by Patrick W. Connor (Cambridge, 1996), p. 14; see also p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> For the panegyric on Cnut's reign, see *Encomium*, ed. by Campbell, Bk II, chs 19–22. Emma's all-pervasive (but barely perceptible) good influence is adumbrated in the *Argumentum* (pp. 6–8), where the author explains that just as a circle returns to the point from which it started, 'Simili igitur continuatione laus reginae claret in primis, in mediis uiget, in ultimas inuenitur, omnemque prorsus codicis summam complectitur' ('By a similar connection, therefore, the praise of the Queen is evident at the beginning, thrives in the middle, is present at the end, and embraces absolutely all of what the book amounts to'). He concludes, in the same vein: 'His enim animaduersis, o lector, uigilique, immo etiam perspicaci, oculo mentis perscrutato textu, intellige, huius libelli seriem per omnia reginae Emmae laudibus respondere' ('Noticing these matters, O Reader, and having scanned the narrative with a watchful, nay, more, with a penetrating eye, understand that the course of this book is devoted entirely to the praise of Queen Emma'). Campbell's translation.

prominent position of widows in Dunstan's coronation homily, though here widows share first place with wards.<sup>44</sup> Emma's participation in Cnut's ecclesiastical patronage was well publicized;<sup>45</sup> given the *Encomiast's* perverse, but scrupulous, respect for truth, there may well have been some substance to the implication that she used her influence to persuade Cnut to accept the duties of a Christian king, particularly in the early years of his reign. As Simon Keynes remarks, 'The stature which Queen Emma enjoyed in Cnut's reign is suggested by [...] forms of evidence which reflect what seems to have been the general perception of a king who acted in association with his queen.'<sup>46</sup> Wulfstan was among those who, at least in some respects, regarded Cnut and Emma as a royal pair, if not as joint rulers; his writ of 1020 announcing the consecration of Archbishop Æthelnoth is addressed to both of them and urges them to pay heed to the Archbishop both in religious and secular affairs.<sup>47</sup> But did Emma, in the early years of her marriage to Cnut, care about the problems of widows of her own class? She had had the opportunity to discover what these were; and it is worth noticing, in the light of II Cnut's legislation on the remarriage of widows, that there is no reference at all to a male guardian in the *Encomium's* account of Emma's marriage to Cnut: it depicts Emma herself accepting his offer of marriage and dictating the terms of her agreement.<sup>48</sup>

Given this tradition of regarding the protection of widows as the duty of all Christians and a particular responsibility of the king, the appearance of legislation on the protection of widows in the concluding section of Cnut's code (which may represent his coronation charter) cannot be attributed to Wulfstan's single-handed success in imposing his concerns on the law-codes that he drafted. Already in III Æthelred (997) — before Wulfstan's emergence as the drafter of Æthelred's law-codes — legislation is enacted to the effect that if anyone dwells undisturbed by charges and claims on his estates during his lifetime, no one is to bring an action against his heirs after his death.<sup>49</sup> The seizure of widow's property did raise Wulfstan's ire, but just treatment of their property rights does not figure in his definition of 'the protection of God and the king'. What he repeats in the law-codes and Napier L is that 'syttæ ælc werleas .XII. monað; ceose syððan, þæt heo sylf wylle' ('each widow is to remain unmarried for twelve months; she is afterwards to choose what she herself

---

<sup>44</sup> 'Defensebat sedulo pupillos et uiduas, sustentabat orphanos et aduenas' ('He diligently defended wards and widows; he supported orphans and strangers'): *Encomium*, ed. by Campbell, p. 36 (Bk II, ch. 19).

<sup>45</sup> See T. A. Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 151–95 (pp. 156–62).

<sup>46</sup> Keynes in *Encomium*, pp. xxiv–xxvi.

<sup>47</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. by F. E. Harmer, 2nd edn (Stamford, 1989), no. 27.

<sup>48</sup> *Encomium*, ed. by Campbell, Bk II, ch. 16.

<sup>49</sup> III Æthelred 14.

will').<sup>50</sup> The somewhat tangential nature of the legislation to this effect in II Cnut suggests that legislation on the king's responsibilities for ensuring that widows received their rightful inheritance provided him with the opportunity to enact legislation on widows that reflected his own preoccupations. I want now to consider this legislation, first in relation to social custom and then in relation to *Polity* and Wulfstan's canon law collection.

Canons requiring widows to remain unmarried for twelve months appear in English penitentials from the time of Theodore.<sup>51</sup> But there was no precedent for secular regulation of remarriage; it does not figure in any of the earlier law-codes. A society in which widows were transmitters of status and wealth could not have found this acceptable, and the draconian penalties for premature remarriage proposed in II Cnut are themselves evidence of resistance to the enforcement of this ruling. The will of Abba (ninth century) is unique in making a bequest to his wife which is conditional on her remaining chaste; if she does not, the property is to go to his kinsmen. But even Abba allowed his wife to keep her morning gift if she chose to remarry.<sup>52</sup> Only in Æthelberht's law-code is there provision for taking away a wife's morning gift, if she fails to produce a child.<sup>53</sup> Wulfstan's legislation does not merely represent an intention to allow widows to be stripped of everything they possess — notwithstanding his fulminations against reeves who did this. It also overrides secular contracts normally regarded as binding, since agreements concerning the widow's inheritance formed part of the marriage contract.<sup>54</sup> The kinsmen of a deceased husband needed little encouragement to appropriate widows' lands; the husbands of widows, and the widows' own kinsmen, were no less willing to contest such appropriations.<sup>55</sup>

Theodore's Penitential also rules that a girl may chose to enter a monastery at sixteen and that after this age she is not to be married against her will.<sup>56</sup> II Cnut's ruling that no widow or maiden 'is to be forced to marry a man she herself dislikes, nor to be given for money, unless he choses to give anything of his own free will' is

<sup>50</sup> *Wulfstan*, ed. by Napier, p. 271, lines 19–20. For law-codes see note 5 above.

<sup>51</sup> See note 10 above.

<sup>52</sup> *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Florence E. Harmer (Cambridge, 1914), no. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Æthelberht 81. Cf. *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 41, which relates that when the husband died, his kinsman took back lands he had given to him, but that he allowed the widow (who was childless) to keep her morning gift.

<sup>54</sup> The marriage agreement contracted by Wulfstan on behalf of his sister (*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 76) includes provision that land granted to her by her husband is hers to give and to grant to whosoever she pleases during her lifetime or after her death. For wills which confirm marriage contracts, see *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Whitelock, nos 10, 13, 21, 24, 31.

<sup>55</sup> See, e.g., *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 41.

<sup>56</sup> Theodore's Penitential, 2.12–36.7 (*Canones*, ed. by Finsterwalder, pp. 330–31).

consistent with this, but is clearly different in spirit, since whereas Theodore's Penitential merely sanctions a woman's right to remain unmarried after the age of sixteen, II Cnut seeks to prevent women being compelled to marry men who are displeasing to them. The alteration to the nature of the bride price proposed in this legislation, I have suggested, had enforcement potential, but it might also reflect unease on Wulfstan's part with the bride price as it was constituted, arising from the same grounds as his opposition to the sale of Christians. What he explicitly condemns (in accordance with ecclesiastical legislation included in his canon law collection) is the sale of Christian slaves to heathen owners,<sup>57</sup> but his condemnation in *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* of the selling of 'God's creature and his own possession which he bought dearly' also encompasses the buying of women as sexual slaves.<sup>58</sup> The marriage agreement he negotiated for his sister deals only with the bridegroom's gifts to the bride (with provisions for her inheritance) — there is no provision for any payment to Wulfstan or other members of her family.<sup>59</sup>

Signs of similar unease appear in an early-eleventh-century marriage contract from Kent which describe the bridegroom's gifts to the bride as *wið þonne þe heo his spæce underfenge* ('what he gives in return for her acceptance of his suit'). If there is a provision for a bride price in this agreement, it is disguised in a concluding clause.<sup>60</sup> The agreement, dated to 1016x20, is witnessed by Cnut, but Wulfstan is not among the ecclesiastical witnesses, so his direct influence here is uncertain. A similar expression is used in *Wifmannes Bewedding* ('hwæs he hire geunne, wið ðam ðe heo his willan geceose').<sup>61</sup> The bride price is referred to in this document as remuneration for rearing the woman.<sup>62</sup> These new terms are not, I think, mere euphemisms, but conceptual changes favourable to an increased interest in having a woman's consent to her marriage, particularly in the case of 'what he gives in return for her acceptance of his suit', instead of *morgengifu*.<sup>63</sup> *Wifmannes Bewedding* appears to

<sup>57</sup> *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, Recension B, nos 154–55.

<sup>58</sup> 'Godes gesceafte 7 his agenne ceap þe he deore gebohte.' See *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, XX (EI), p. 270, lines 87–91. See also *Homilies*, pp. 173–74, lines 59–66, where Wulfstan asserts the equality before God of all who have been bought with the blood of Christ. The idea is derived from Ælfric; see David A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England from the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 89–101 (pp. 89–90).

<sup>59</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 76.

<sup>60</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Robertson, no. 77.

<sup>61</sup> 'What he gives her if she accords with him' (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 442).

<sup>62</sup> 'Æfter ðam is witanne, hwam ðæt fosterlean gebyrige' (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 442; 'Next, it must be known to whom belongs the remuneration for rearing her').

<sup>63</sup> See also the Will of Thurstan, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Whitelock, no. 30 (p. 82): 'and ic an mine wife Ailgiðe al þe þing þe ic haue on Norfolke so ic it her hire gaf to mund and to maldage' ('And I grant to my wife Æthelgyth everything which I have in Norfolk, as I gave it to her before as a marriage payment and in accordance with our contract'). As Whitelock

have originated in Wulfstan's circle at York, but bears an ambiguous relationship to positions he elsewhere adopts. It is, for instance, uncharacteristic of Wulfstan in its remarkably relaxed attitude to consanguinity.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, it is in line with II Cnut in requiring the consent of the bride, and also in stating that the wife forfeits her right to inherit as a widow if she marries again.<sup>65</sup>

*Wifmannes Bewedding* demonstrates that, within Wulfstan's circle, it was recognized that some kinds of compromise with Wulfstan's most stringent ecclesiastical pronouncements were necessary in the Danelaw.<sup>66</sup> There is a much more radical contrast between II Cnut's legislation on widows and *Polity*. *Polity* asserts that it is *rihtost* ('most right') that the laity should not remarry, *even though* the apostle gave permission.<sup>67</sup> From this it follows logically that when Wulfstan admonishes widows to follow the example of Anna and devote their lives to fasting, prayer, penitential weeping, and giving alms, he does not mean widows vowed to the religious life, he means all widows. (Consistently, then, this exhortation to widows is not included in the section on the religious orders, but follows the exhortation to the laity.)<sup>68</sup> Like *Polity*, Wulfstan's canon law collection prohibits the presence of a priest at a second marriage, in order, as Ælfric explains in one of his pastoral letters, to make it clear to the couple that they would have been better to have remained chaste.<sup>69</sup> Disapproval of remarriage is also evident elsewhere in Wulfstan's canon law collection; remarriage is permitted only if the widow is young, and not more than once, and men in minor orders must not marry widows.<sup>70</sup> There is thus a striking contrast between

---

notes (p. 195), *mundr*, in the Scandinavian formula employed here, originally meant the price paid to the bride's guardian.

<sup>64</sup> See Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 385–87.

<sup>65</sup> *Wifmannes Bewedding* 1, 4.

<sup>66</sup> So also does the *Northumbrian Priests' Law*; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 397, remarks that, if this is Wulfstan's work, it represents the sole occasion on which he countenanced clerical marriage in any way.

<sup>67</sup> *Polity* I.89–90 (II.189–90). See also *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, Recension B, no. 128.

<sup>68</sup> *Polity* I.93–97 (II.198–202). Cf. Foot, *Veiled Women*, I, 96–101. As she notes, *Polity* is exceptional in treating widows separately from *nunnan* (women vowed to chastity) and *myneceana* (cloistered women). However, the *Sermo ad uiduas* attributed to Wulfstan by Professor J. E. Cross, now edited by Thomas N. Hall in this volume, is addressed to widows who have taken a vow of chastity.

<sup>69</sup> 'Ælfric's Pastoral Letter for Wulfsig III', *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1, *AD 871–1204*, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), I, 196–226 (p. 201); see also 'Ælfric's First Old English Letter for Wulfstan' (pp. 290–91); *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, Recension A, no. 60.

<sup>70</sup> See *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. by Cross and Hamer, Recension A, nos 86, 93, Recension B, no. 129; II *Polity*, 191–93.

Wulfstan's absolute condemnation of remarriage and his universal exhortation to chaste widowhood in *Polity* which is reflected in, on the one hand, the disapprobation of his canon law collection and, on the other hand, the legislation of II Cnut, which not only countenances remarriage by widows after a year but attempts to safeguard their freedom to choose between remarriage and a religious vocation by ruling that they are not to be too hastily consecrated.

Wulfstan, Patrick Wormald argues, 'changed his legislative technique according to his estimate of the destiny of the people he addressed: from the fundamentals appropriate for a society on the verge of terminal dissolution, to the details required by a kingdom given a chance to refashion itself'.<sup>71</sup> Wulfstan's response to changing political circumstances, however, will not entirely explain the conflicting positions adopted in *Polity* and II Cnut; the conflicts exist irrespective of chronology, since Wulfstan went on reworking *Polity* until the time of his death.<sup>72</sup> The difference between II Cnut's legislation on widows and Wulfstan's strictures on remarriage in his 'blueprint for a Christian society' in *Polity*,<sup>73</sup> like the differences between *Wifmannes Bewedding* and Wulfstan's hardline ecclesiastical pronouncements, are generic and contextual. Just as churchmen in the missionary period had found themselves obliged to modify canon law in response to the entrenched customs and values of pagan society,<sup>74</sup> the legislation on widows in II Cnut marks the extent to which Wulfstan found it necessary, in a secular law-code, to compromise the moral absolutes and hortatory ideals of his ecclesiastical pronouncements.

In the law-codes he drafted for Æthelred, then, Wulfstan focuses his attention on enforcing the canonical requirement that widows remain chaste for a year before remarrying, offering to those who comply a generalized promise of the protection of God and the king. In II Cnut he employs specific social sanctions to enforce this requirement, by legislating that widows who remarry within a year are to forfeit their marital inheritance and their morning gift. This undoubtedly represents the imposition of a Wulfstanian preoccupation, which is pursued in II Cnut without regard to established social custom. The same cannot be said of the legislation designed to safeguard the inheritance of widows against the depredations of the King; the just treatment of widows is a topic on which Wulfstan inveighs, but in advancing them as a class particularly deserving of protection, he is in a tradition that originates with Dunstan, and protection of their rights of inheritance was a matter of concern to powerful laymen as well as to other churchmen. Wulfstan's objection to the selling into slavery of those whom Christ had bought with his blood suggests that he might

---

<sup>71</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 464.

<sup>72</sup> See Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 364–65, n. 453.

<sup>73</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 202.

<sup>74</sup> See, e.g., Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 46–74.

have objected on the same grounds to the customary payment of a bride price. But there is no sign in his work of the concern to help widows exercise volition that is evident in II Cnut's rulings against over hasty consecration and marrying women for financial gain without their consent, although if Wulfstan was responsible for *Wifmannes Bewedding*, its requirement for the bride's consent (coupled with its reconceptualization of the bride price) evinces his support of this aspect of the legislation.

Patrick Wormald raises the possibility that Wulfstan was the drafter rather than the author of the concluding section of II Cnut when he considers the question of whether it represents the legislative wishes of other members of the *witan*, but he places the emphasis instead on Wulfstan's shaping vision. He writes: 'It is not impossible of course that those of Cnut's laws that seem least Wulfstanian were contributed by fellow members of the king's council. But even the "alleviatory" clauses [II Cnut 69–83.2], of which this looks most likely, were introduced by the unmissable Wulfstanism, "ealles to swyðe". Because nothing is (yet) known to be from Wulfstan's pen that is not more or less overtly ecclesiastical in interest, it remains uncertain whether we can credit Wulfstan with Cnut's most secular decrees. One thing does seem sure [. . .]. The vision thereby encapsulated is securely his.'<sup>75</sup>

The impassioned rhetoric of Wulfstan's homilies certainly suggests a dominant personality with an overriding vision. By the same token, it seems to me, he was not a man to whom compromise came easily. If the style is the man, his globalizing intensifiers and relentless binary oppositions (*riht* versus *unriht* and Christ versus Antichrist) define him as a moral absolutist. For him, the ecclesiastical and secular spheres are not binary opposites; they correlate (*for Gode* and *for worolde*). Cnut's law-code gestures towards the traditional distinctness of secular and ecclesiastical law by dividing the legislation into two sections, *gerednes* [. . .] *Gode to lofe* (I Cnut) and *woruldcunde gerednes* (II Cnut).<sup>76</sup> But, in his desire to reorder society in accordance with the most stringent moral ideals, as Patrick Wormald demonstrates, he blurred the boundaries between secular and ecclesiastical concerns: 'Law designed to repress sin and crime became increasingly fused with a pastoral tradition striving for moral and spiritual rearmament.'<sup>77</sup>

It therefore seems to me more likely that II Cnut's legislation on widows incorporates modifications imposed on Wulfstan's pursuit of moral imperatives by Cnut's other advisors, particularly by his secular advisors, but possibly also by some of his ecclesiastical advisors, and even, perhaps, by Queen Emma, whose oblique claim to have used her influence to persuade Cnut to accept the duties of a Christian king, including the duty to protect widows, is not implausible in the light of what is known of her participation in Cnut's reign and in view of her *Economium's* attempt to elicit sympathy for her as a vulnerable and oppressed widow. Wulfstan was evidently

<sup>75</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 364.

<sup>76</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 278, 308.

<sup>77</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 345.

moved to anger by the oppression of widows as well as strongly committed to the enforcement of chaste widowhood, but, in its contradictory attitudes to the impoverishment of widows and their exercise of volition, the legislation in II Cnut bears the classic hallmarks of something produced by a committee. Wulfstan's success in enshrining his own particular preoccupations in the legislation he drafted for Cnut is unquestionable; perhaps we may also credit him with having been receptive to what is now called the political process.



‘And we forbeodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe’:  
Wulfstan and Late Anglo-Saxon  
and Norse ‘Heathenism’

AUDREY L. MEANEY

There are many difficulties in attempting to investigate and discuss what Wulfstan has to say about contemporary ‘heathenism’. Almost anything that can be said has indeed already been said by previous more learned scholars, though they have usually said it in footnotes or in brief paragraphs, scattered throughout editions or discussions. Other problems relate to Wulfstan’s personality and style of writing. He rarely says anything once, but repeats himself in different contexts with small changes in vocabulary which may or may not be significant. Moreover, he rarely seems to say anything that someone else (in particular, Ælfric) has not said already, though he rewrites the words and puts in his own emphases. In addition, as A. G. Kennedy remarks, ‘Wulfstan in his writings preferred the general to the particular, the statement of principles to the explication of their practical application’.<sup>1</sup> This means that his statements tend to lack detail and precision, and his condemnations of ‘heathenism’ are, very frequently, couched in the most general of terms.

Nevertheless, there may be some value in collecting together and examining what he does say, because there is a great deal. He uses three English words quite frequently — the adjective *hæþen*, often employed as a substantive, which I shall translate as ‘pagan’, and two abstract nouns derived from it: *hæþendom*, which he prefers in his earlier writings, and *hæþenscipe*, which he employs as frequently later. The nouns appear not to differ in meaning, and I shall translate both as ‘heathenism’ or ‘heathen practice’ as seems appropriate.<sup>2</sup> It has become clear during the course of

---

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Kennedy, ‘Cnut’s Law Code of 1018’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 57–81 (p. 67).

<sup>2</sup> *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925) usually translates ‘heathen practice’. The translations of the laws given here sometimes differ from Robertson’s versions.

this investigation, however, that it was not the pagans whom Wulfstan accused of 'heathenism', but unworthy Christians. It therefore seems best to discuss 'Whom did Wulfstan consider to be the *hæpene*?' first (because it is the simpler), and separately from 'What did Wulfstan consider "heathenism" to be?' For both discussions, I shall attempt to put Wulfstan's utterances into a chronological framework.<sup>3</sup>

I shall then consider some of the sources which Wulfstan may have used for his pronouncements concerning 'heathenism' and how he used them. Then I consider what light his pronouncements throw upon superstitious practices in late Anglo-Saxon England. I attempt to make a distinction between what he wrote during the reign of Æthelred and what differences may appear once Cnut has taken power, in order to assess if any influence from Scandinavian paganism is discernible.

### *Who Were the hæpene?*

In the second chapter of one of Wulfstan's earliest law-codes (promulgated in or shortly after 1008), usually designated as V Æthelred,<sup>4</sup> he exhorted 'þæt man cristene menn and unforworhte of earde ne sylle, ne huru on hæpene leode' ('that innocent Christian men should not be sold from the land, especially not among pagan people'). In clause three of the Latin code VII Æthelred (dated to about 1009)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of the Wulfstan canon and the dates of his homilies, see *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. by Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 30, 58, 101–03, 288; also Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 18 (Oxford, 2000), p. 4. Wulfstan's homilies are hereafter cited by Bethurum number, without comment or page number.

Patrick Wormald has frequently discussed the dating of Wulfstan's writings, but has not yet published in full the details of his investigation ('Laws', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, ed. by Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, and Paul E. Szarmach (forthcoming)). However, his 'schematic chronology' is published in this volume as an appendix to his essay, and will be followed here; see also his *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 190–227 (p. 213, n. 204), 320–64 (p. 340, n. 349, p. 342, n. 368, p. 364, n. 452), 442–65 (p. 458, n. 153). For the dating of the Laws I have sometimes followed *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1, AD 871–1204, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981).

<sup>4</sup> In *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle, 1903–16), 1 (1903), 236–47 (pp. 238–39); *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 78–91 (pp. 78–79); and in *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, 1, 338–362 (pp. 338–43, 345). V Æthelred is one rendering (but extant in three slightly differing versions) of the laws promulgated at a meeting at King's Enham, Hampshire, in 1008 (*Councils and Synods*, 1, 338–42). See also Patrick Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. by David Hill, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 59 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 47–80 (pp. 50, 52–57); Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 199, 330–33, 339–44.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, 1, 260–61; *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 108–13 (pp. 110–11).

is an instruction that in every religious foundation there should be sung daily a mass entitled 'Against the pagans' (*contra paganos*). In these examples Wulfstan must have been thinking primarily of (as yet unconverted) Vikings, but also, later in Æthelred's reign, he used *hæþen* for pre-Christian people, including classical pagans, in his homily *De falsis deis* (Bethurum XII), which he adapted from Ælfric. That is to say, from Ælfric's huge homily of the same name, he chose a brief part (lines 71–161), adapted it into his own rhythm (usually by adding extra wording without extra meaning), and supplied an introduction and a conclusion which reveal that 'he may have seen Ælfric's full text rather than an extract'.<sup>6</sup> Some of Wulfstan's subsequent thinking about the pagans and about 'heathenism' seems to be coloured by what he learned from Ælfric, and it is therefore worthwhile quoting relevant passages. Omitting all Ælfric's introductory declaration of faith in one God, and his description of Adam and Eve's sojourn in the Garden of Eden, Wulfstan begins: 'Eala, gefyrn is þæt ðurh deofol fela þinga misfor, 7 þæt mancynn to swyðe Gode mishyrde, 7 þæt hæðenscipe ealles to swyðe gederede 7 gyt dereð wide' (lines 3–5; 'Alas, it is long ago that many things went wrong because of the devil, and that mankind so badly disobeyed God, and that heathenism altogether too widely did great harm, and still harms widely'). He then took from Ælfric the sentences that told the abbreviated story he wanted. In order to show the extent of his indebtedness to the Abbot, I have *italicized* Wulfstan's mostly very typical additions and alterations. Where Wulfstan has omitted or replaced any of Ælfric's words, I have added them in brackets wherever they will least disturb the flow; and along with the translation have cited the lines of Ælfric's homily in Pope's edition:

Ne ræde we *þeah ahwar* on bocum þæt man arærde ænig hæðengyld *ahwar on worulde* on eallum þam fyrste *þe wæs ær Noes flode*; (Ælfric: oðþæt) *ac syððan þæt gewearð þæt Nembroð* 7 ða entas worhton þone wundorlican stypel æfter Noes flode, 7 him ða swa fela gereorda (Ælfric: God þar forgeaf) *gelamp, þæs þe bec secgað*, swa ðæra wyrhtena wæs. Þa (Ælfric: þa hi) *syððan toferdon* (Ælfric: to fyrleum landum) *hy wide landes*, 7 mancynn þa *sona swyðe weox*. 7 ða æt *nyhstan* wurdon hi bepæhte þurh ðone ealdan deofol þe Adam *iu ær beswac* swa þæt hi worhton wolice 7 *gedwollice* him *hæþene* godas, 7 ðone *sodan God* 7 *heora agenne* Scyppend forsawon, þe hy to mannum gescop 7 *geworhte*. Hi namon *eac him ða þæt* to wisdomes *þurh deofles lare* þæt hy wurðedon him for godas þa sunnan and ðone monan, for heora scinendan beorhtnesse, and him lac *þa æt nyhstan þurh deofles lare* offrodon, and forleton heora (Ælfric: Scyppend) *Drihten þe hy gescop and geworhte*. Sume men eac sædan be ðam scinendum steorrum þæt hi godas wæron, and (Ælfric: wurðodan hy) *agunnon hy weorðian* georne, and sume hy gelyfdon on fyr for his færlicum bryne, sume eac on wæter (Ælfric: and wurðodan hi for godas), 7 sume *hy gelyfdon* on ða eorðan, forðan þe heo ealle þing fedeð. (lines 3–24)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Clare A. Lees, *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Minneapolis, 1999), pp. 46–77 (p. 72).

<sup>7</sup> 'However, we do not read anywhere in books that any idolatry was established anywhere in the world in all the period which was before Noah's flood; (Ælfric: until) but afterwards it

There is one difference in emphasis between the two versions, and that is in Wulfstan's reiterated references to the devil as the inspiration of heathenism: Ælfric mentions him only once, Wulfstan three times. More strangely, Wulfstan cuts out the reference to God as the creator of languages after the building of the tower of Babel. However, Wulfstan's dependence on Ælfric could hardly be clearer, and indeed, Ælfric's dependence at this point on his source, Martin of Braga's *De correctione rusticorum*.<sup>8</sup> Whether Wulfstan himself had access to Martin's homily would need further investigation.

This passage has, it seems, influenced the wording of the definition and condemnation of heathenism in Cnut's law, set out below. We cannot tell, however, by how much Wulfstan's adaptation of Ælfric's homily preceded his drafting of Cnut's laws — possibly several years.<sup>9</sup> Wulfstan continues by copying Ælfric's description of how mistaken the heathens were for turning aside from the one true God, but they still wanted more:

Gyt ða hæþenan noldon beon gehealdene on swa feawum godum swa hy ær hæfdan, ac fengon to wurðienne æt nyhstan mistlice entas ⁊ strece woruldmæn (Ælfric: him to godum, þa) þe mihtige wurdan on woruldafelum (Ælfric: woruldlícum geþincðum) ⁊ egesfulle (Ælfric: on life, þeah þe hy leofodon fullice) wæran þa hwyle þe he leofedon, ⁊ heora aɡenum lustum fullice fulleodan. (lines 35–39)<sup>10</sup>

---

*happened that Nimrod and the giants built the marvellous tower after Noah's flood, and as many languages (Ælfric: God awarded there) came into existence — so the books say — as there were builders. Then (Ælfric: When) afterwards they dispersed widely over the land (Ælfric: to distant lands), and mankind at once greatly increased. And then eventually they were seduced by the old devil who formerly betrayed Adam; so that they made for themselves — wrongfully and foolishly — heathen gods, and forsook the true God and their own Creator, who created and made them as men. They then also for themselves regarded it as wisdom through the devil's instruction that they honoured as gods the sun and moon, because of their shining brightness, and then at last through the devil's instruction offered them sacrifice, and abandoned their (Ælfric: Creator) Lord who created and shaped them. Some men also said about the shining stars that they were gods, and (Ælfric: worshipped) proceeded to worship them zealously, and some believed in fire because of its sudden burning, some also in water (Ælfric: worshipped them as gods), and some believed in the earth, because she feeds everything' (Ælfric: lines 72–89). See *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. by John C. Pope, 2 vols, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 259–60 (London, 1967–68), II (1968), 676–724.*

<sup>8</sup> In *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia*, ed. by C. W. Barlow (New Haven, 1950), pp. 186–87, paragraphs 6–7.

<sup>9</sup> Pope and Clemoes argued that Wulfstan did not use Ælfric's work before he became Abbot of Eynsham in 1005 (*Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, I, 147, II, 666–70, 673–75, 680–82, 684–86); see now Malcolm Godden, this volume. Patrick Wormald puts Bethurum XII late in Æthelred's reign.

<sup>10</sup> 'The heathens still did not want to be restricted to so few gods as they had had before, but at last took to worshipping various giants and strong men (Ælfric: as their gods) who were

Both homilists then give a euhemeristic summary of classical (Roman) mythology, beginning with Saturn, his son Jove, and his daughter Juno (Jove's wife), emphasizing their violence and sexual immorality.<sup>11</sup> As before, Wulfstan's account shows no sign at all of personal knowledge, and this also holds true for his equation of the Norse gods with the classical deities later in this same homily: he takes all his information straight from Ælfric:

[Iouis] is *geteald eac* arwurðost ealra þæra goda þe þa hæðenan on ðam dagum for *godas* hæfdon on heora gedwylde. And he hatte Þor oðrum naman betwux sumum þeodum; ðone Denisce leode lufiað swyðost 7 on heora gedwylde weorðiaþ geornost. (lines 54–58)<sup>12</sup>

Both homilists then describe Jove's son Mars briefly, as a warrior who after death was regarded as a god, without providing a Norse equivalent, and then go on to Mercury:

Sum man *eac* wæs gehaten Mercurius on life, se wæs swyðe facenfull 7 ðeah full *snotorwyrde* swicol on dædum 7 on *leasbregdum* (Ælfric: lufode eac stala and leasbregdnysse). Ðone macedon þa hæðenan *be heora getæle eac* heom to mæran gode, 7 æt wega gelætum him lac offrodon oft 7 *gelome þurh deofles lare*, 7 to heagum beorgum him brohton (Ælfric: onsægednysse) oft *mistlice loflac*. Ðes *gedwolgod* wæs arwurðe eac betwux eallum hæðenum on *þam dagum*, 7 he is Oðon gehaten oðrum naman on Denisce *wisan*. Nu secgað sume þa Denisce men on heora gedwylde þæt se Iouis wære þe hy Þor hatað, Mercuries sunu, þe hi Oðon namiað, ac hi nabbað na riht, forðan þe we ræðað on bocum, ge on hæpenum ge on Cristenum, þæt se hetula Iouis to soðan is Saturnes sunu. (lines 65–77)<sup>13</sup>

---

mighty in worldly power (Ælfric: dignity) and were terrible (Ælfric: in life, though they lived foully) while they lived, and foully fulfilled their own desires' (Ælfric: lines 99–103).

<sup>11</sup> However, Lees (*Tradition and Belief*, pp. 75–76) points out that Wulfstan tones down Ælfric's 'writerly' description of Venus's sexual excesses, perhaps because of his own 'sensitivity to oral delivery'.

<sup>12</sup> '[Jove] likewise is accounted the most worshipful of all the gods whom the heathens had as gods in those days, in their error. And among some people he is called by another name, Thor, whom the Danish people love most, and in their error worship him most zealously' (Ælfric: lines 122–25).

<sup>13</sup> 'There was also a certain man called Mercury in life, who was very crafty and yet very plausibly deceptive in deeds and in lies (Ælfric: also loved stealing and trickery). The heathens also made him in their estimation into a glorious god, and at cross-roads offered him sacrifice often and frequently, through the devil's teaching; and often brought him (Ælfric: sacrifice) various praise-offerings on high hills. This false god was also revered among all the heathens in those days, and he is called by another name, Othon, in Danish fashion. Now some Danish men in their error say that it was Jove that they called Thor, the son of Mercury whom they name Othon, but they are not right, because we read in books (both heathen and Christian) that the hateful Jove is (Ælfric: was) really Saturn's son' (Ælfric: lines 133–46).

The last sentence indicates that Wulfstan's copy of Ælfric's homily was of the second edition, to which the lines on the difficulty of reconciling the Roman and Norse gods had been added. Ælfric seems to have used Old West Norse (that is, Norwegian) forms for the names of the gods Othin (Óðinn) and Thor (Þórr), perhaps deliberately avoiding any suggestion that earlier, Old English, names for the gods were still current in the names of the days of the week. Townend suggests that the fact that Wulfstan does not even alter the forms of the Norse names from those given by Ælfric is an endorsement of their correctness.<sup>14</sup> However, though Wulfstan exhibits a strong interest in vocabulary variation, and used many words borrowed from Norse, nothing in his writings indicates to me that he would have had any concern with the niceties of Norse phonology. At best, all we can say is that Ælfric's forms did not seem so outrageous to him that they were unacceptable.

Later in Ælfric's homily, in a passage concerned with the names of the days of the week, he equates Venus and Frigg, but Wulfstan omits all this section. The homilists sum up with a general statement about the heathen gods and the (perhaps to them even more shameful) goddesses:

Manege *eac* oðre *hæpene* godas wæron mistlice fundene ⁊ eac swylce *hæpene* gydena on swylcum wyrðmente geond (Ælfric: ealne) middaneard mancynne to forwyrd, ac þas synd þa fyrmestan *ðeh þurh hæðenscipe getealde*, þeah ðe hy fullice leofodon *on worulde*. And se syrwiende deofol þe a swicað embe mancyn gebrohte þa hæðenan *men* on þam healicon gedwyld þæt hi swa fule (Ælfric: menn) him (Ælfric: fundon) to godum *gecuran* þe (Ælfric: þa leahtras lufodan) *heora fulan lust heom to lage sylfum gesettan*. (Wulfstan: lines 81–88)<sup>15</sup>

Ælfric's homily then continues for nearly another five hundred lines, but Wulfstan draws his quickly to a close with an exhortation to his audience to live a Christian life and with praise of the Creator. Clare Lees has discussed the relationship between the two homilies and has described Wulfstan's adaptation as a 'productive misreading'. Wulfstan 'emphasizes human agency in choosing to worship the false' and in the process has left out much of Ælfric's context for the false gods, omitting any account of the Trinity and of salvation history, and reducing references to creation to a minimum. Ælfric's 'energetic commitment to the maintenance of Christian truth' is missing, and the balance of his carefully constructed homily is destroyed.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 6 (Turnhout, 2002), p. 139, n. 72.

<sup>15</sup> 'Likewise many other *pagan* gods were variously established, and also likewise *pagan* goddesses in such honour throughout (Ælfric: all) the earth for the ruin of mankind, but these are the foremost, *though accounted so because of paganism*, though they lived foully *in the world*. And the cunning devil who is *always* deceitful concerning mankind brought the *pagan men* into the great errors that they *chose* (Ælfric: established) such foul ones as their gods who (Ælfric: loved vices) *took for their law their foul desire*' (Ælfric: lines 155–62.).

<sup>16</sup> Lees, *Tradition and Belief*, pp. 71–76.

Wulfstan's homily (like the pronouncements of almost any moralist throughout the ages) is almost wholly negative. It surely is part of his endeavour to preach his own society into holiness.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that Wulfstan has taken trouble with his version, even if all he did was to cross out the parts of Ælfric's text he did not want, scribble over the parts that he did want, add a couple of sentences at the beginning and end, and give it to a secretary to make a fair copy. This, to judge from the near identity of the forms of the words Wulfstan takes from Ælfric, is probably all he did, but he has turned it into something so much his own that we would have had difficulty in postulating an Ælfrician origin without the impeccable external evidence.

What Wulfstan has to say about the Norse gods, then, does not come from his own knowledge of his own province, but from the writings of someone based in the south. However, in his most famous homily, dated about 1014, Wulfstan offers some unique information about heathen custom which sounds authoritative. He is throughout concerned to contrast the differences between the behaviour of pagans and of luke-warm Christians, and in all versions of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (Bethurum XX) there are these statements:

On hæðenum þeodum ne dear man forhealdan lytel ne micel þæs þe gelagod is to dwolgoda weorðunga [. . .]. And ne dear man gewanian on hæðenum þeodum inne ne ute ænig þara þinga þe gedwolgoda gebroht bið ⁊ to lacum betæht bið [. . .]. ⁊ gedwolgoda þenan ne dear man misbeodan on ænige wisan mid hæðenum þeodum.<sup>18</sup>

I find these statements very puzzling, since they imply, as nowhere else in Wulfstan's writings, knowledge of a public and established heathen cult. There does not appear to be anything like them anywhere in contemporary writings.

What pagan people is Wulfstan thinking of? Is he perhaps going back in his mind to those of *De falsis deis*, who offered sacrifice (often and frequently) to Mercury at crossroads and brought him various praise-offerings on high hills (lines 68–70, quoted above)? In the *Sermo Lupi* he was, after all, adopting somewhat the tactics sometimes attributed to Tacitus in his *Germania*: that he held up 'a moral mirror to

<sup>17</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society', in his *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225–51; also in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. by David A. E. Pelteret (New York, 1999), pp. 191–224.

<sup>18</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 22–24, (BH) 256, (C) 261–62, (EI) 268. 'Among pagan people no one dares to withhold anything small or large of what is ordained for the honouring of false gods [. . .]. And among pagan peoples no one dares to curtail (either inside or outside) any of the things which are brought to false gods and are given up as offerings [. . .]. And among pagan peoples no one dares to ill-use the servants of false gods in any way.' The manuscripts in which these different versions are found are B = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 = Ker 68; H = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 = Ker 310; C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 = Ker 49; E = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 = Ker 331; I = London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i = Ker 163. For the manuscripts, see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957).

his compatriots by painting a picture of the virtues of unspoilt barbarians in such a way as to throw these into strong relief against the blemishes of contemporary [...] civilization'.<sup>19</sup> Or did Wulfstan have first-hand or good second-hand information about a contemporary heathen cult? Specifically, could Wulfstan have come across Viking pagans in England in the period leading up to his writing the *Sermo Lupi* in 1014?

Nearly all scholars writing on the Scandinavian invasions have emphasized how quickly the Vikings adopted Christianity, once they had their stake in the land. The evidence for burials in England with distinctively Scandinavian grave-goods is minimal. Apart from the cemeteries at Ingleby and Repton, which appear to belong to about 130 years before Wulfstan was writing, and some mound burials in the north-west, many of the furnished or dressed Viking burials so far discovered seem to have been placed in already existing Anglian Christian cemeteries.<sup>20</sup> Whatever kind of accommodation this entailed, it surely meant that those responsible for the interments would have been or would soon have become at least nominally Christian, and within a generation or so maybe even sincere.

I am not here concerned with the knowledge of northern mythology evidenced in Northumbria in late Anglo-Saxon England, plentiful though it may have been: in stone sculpture,<sup>21</sup> in skaldic poetry ostensibly composed there,<sup>22</sup> or in place-names.<sup>23</sup> As we have seen, Wulfstan nowhere shows any knowledge of the subject, or even any interest in it, except when he is making for himself a preaching tool by adapting Ælfric. I am interested here only in how he got information about a cult, with

---

<sup>19</sup> *Cornelii Taciti, De Origine et Situ Germanorum*, ed. by J. G. C. Anderson (Oxford, 1938), pp. ix–xix (p. ix).

<sup>20</sup> A recent survey of such burials is by Julian D. Richards, *Viking Age England* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 142–58. See also David M. Wilson, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in Northern England', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, 29 (1966), 37–46 (pp. 43–44).

<sup>21</sup> Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1975–79), II (1979), 273–76. See also Knut Berg, 'The Gosforth Cross', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), 27–43; Richard N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London, 1980), pp. 125–37; and Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 159–69.

<sup>22</sup> Matthew Townend, 'Pre-Cnut Praise-Poetry in Viking Age England', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 51 (2000), 349–70 (pp. 350–51). One such poem is the *Eiríksmál*, memorializing Eric Bloodaxe. He was killed in England, and, though the poem could have been composed elsewhere, its diction is 'heavily Anglicized'. It depicts Othin in Valhalla, sending two heroes to welcome Eric, and eagerly anticipating his help against 'the grey wolf'. For an edition, see *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*, ed. and trans. by N. Kershaw (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 93–99. See also John Hines, 'Egill's *Höfuðlausn* in Time and Place', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 24 (1995), 83–104 (pp. 89–92, 99–102).

<sup>23</sup> Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1972), pp. 95, 106–07, 203. See also A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, English Place-Name Society, 5 (Cambridge, 1928), p. 164, concerning Roseberry Topping.



temples, priests, and sacrifice. The last Norse king had been driven out of Northumbria in 954, and it had then once more come under the rule of English kings. I wonder if in York itself in the second half of the tenth century there were enough Danish merchants established for them to have had cult centres with priests and regular sacrifices. Though it was a great manufacturing and trading centre, as has been amply demonstrated by excavation, there does not seem to have been evidence for a flood of imports from Scandinavia, or of distinctively Norse settlers.<sup>24</sup> A public cult there after Wulfstan became Archbishop in 1002 seems unlikely.

The serious Viking attacks on England during Æthelred's reign had mostly been in the south, and the raiders had been bought off at vast expense, some of them converting to Christianity. Would any of these invasions have provided opportunity for Wulfstan, while he was Bishop of London, or after his move to York and Worcester, to have observed the kind of established ritual which he appears to be describing? Alternatively, might Wulfstan have had contact with someone who had first-hand knowledge of Scandinavian paganism in its home territories? Would he have been able to converse with any of the Viking raiders and invaders? Simon Keynes has pointed to the treaty (II Æthelred) drawn up between Æthelred and his *witan* on one side and the Viking leaders Olaf Tryggvason, Jostein, and Guthmund, probably in 994. Its aim was to establish a general peace (*woroldfrið*) in accordance with terms already laid down when Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury, Ealdorman Æthelweard of the south-western counties, and Ealdorman Ælfric had obtained permission to make peace with the Vikings for their own districts.<sup>25</sup> The first treaty provision is that 'gif ænig sciphere on Engaland hergie, þæt we habban heora ealra fultum; 7 we him sculon mete findon, ða hwile ðe hy mid us beoð' ('if any hostile fleet harry in England, we shall have the help of all of them, and we shall be under the obligation of finding provisions for them, as long as they remain with us').<sup>26</sup> Further provisions, as Keynes comments, 'deal with the control of disputes between Englishmen and Danes'.

Evidently an on-going relationship was envisaged, and the Viking army already in England was allowed to stay, provided it helped the defence against new raiders. The army took winter quarters in Southampton, and later that year Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester and Ealdorman Æthelweard brought Olaf to King Æthelred at Andover to enjoy royal hospitality.<sup>27</sup> Olaf and the other Viking leaders left the country, but many

<sup>24</sup> Evidence summarized by Else Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, trans. by Susan M. Margeson and Kirsten Williams (London, 1991), pp. 243–44, and by Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 103–34.

<sup>25</sup> See Simon Keynes, 'The Historical Context of the Battle of Maldon,' in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 81–113 (pp. 92–95, 103–07).

<sup>26</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 220–27 (p. 222); *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 56–63 (pp. 56–57).

<sup>27</sup> This might have provided one opportunity for Æthelweard to have learned the names of the Norse gods (*Vuithar* = ON *Viðarr*, *Vuothen* = ON *Óðinn*, and *Balder*) whom he incorporated into his versions of the Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies; however, his *Chronicon* appears

of the army apparently remained in England as 'poachers-turned-gamekeepers'. One leader of a small force who seems to have spent some time in England in Æthelred's service, before rejoining the raiders in Devon in 1001, was Pallig, Swein Forkbeard's brother-in-law. The following year Æthelred 'ordered to be slain all the Danish men who were in England', and Keynes conjectures that 'the intended victims are [. . .] likely to have been the paid-off and provisioned members of the viking army, many of whom had been harrying the English on and off for more than a decade'. In 1003 Swein Forkbeard returned, apparently with a small force, to assume leadership of those Viking forces remaining in England, but eventually famine forced the Vikings to return to Denmark in 1005. Raiding soon began again, and in 1009 Thorkell the Tall and *se ungemetlica unfriðhere* ('the immense raiding party') were apparently met with great confusion on the English side, to judge from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In 1010 they attacked Canterbury and captured Ælfheah, now Archbishop there, taking him with them to their ships in 1011. The Chronicle for 1012 reports that the army became incensed against him because he forbade any ransom to be paid for him. After Easter they brought him to their *husting* ('court, assembly'): 'ȝ hine þa þær oftorfodon mid banum and mid hryðera heafdum ȝ sloh hine þa an heora mid anre æxe yre on þet heafod, þet he mid þam dinte niðer asah ȝ his halige blod on ða eorðan feoll ȝ his þa haligan sawle to Godes rice asende' ('and pelted him with bones and heads of cattle; and one of them struck him on the head with the back of an axe, so that with the blow he sank down and his holy blood fell on the earth, and his holy soul was sent to God's kingdom').<sup>28</sup> It sounds very much as if these Vikings were still pagan, and were perhaps even engaging in a drunken version of a sacrificial ritual (if we can trust the understandably biased account). Perhaps as a result of the indiscipline shown by Ælfheah's death, Thorkell became an ally of Æthelred and helped defend London against Swein in 1013. Æthelred, however, fled to Normandy, and it was only because Swein died that he was able to return early in 1014.

It was at this point that Wulfstan wrote the *Sermo Lupi*, and the martyrdom of Ælfheah must surely have affected him profoundly, though he does not mention it. At this time Wulfstan was still Bishop of Worcester as well as Archbishop of York, and was probably spending at least as much time in the south of the country as in the north, and often on the move. It was in these years of the greatest disturbance that he was also engaged in working on the laws, and must therefore surely have been in contact with the highest lay magnates in the land, many of whom had witnessed charters with him from the time he was Bishop of London.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, it seems very

---

to have been written before this. See A. L. Meaney, 'Æthelweard, Ælfric, the Norse Gods and Northumbria', *Journal of Religious History*, 6 (1970), 105–32.

<sup>28</sup> The wording quoted here is from MS E, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636 = Ker 346 (*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. by John Earle and Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892–99), I (1892), 142).

<sup>29</sup> Charters which Wulfstan witnessed as Bishop of London are P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968), nos 887–89, 891–92, 895–96, 898–901, 904.

probable that Wulfstan would have had plenty of opportunity to meet the Viking leaders when arrangements for payments were being made with them, or when they were, like Pallig and Thorkell, for a time serving the king. Though we might consider that opportunities for scholarly conversations about paganism would be limited, Matthew Townend has shown that the speakers of Old English and Old Norse would have been mutually intelligible,<sup>30</sup> and Wulfstan had certainly as much chance for such discussions as Ealdorman Æthelweard and Abbot Ælfric had — but he was interested in different aspects of the pagan cult. It is, of course, a moot point as to how many of the raiders and invaders may have still been pagan in the early years of the eleventh century, but it is perhaps easier to envisage a conversation between Wulfstan and a convert than with a resolute pagan.

Lesley Abrams has suggested another possibility: that Wulfstan had been talking to Englishmen who had returned home after a stint in the mission field. Though the conversion history of Scandinavia in this period is virtually unknown, there is quite an amount of scattered evidence for considerable English influence on the early churches in these countries.<sup>31</sup> It may well have been part of English foreign policy at the time to encourage conversion in order to discourage raiding, and we can well imagine that Wulfstan would support such enterprises. Therefore there are several ways in which Wulfstan could have learned about pagan cult practices, but nothing certain about any of them.

What is certain, however, is that when Wulfstan wrote about the *hæðene* in all these passages, he was not referring to the English, but to those 'others' who followed an un-Christian religion and way of life. In order to help make this clear, I have translated *hæðen(e)* consistently as 'pagan(s)'. However, Wulfstan uses the word *hæpen* in a different context in the so-called *Canons of Edgar* chapter 18, where there is an exhortation 'þæt man geswice freolsdagum hæpenra leoða and deofles gamena' ('that on feast-days heathen songs and the devil's sports shall cease'). Whether these songs were regarded as heathen because of specific content — reference to pagan myth or legend, or because they were lewd or obscene — or merely because they lacked any specific Christian reference is doubtful. I suspect that Wulfstan did not like people enjoying themselves in secular pursuits on a 'holy day', but in view of his narrow usage of the word *hæpen* elsewhere maybe there was more to it than that. Any attempt to identify what the devil's 'games' may have been is tempting but probably doomed to failure.

---

<sup>30</sup> Townend, *Language and History*, pp. 170–71.

<sup>31</sup> Lesley Abrams, 'Eleventh-Century Missions and the Early Stages of Ecclesiastical Organisation in Scandinavia', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1994), 21–40, esp. pp. 23–26, 31, 33; also Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (1995), 213–49 (discussion of the period up to about 1014 is for Norway on pp. 213–23, for Denmark pp. 225–26, for Sweden pp. 232–34, and for Scandinavia generally pp. 229–30, 244–49). I am very grateful to Lesley Abrams for information about these missions.

There is one context in which we might expect to find Wulfstan using the word *hæpen* where it is not to be found in his identifiably genuine writings: he did not use it for an unbaptized adult or child within the Christian community, though this was common usage in contemporary writings.<sup>32</sup> For example, in chapter 15 of the *Canons of Edgar* (which Jost proved to be a work of Wulfstan's and whose 'first edition' probably dates between 1005 and 1008),<sup>33</sup> there is a requirement that a child should be baptized soon after birth, but its status before baptism is not declared.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Wulfstan did not wish to be too specific about the fate of the unbaptized after death, especially if they were innocent babies. The *Northumbrian Priests' Law* (ch. 10.1) does use *hæpen* for an unbaptized baby,<sup>35</sup> and this fact supports Wormald's cogent arguments for believing this code not to be his work.<sup>36</sup>

### *What did Wulfstan mean by 'heathenism'?*

In his *Sermo de baptisate* (Bethurum VIIIc, Wulfstan's second attempt at a sermon on this topic in English),<sup>37</sup> dated about 1005, Wulfstan wrote that every man in orders

<sup>32</sup> To confirm this point, I have checked *hæpen* and all its inflected and derivative forms in the *Microfiche Concordance of Old English*, ed. by Antonette DiPaolo Healey and Richard Venezky (Toronto, 1980).

<sup>33</sup> Karl Jost, 'Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen', *Anglia*, 56 (1932), 265–315 (pp. 288–301); see also *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 313–15.

<sup>34</sup> Editions: *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. by Karl Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten, 47 (Bern, 1959), pp. 178–205 (p. 183), for Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (= Ker 49), the earlier version; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, no. 48, pp. 313–38 (p. 319), for Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (= Ker 338), the later version, which has revisions by Wulfstan and some later insertions; *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, ed. by Roger Fowler, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 266 (London, 1972) (both manuscripts).

<sup>35</sup> Edited in *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 380–85 (p. 381); *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 449–68 (p. 455).

<sup>36</sup> Wormald, 'Holiness of Society', pp. 247–51; see also Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 208, 396–97. Wormald suggests that 'the most economical hypothesis is that [the *Northumbrian Priests' Law*] was the work of one of his immediate successors at York', heavily relying on Wulfstan's work. We might suspect, however, that it was more probably the work of Ælfric (Archbishop 1023–51, whose nickname, Puttoc, may refer to him as the opportunistic bird, the kite), than of the 'humble and ascetic' Cynesige (Archbishop 1051–60); see Janet M. Cooper, 'Some Aspects of Northumbrian History in the Eleventh Century with Particular Reference to the Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1968), pp. 198–201.

<sup>37</sup> Compare the beginning of the (slightly earlier) Latin *Incipit de baptisma* (VIIIa: *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 169), where *paganus* is used for the unbaptized adult; see also *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 31, citing Jost, 'Einige Wulfstantexte', pp. 268–71.

should instruct everyone who was old enough and had sufficient understanding ‘þæt he cunne hu he of hæþendome mæge to cristendome ðurh rihtne geleafan 7 ðurh fulluht cuman’ (lines 8–10; ‘so that he may know how he can come to Christianity from heathenism by means of true belief and baptism’). Is Wulfstan referring to a Viking pagan, or to someone within the Christian community who through negligence had never been baptized?<sup>38</sup> It seems most probable that he meant to include both, but in order to answer this question definitively, I have examined his use of the two words for ‘heathenism’, *hæþendom* and *hæþenscipe*, and the meaning that he gives to them. As stated already, he does not appear to make any distinction of meaning or usage between them.

Wulfstan was always ready to condemn ‘heathenism’, most frequently, alas, in very general terms and without prescribing an earthly penalty. Already in his homily *De temporibus Anticristi* (Bethurum IV; his first reworking — perhaps dating to the later 990s — of Ælfric’s Preface to the first series of his *Catholic Homilies*),<sup>39</sup> Wulfstan stated that God has ordained eternal rest for the righteous: that is, for those who have despised every heathen practice (*ælcne hæðenscipe oferhogiað*, line 90). He therefore exhorted all Christians to turn aside from heathenism and from sins (line 94). The exhortation is repeated in his homily *Be cristendome* (Bethurum Xc, probably dating to the early years of the second millennium): *æghwylcne hæðenscipe wordes 7 weorces forhogie man æfre* (lines 53–54; ‘each heathen practice should always be avoided in word and deed’).<sup>40</sup> In his *Sermo de baptisate* (Bethurum VIIIC, already mentioned) he again emphasizes the necessity for everyone to cast out every heathen practice (*ælcne hæþendom mid ealle aweorpe*, lines 153–55). The same verb, *aweorpan*, is also used in a similar hortatory sentence in Wulfstan’s later *Sermo ad populum* (Bethurum XIII, line 66)<sup>41</sup> and is the one most frequently employed in his earliest law-codes.

Indeed, as soon as Wulfstan’s distinctive style is observable in the laws, there are condemnations of *hæðendom*. The earliest of his ‘legal tracts’, probably dating between his becoming Archbishop of York in 1002 and 1008, is the so-called ‘Peace of Edward and Guthrum’. For this he apparently composed a (partly fictitious) preamble,<sup>42</sup> including ‘This is first, that they [i.e. the kings Alfred, Edward, and Guthrum] said that they would love one God and zealously cast out every heathen

<sup>38</sup> Cooper, ‘Northumbrian History’, pp. 215–16.

<sup>39</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 102–03.

<sup>40</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, p. 208; on p. 103 Bethurum puts the composition of Xc as just before that of the *Canons of Edgar*, which are generally dated 1005–08.

<sup>41</sup> For date, see *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 103–04.

<sup>42</sup> See Dorothy Whitelock, ‘Wulfstan and the So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum’, *English Historical Review*, 56 (1941), 1–21 (pp. 1, 12–13, 18); *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 302–03. The preamble implies that Guthrum (died 890) and Edward the Elder (succeeded 899) were in power contemporaneously. Whitelock suggested that Wulfstan might have written this preface ‘in good faith’, but this surely can only have been in the sense of ‘the end justifying the means’ since he could not have found any documentary evidence to support his claims therein. See also Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 389–91.

practice' (*ȝ ælcne hæþendom georne aworpen*).<sup>43</sup> The beginning of the sentence differs in later codes, but the last clause is found (with only slight variations) over and over again; for example, in the preamble to V Æthelred where it has perhaps its most basic form: 'This, then, is first: that we all should love and worship one God and zealously observe one Christian faith and altogether cast out every heathen practice' (*ȝ ælcne hæðendom mid ealle aweorpan*).<sup>44</sup>

Elsewhere, except in the fragment called IX Æthelred<sup>45</sup> when the verb *aweorpan* is used, *Ealle we sculon* ('We all ought') replaces the preliminary exhortations to love God.<sup>46</sup> In other texts, various preliminaries and various verbs are used, ranging from *forbugan* ('avoid'),<sup>47</sup> to *ascunian* ('shun'),<sup>48</sup> to *oferhogian* ('despise').<sup>49</sup> The

<sup>43</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 128–35 (p. 128); *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. and trans. by F. L. Attenborough (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 102–09 (pp. 102–03); *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 302–12 (p. 304).

<sup>44</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 236–37; *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 78–79; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 344. Virtually the same sentence is found in the 34th (penultimate) clause of the same code, V Æthelred; *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 244–45; *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 88–89; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 361–62.

<sup>45</sup> IX Æthelred, decreed at Woodstock, was perhaps part of a 'more nearly official' version of VIII Æthelred, belonging to 1014; *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 263–69 (p. 269); *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 116–31 (pp. 130–31); see also Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', pp. 59–60, 63–64; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 258–59.

<sup>46</sup> For example, in Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity II*, which he may have continued to revise until he died (see Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 197, 208, 333, 364–65, n. 453, 388–89, 394–95, 458–59, 463–64; *Institutes of Polity*, ed. by Jost, pp. 33, 165). *Aweorpan* is also in the *Northumbrian Priests' Law*, ch. 67 (*Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 467).

<sup>47</sup> In the preamble to VI Æthelred (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 246–59 (p. 246); *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 90–107 (pp. 90–91)), another version of the Enham laws of 1008, yet further modified by Wulfstan; see Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', pp. 50, 56, and *Making of English Law*, pp. 334–35; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 339–44. The same infinitive form is used, but with a different introduction, towards the beginning of 'Cnut's law-code of 1018' (sometimes known simply as D, or as 'An early draft of Cnut's Laws'): 'Uton swiðe georne fram sinnan acirran [...] ȝ ælcne hæðendom georne forbugan' ('Let us turn very zealously from sins [...] and zealously avoid every heathen practice'); see Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code', p. 72, relying on Dorothy Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *English Historical Review*, 63 (1948), 433–52. See also Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 131, 208, 335, 345–47, 362, 450.

<sup>48</sup> In VI Æthelred 6: *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 248; *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 92–93. In the Latin version, this reads *omnes paganas superstitiones contempnere* (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 249; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 362–73 (p. 366)).

<sup>49</sup> In VIII Æthelred 44, whose heading in Corpus 201 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 49) dates it to the year 1014: *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 268; *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 128–29; see also

small variations may be significant, or may be simply differences in the vocabulary which occurred to the compiler on different occasions. If anything, the verbs grow progressively weaker. These preambles and other general statements are (as already stated) never more than exhortations, and no penalties are prescribed.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, in Wulfstan's 'Injunctions on the behaviour of bishops', chapter 3, is advice to consider how best they can overturn heathenism (*hu hi magan* [...] *hæþendom swyðost afyllan*),<sup>51</sup> with yet another equivalent verb form.

The second clause of the Peace of Edward and Guthrum, however, reads, 'ȝ gif hwa Cristendom wyrde oððe hæþendom weorþige wordes oððe weorces, gylde swa wer swa wite swa lahslyte' ('And if anyone injures Christianity, or honours heathenism by word or deed, he is to pay either wergild or fine or *lahslyt*, in proportion to the deed').<sup>52</sup> *Lahslyt* is defined as 'a fine in the Danelaw, graduated according to the rank of the offender', whereas the fine (*wite*) among the English was a fixed rate.<sup>53</sup> In the context of a treaty between English and Danes, the precision of the proposed penalty is understandable. However, Wormald has drawn attention to the 'blunt and undorned, [and] frankly formulaic' legal statements of this earliest of Wulfstan's legal tracts and the more homiletic style of the codes which came later.<sup>54</sup>

### *Wulfstan's Definitions of Heathenism*

In his early homilies, Wulfstan describes how the devil deceives mankind and includes offences which we might consider 'heathen', but for which he does not use the term. For example, in his eschatological homily *Secundum Marcum* (Bethurum V), dating from about the year AD 1000, Wulfstan wrote of the actions of Antichrist before the

---

Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', p. 59, and *Making of English Law*, pp. 336–37, 342, 344, 361–62, 364, 394, 457, 478; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 402.

<sup>50</sup> M. K. Lawson ('Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', *English Historical Review*, 107 (1992), 565–86, reprinted in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 141–64 (pp. 150–51, 154)) has suggested that the reason for this imprecision is that the law-codes which Wulfstan drafted were 'grounded in preaching' — that they were first publicized in homiletic form.

<sup>51</sup> *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 406–13 (p. 409). Wormald points to *afyllan* as characteristically Wulfstanian vocabulary ('Holiness of Society', p. 247), and indeed the verbs used in the laws are also evidenced in differing contexts in Wulfstan's homilies.

<sup>52</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 130–31; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 305.

<sup>53</sup> *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 305, n. 3; see also Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898).

<sup>54</sup> Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 339–40, 389–91.

end of the world: ‘ȝ se gesewenlica feond wyrð þurh deofles cræft fela wundorlicra tacna ȝ þurh drycræft mænigfealda gedwimera’ (lines 68–69; ‘And the visible enemy will work by means of the devil’s skill many marvellous signs, and by means of sorcery various delusions’). In a sermon attributed to Lupus Episcopus, and so dating after Wulfstan became Bishop of London in 996 — probably about 1006 — (Bethurum VI, an outline of Christian history), he explains how the devil deceives mankind in the contemporary world:

Ponne ðeþ he þeah swyðe lytelice þær he ongyt unwære menn, sent sona on hy sylfe, oððon hwilum on heora yrfe, sum swiðlic brocc, ȝ ðonne hwilum gehatað hy ælmeßan þurh deofles lare, oðþon to wylle oððon to stane oðþon elles to sumum unalyfedum ðingum, ȝ ðonne sona foroft byð þæt brocc lyðre. (lines 83–88)<sup>55</sup>

This is the only place where we can be sure Wulfstan acknowledges that devotion to countryside shrines may have had something to do with obtaining healing. The passage may also indicate that people were more inclined to resort to such places in times of crisis.<sup>56</sup>

His briefest list of such offences appears in the (already mentioned) *Sermo de baptisate* (Bethurum VIIIc), in which he exhorts his audience, ‘And ne gyman ge galdra ne idelra hwata, ne wigelunga ne wiccecræfta; ne weorðian ge wyllas ne ænige wudutreowa, forðam æghwylce idele syndon deofles gedwimeru’ (lines 165–68; ‘And do not pay heed to enchantments nor vain divination, nor sorceries; nor worship springs nor any forest tree, because all vanities are the devil’s delusions’). In his early Latin homily *De cristianitate* (Bethurum Xb, lines 52–76) is a list of more than twenty prohibitions of both greater and lesser offences, related to the deadly sins, not described as heathen practices, but including *Nullus ueneficia faciat. Nolite adorare idola* (‘No one should perform sorceries. Do not worship idols’). In the English version, *Be cristendome* (‘Concerning Christianity’; Bethurum Xc, lines 105–06) these two sentences are rendered ‘Ne ænig man wiccecræft æfre begange. Ne ænig man idola weorðie æfre’ — with the intensifier *æfre* (‘ever’), typical of Wulfstan.

In the earliest extant manuscript of the *Canons of Edgar* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, from the mid-eleventh century), there is:

<sup>55</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 102–03, 142–56, 293–94, 296–97. ‘However, he then acts very deceitfully where he perceives men to be careless; he sends at once upon them themselves, or sometimes upon their livestock, some severe affliction; and then sometimes, through the devil’s prompting, they vow offerings either to a spring or to a stone, or otherwise to some forbidden things, and then at once, very often, the affliction becomes worse.’ The sentence has some similarities to ideas expressed in Ælfric’s homily on St Bartholomew’s Day, lines 102–06 (*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series: Text*, ed. by Peter Clemoes, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series, 17 (Oxford, 1997), pp. 442–43), but there has plainly been no direct borrowing. Ælfric is here following his source, an anonymous Latin *Passio* (see Godden, *Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, pp. 260–61).

<sup>56</sup> Cooper, ‘Northumbrian History’, p. 210.



16. And we lærað þæt preosta gehwile cristendom geornlice arære and ælcne hæpendom mid ealle adwæsse and forbeode wilweorþunga and licwiglunga and hwata and galdra and \*manweorðunga and þa gemearr, þe man drið on mistlicum gewiglungum and on friðsplotum and on ellenum and eac on oðrum mistlicum treowum and on stanum\* and on manegum mistlicum gedwimerum, þe men on dreogað fela þæs, þe hi na ne scoldan.<sup>57</sup>

There is a problem with the term *manweorðung*, which is unique and usually taken to mean ‘worship of men’. Whitelock objects that ‘it is not easy to see just what this would mean, and it is perhaps preferable to take *man* as having a long vowel, i.e. “wicked” and the compound as referring generally to evil forms of worship not specifically mentioned’.<sup>58</sup> However, since in the homilies *De falsis deis* both Ælfric and Wulfstan explain the false gods euhemeristically as important men who were worshipped after death, it seems possible that ‘worship of men’ could be equivalent to ‘worship of heathen gods’.<sup>59</sup>

In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, of the third quarter of the eleventh century, the passage between asterisks is replaced by: ‘treowwurðunga 7 stanwurðunga, 7 ðone deofles cræft þe man dryhð þær man þa cild þurh þa eorðan tihð, 7 ða gemearr þe man drihð on geares niht on mislicum wigelungum 7 on friðsplotum 7 on ellenum’ (‘worship of trees and of stones, and that devil’s trick which is performed when one pulls a child through the earth, and that nonsense which is performed on New Year’s Eve, and in various sorceries, and in sanctuaries and at elder trees’).<sup>60</sup> It is somewhat unclear, however, whether these alterations were made by Wulfstan himself or a later reviser.<sup>61</sup> My own feeling is that the added details about dragging a child through the earth and New Year ‘nonsense’ are more precise than we would normally expect from Wulfstan, but only a careful examination of all the alterations in the ‘second edition’ of the *Canons* is likely to settle the matter. I have translated *geares niht* as New Year’s Eve on the assumption that rituals and festivity would take place around the exact point of time when one year was considered to become the next — possibly, as with us, around midnight. The exact date on which this was thought to take place in late Anglo-Saxon England is not here my concern. I take

<sup>57</sup> ‘*Institutes of Polity*’, ed. by Jost, p. 184; *Canons*, ed. by Fowler, p. 4. ‘And we teach that every priest should promote Christianity zealously, and altogether extinguish every heathen practice, and forbid the worship of springs and necromancy and auguries and incantations and \*the worship of men, and the nonsense which is practised in various kinds of sorcery and in sanctuaries and at elder trees and also at other various trees and at stones\* and in many various delusions, of which many are practised which should not be.’

<sup>58</sup> *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 320, n. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Cooper has made the same point, ‘Northumbrian History’, p. 214.

<sup>60</sup> *Canons*, ed. by Fowler, p. 5; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 320.

<sup>61</sup> *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 314.

note of Malcolm Godden's suggestion that, when Ælfric condemned 'nonsensical' practices at the New Year, he may have been referring to monks and clerics making the kind of prognostications found in contemporary manuscripts.<sup>62</sup> However, the fact that the revisions in the *Canons* associate divinations with *frīðsplottum* and *ellenum* (dative plurals) suggests that the reviser (Wulfstan or another) was thinking more of 'common people continuing' superstitious practices embedded in the landscape.

Cnut's secular code (usually called II Cnut), which also shows signs of composition by Wulfstan and which was promulgated at Christmas in 1020 or 1021,<sup>63</sup> defines heathenism in specific terms, but uses a slightly variant vocabulary and has some other differences from the earlier statements:

5. And we forbeodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe.

5.1 Hæðenscipe byð þæt man idola weorðige, þæt is þæt man weorþige hæðene godas 7 sunnan oððe monan, fyr oððe flod, wæterwyllas oððe stanas oððe æniges cynnes wudutreowa, oððon wiccecræft lufige, oððon morðweorc gefremme on ænige wisan, oððon on blote oððon fyrhte, oððon swylcra gedwimera ænig þingc dreoge.<sup>64</sup>

The much more forceful language may reflect the necessity for the new young king to curb any pagan sympathies among his Danish followers, though (once again) no penalties are specified. In similar terms in his late homily *De dedicatione ecclesiae* (Bethurum XVIII), Wulfstan exhorts Christian men 'þæne egesan æfre ne dreogan þæt hy deofolgyld ahwar weorðian' (lines 104–05; 'not to perform that terrible act: that they worship idolatry anywhere').

However, the *Northumbrian Priests' Law* details the fines which should be imposed on those engaged in 'heathenism':

XLVIII. Gif þonne æni man agiten wurðe þæt ænigne hæðenscipe heonanforð dreoge oððe on blot oððe on firhte oððe on ænig [wisian] wiccecræft lufige oppe idola wurðinge: gif he si cynges þegn gilde X healf mearce; healf Criste, healf þam cyng.<sup>65</sup>

Wormald's claim that this passage does not have Wulfstan's rhythm might be countered by supposing it the product of one of his subordinates, under his supervision.

<sup>62</sup> M. R. Godden, 'New Year's Day in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Notes and Queries*, 237, n.s., 39 (1992), 148–50.

<sup>63</sup> *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 468–69.

<sup>64</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 308–71 (pp. 312–13); *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 174–210 (pp. 176–77); *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 468–506 (p. 489). 'And we earnestly forbid every heathenism: That is, that one should worship idols, heathen gods and the sun or the moon, fire or flood, springs of water or stones or any kind of woodland tree, or love witchcraft, or bring about murder in any way, or take part in sacrifice or in divination or such delusions.'

<sup>65</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 383; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 461. 'If then it is discovered about any man that henceforth he perform any heathen act, either in sacrifice or in divination, or love any kind of witchcraft or the worship of idols: if he be a king's thegn, let him pay ten half-marks, half to Christ and half to the king.'

However, Wormald’s second objection, that its author had ‘rather different priorities in this instance’ than Wulfstan had, points towards a different compiler or supervisor.<sup>66</sup> The next clauses (as numbered in modern editions) go all the way down the social scale as far as the peasant, and then there is:

LIV. Gif friðgeard sy on hwæs lande abuton stan oððe treow oððe wille oððe swilces ænigge fleard þonne gilde se ðe hit worhte lahsliht, healf Criste, healf landrican.<sup>67</sup>

### *Wulfstan’s Lists of Evil-doers*

Related to these lists of offences which Wulfstan considered heathen practice are others, of evil-doers who are doomed to go to Hell. Perhaps the earliest of these is in his homily *De fide catholica* (Bethurum VII), which Bethurum dates to the beginning of Wulfstan’s archiepiscopacy:

Dyder sculan mannslanan, 7 ðider sculan manswican; ðider sculan æwbrecan, 7 ða fulan forlegenan; ðider sculan mansworan 7 morðwyrhtan; ðider sculan gitseras, ryperas 7 reaferas 7 woruldstruderas; ðider sculon þeofas 7 ðeodscaðan; ðyder sculon wiccan 7 wigleras, 7, hrædest to secganne, ealle þa manfullan þe ær yfel worhton 7 noldon geswican ne wið God þingian. (lines 128–34)<sup>68</sup>

The *Sermo ad populum* (Bethurum XIII), dating from about 1006, has an abbreviated version of this list (lines 93–95), but includes *bearnmyrðran* (‘child-murderers’). In all versions of Wulfstan’s most famous homily, the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* of 1014, there is a list of evil deeds which is more related to his usual lists of evil-doers than to the lists of heathen practices already discussed; it includes, however, *hæþene unsida* (‘heathen vices’), as well as *siblegeru* (‘incests’), and *misllice forligru* (‘various fornications’).<sup>69</sup> Towards the end of the longest version of the *Sermo Lupi*

<sup>66</sup> Wormald, ‘Holiness of Society’, p. 251; see note 36 above.

<sup>67</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 383; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 463. ‘If there be a sanctuary on anyone’s land around a stone or a tree or a spring, or any superstition of such a kind, then he who made it should pay a fine (*lahslit*), half to Christ and half to the landowner.’

<sup>68</sup> ‘Thither shall go killers of men, and thither shall go traitors; thither shall go adulterers, and the foul fornicators; thither shall go perjurers and murderers; thither shall go misers, robbers and plunderers and spoliators; thither shall go thieves and criminals; thither shall go witches and sorcerers — and, to say it most briefly, all the wicked ones who have done evil, and did not wish to cease nor to reconcile themselves towards God.’ The dates of Bethurum VII and XIII are discussed in *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, pp. 103–04.

<sup>69</sup> *Homilies*, ed. by Bethurum, (BH) p. 258, lines 90–95; (C) pp. 264–65, lines 131–36, (EI) p. 272, lines 133–38. *Sibleger* is only found in Wulfstan’s writings (Whitelock, ‘Wulfstan and the So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum’, p. 8) and may therefore have been his own coinage.

(EI, lines 161–65), however, is another long list, this time of evil-doers present in the land; as well as most of those already mentioned it includes *mægslagan*, *mæsserbanan*, *mynsterhatan*, *myltestran*, *bearnmyrðran*, *fule folegene horingas*, *wiccan*, *wælcyrrian* ('killers of kin', 'killers of priests', 'persecutors of monasteries', 'prostitutes', 'killers of children', 'foully persevering adulterers', 'witches', 'valkyries'). It is a moot point whether all these sinners could have generally been considered devotees of heathenism; we would probably include only the witches and sorcerers in that category, but Wulfstan appears to lump together all those whose misdeeds would prevent them from ever going to heaven: in this sense, at any rate, all tended towards 'heathenism'.

If we turn again to Wulfstan's legal texts, the so-called Peace of Edward and Guthrum prescribes an earthly punishment for similar evil-doers:

11. Gif wiccan oððe wigeleras, mansworan oððe morðwyrhtan, oððe fule, afylede æbære horcwenan ahwar on earde wurðan agytene, fyse hi man of earde, buton hig geswican 7 þe deoppor gebetan.<sup>70</sup>

This sentence is repeated frequently in Wulfstan's legislation, though the derogatory adjectives applied to prostitutes are elsewhere lacking, and the personnel varies. Clause 7 of VI Æthelred adds *scincraeftan* ('magicians') to the list.<sup>71</sup> The Latin version of this code 'keeps itself to heathen practices' and omits whores and perjurers.<sup>72</sup> In Cnut's law-code of 1018 only *wiccan*, *wigeleras*, *morðwyrhtan*, *mansworan* ('witches', 'soothsayers', 'murderers', 'perjurers') are mentioned in this context,<sup>73</sup> but in II Cnut (4a) *mansworan* are omitted and *horcweonan* added once again.<sup>74</sup> The following subclauses in II Cnut enjoin that apostates, outlaws, thieves, and robbers should also be either exiled or executed.

In Cnut's first Letter to the English, which Whitelock argues was written while the King was in Denmark in 1019, the people were exhorted (ch. 15) to shun the unrighteous, who were *mægslagan*, *morðslagan*, *mansworan*, *wiccean*, *wælcyrrian*, *æwbrecan*, *syblegeru* ('killers of kin', 'murderers', 'perjurers', 'witches', 'choosers

<sup>70</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 134–35; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 312. 'And if witches or soothsayers, perjurers or foul, corrupted prostitutes are discovered anywhere in the land, let them be driven from the land, unless they cease and make amends.'

<sup>71</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 248; *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 92–93; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 350, note b. For discussion of VI Æthelred, see Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', pp. 49–58, and *Making of English Law*, pp. 199, 332–35.

<sup>72</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 249; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 350 n. 1, 366.

<sup>73</sup> As part of clause 7; Kennedy, 'Cnut's Law Code', p. 74.

<sup>74</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 310–11; *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 176–77; *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 488.

of the slain', 'adulterers', 'incest').<sup>75</sup> Here the list has altered slightly, most significantly perhaps in the replacement of *wigeleras* by *wælcyrrian*, literally 'choosers of the slain' (discussed below), as in the *Sermo Lupi* of 1014. Cnut's letter of 1019 is only found as one of the four texts, all written in the same hand, in the gathering of four leaves added at the end of the York Gospels (York, Minster Library, Additional 1). The three other short pieces (headed respectively *Sermo Lupi*,<sup>76</sup> *Be hæðendome* (discussed next), and *Be cristendome*); all have annotations in the hand authoritatively ascribed to Wulfstan himself.<sup>77</sup>

If this letter were written from Denmark, however, it was presumably not drafted by Wulfstan himself, who was one of the addressees. Simon Keynes has suggested that the first part (the first twelve or thirteen chapters),<sup>78</sup> which 'is largely free of Wulfstan's style' comprised the whole of the original letter, and that the second part (with the list of evil-doers), which is 'saturated' with Wulfstanian language, was added by the Archbishop himself before it was copied into the manuscript. Keynes writes:

The care taken by Wulfstan to assemble these texts, to have them written on a specially-prepared gathering of leaves which was placed at the end of the gospel book and finally to make certain corrections, suggests strongly that he attached particular importance to them: indeed, they represent a considered summary of Wulfstan's views on the proper ordering of a Christian society, and by placing them in the gospel book Wulfstan evidently intended not only to enhance the authority behind them, but also to ensure that his message would not be forgotten.<sup>79</sup>

## Be hæðendome

The second of the three brief texts preceding Cnut's letter in the York Gospels manuscript appears to express Wulfstan's opinion, in the final years of his life, as to what

---

<sup>75</sup> *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 273–75 (p. 274); *Laws*, ed. by Robertson, pp. 140–45 (pp. 144–45); *Councils and Synods*, ed. by Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, I, 435–41 (p. 440). The word *syblegeru* is unique to Wulfstan and comes in rather awkwardly, since all the other words refer to people, while it is abstract. Perhaps it was simply lifted from the list of evil deeds in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (Bethurum XX).

<sup>76</sup> Not to be confused with the complex homily usually referred to as the *Sermo Lupi*, which was written (and preached) at least six years earlier, at the end of Æthelred's reign (1014); see below.

<sup>77</sup> Neil Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge 1971), pp. 315–31. See also Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 402.

<sup>78</sup> The exact boundary between the original letter and the postulated Wulfstanian accretions is difficult to decide; see Simon Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory Essays*, ed. by Nicolas Barker (London, 1986), pp. 81–99 (p. 96, n. 71), discussing fols 158<sup>r</sup>–161<sup>r</sup> (Cnut's letter is on fol. 160<sup>r-v</sup>).

<sup>79</sup> Keynes, 'Additions', p. 92.

‘heathenism’ consisted of. He must have read it over, since he added *vel nullus cristianus* (‘or no Christian’) above the line at the beginning of the text and marked out one passage (indicated below by *italics*) by surrounding it with a jagged line, such as he used elsewhere. Ker suggests that, on mature reflection, Wulfstan considered that to specify a penalty was unsuitable for a general exhortation.<sup>80</sup> I have cited the whole of this text here, since it is brief, printed most recently by Napier in 1883 (LX),<sup>81</sup> and easier to compare with the earlier passages if all are available together. I have collated the text with the facsimile edition of the York Gospels,<sup>82</sup> and note that Wulfstan did not pick up two scribal errors. In the interests of accuracy, the translation is as literal as possible, and therefore not idiomatic:

Nemo cristianorum [vel nullus cristianus] paganas superstitiones intendat, sed gentiliū inquinamenta omnia omnino contemnat.

Eala, mycel is nyðþearf manna gehwylcum, þæt he wið deofles larswice warnige symle, and þæt he hæðenscipe georne æfre forbuge, þæs he gedon mæge. And, gyf hit geweorðe, þæt cristen man æfre heonanforð ahwar heðendum begange oððon ahwar on lande idola weorðige, gebete þæt deope for gode and for worolde; *and, se ðe to gelome þæt unriht begange; gylde mid englum swa wer, swa wite, and on dena lage lahlite, be þam þe seo dæd sy.* And, gyf wiccean oððe wigelearas, horingas oððe horcwenan, morðwyrhtan oððe mansworan, innan þysan earde weorðan agytene, fyse hy man georne ut of þysan earde and clænsige þas þeode oððon on earde forfare hy mid ealle, butan he [*sic*] geswicon and þe deoppor gebetan. And do man, swa hit þearf is, manfulra dæda on æghwylcan ende styre man swyðe.

Her syndan on earde godcundnessæ wiðersacan and godes lage oferhogan, manslagan and mægslagan, cyrichatan and sacerdbanan, hadbreacan and æwbrecan, myltestran and bearnmyrðran, þeofas and þeodscaðan, ryperas and reaferas, leogeras and liceteras and leodhatan hetele ealles to manege, þe ðurh mansylene bariað þas þeode, and wedlogan and wærlogan and lytle getrywða to wide mid mannum. And ne byrhð se gesibba hwilan gesibban þe ma, þe ðam fremdan; Ne broðor his his [*sic*] breðer oþre hwile; Ne bearn for oft his fæder ne meder. Ne na fela manna ne healt his getrywða swa wel swa he scolde, for gode and for worolde. Ac do man, swa hit þearf is, gebete hit georne and clænsige þas þeode, gyf man godes miltse ge-earnian wylle.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Ker, ‘Handwriting’, pp. 318–19, 330–31.

<sup>81</sup> *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, 4 (Berlin, 1883), pp. 309–10.

<sup>82</sup> *The York Gospels*, ed. by Barker, fol. 159<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> ‘Concerning Heathenism

None of the Christians [or no Christian] should pay heed to pagan superstitions, but altogether despise the iniquities of the Gentiles.

Indeed, there is great need for everyone, that he should always guard against the deceits of the devil, and always zealously avoid heathenism, as far as he can. And, if it comes about that a Christian man ever henceforth engages in heathen practice anywhere, or anywhere in the land worships idols, let him atone for that deeply as regards God and the world; *and (he who*

The passage strikes the reader as a heaping up of quotations from Wulfstan's earlier works, with some expansion but little sign of an attempt to produce a definitive (rather than a comprehensive) statement. Yet it reads like authentic Wulfstan, and it bears out the earlier suggestion that Wulfstan's mindset included as 'heathenism' not only elements of the occult, but also what we would consider either as the worst of crimes or merely as sexual misconduct. There are several parallels between *Be hæpendome* and the variant versions of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, of which Bethurum prints three, all numbered XX: (BH), (C), and (EI). Some passages in *Be hæðendome*, indeed, appear to have been taken directly from the *Sermo Lupi*; compare, for example, the third to last sentence of *Be hæpendome* with *Sermo Lupi* (BH) lines 56–58 = (C) lines 69–71 = (EI) lines 61–63.<sup>84</sup>

### *Sources and Analogues for Wulfstan's Definitions of Heathenism*

Though the definitions of heathenism so far cited have some measure of consistency, several different kinds of offences seem to be lumped together. Before trying to decide the categories, however, it would be as well to look at one of the sources which Wulfstan almost certainly used, the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*.<sup>85</sup> It is found along with Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* and *Canons of Edgar* in the late-eleventh-century manuscript Junius 121.<sup>86</sup> It shows no signs of Ælfric's or Wulfstan's distinctive

---

*too often practises that evil) let him pay wergild or fine among the English, and in the Danelaw the fine for breach of the law, according to what the deed may have been. And if witches or sorcerers, fornicators or whores, murderers or perjurers are discovered anywhere in this land, let them be zealously driven from this land and this people be cleansed, or destroy them altogether, unless they cease and the more deeply atone. And, as there is need, let evil deeds be corrected in every district.*

Here there are in the land opponents of the divine and despisers of God's law, slayers of men and killers of kin, enemies of the church and killers of priests, injurers of those in holy orders, and adulterers, prostitutes and murderers of children, robbers and plunderers, liars and criminals and hateful persecutors altogether too many, who through slave-trading diminish this people, and pledge-breakers and faith-breakers, and there is too little trust widely among men. And at times a kinsman does not protect his kin any more than a stranger, nor one brother his brother or sometimes, too often, a child [does not protect] his father nor his mother. Nor does many a man hold faith as well as he should, as regards God and the world. But let one, as there is need, atone for it zealously, and cleanse this people, if one wishes to earn God's mercy.'

<sup>84</sup> See note 18 above for the manuscripts of the *Sermo Lupi*.

<sup>85</sup> *Die Altenglische Version de Halitgar'schen Bussbuches (sog. Penitientiale Pseudo-Ecgberti)*, ed. by Josef Raith, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 13 (Hamburg, 1933); the passages quoted below are on pp. 29–30, 54–55.

<sup>86</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 338 (articles 1–19 and 23). The *Penitential's* Book IV is also in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 8558–63 (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 10). See also the list of manu-

styles, but is roughly contemporary with them and was also used extensively by Ælfric. From Book II, mostly translated from Halitgar (but clause 22 going back to canon 23 of the Council of Ankara, and 23 to canon 21 of Braga), there are:

II.22 *Be þam men þe gedwællice þing begæð*: Gif hwylc man his ælmessan gehate oððe bringe to hwylcum wylle oððe to stane oððe to ænigum oðrum gesceaftum butan on Godes naman to Godes cyrcean, fæste III gear on hlafe 7 on wætere. Þeah he geþristlæce þæt he æt swylcum stowum ete oððe drince 7 nane lac ne bringe, fæste he þeah-hwæpere an gear on hlafe 7 on wætere.

II.23 *Be þam þe alyfed nis idele hwatunga to beganne*: Nis na soðlice nanum cristenum men alyfed þæt he idele hw[a]tunga bega, swa hæðene men doð: þæt hi gelyfon on sunnan 7 on monan 7 on steorrena ryne 7 secon tida hwatunga hira þing to beginnenne.<sup>87</sup>

A somewhat abbreviated version of this, followed by a condemnation of a different kind of superstition, is found in Book IV.15 (for which various sources such as continental Latin penitentials are used). The next clause (Book IV.16) is concerned with a mother who uses superstitious remedies to care for her child:

IV.15. Gif hwa hlytas oððe hwatunga bega, oððe his wæccan æt ænigum wylle hæbbe, oððe æt ænigre oðre gesceafta buton æt Godes cyrcean, fæste he III gear.

IV.16. Wifman beo þæs ylcan wyrðe, gif heo tilað hire cilde mid ænigum wiccecræfte oððe æt wega gelæton þurh þa eorðan tyhð, forþam þæt is micel hæðenscipe.<sup>88</sup>

In Wulfstan's works this last clause is only paralleled in the later version of the *Canons of Edgar*, where 'the devil's trick in which a child is dragged through the

---

scripts in Roger Fowler, 'A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor', *Anglia*, 83 (1965), 1–34 (pp. 1–4). This 'Handbook' is even more closely associated in manuscripts with Wulfstan texts than the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*, from which it takes three provisions concerning witchcraft (Fowler, 'Handbook', p. 25, lines 259–74 = *Pseudo-Egbert* IV.12–14), but Wulfstan himself does not seem to have used it directly in his writings, nor to have had a hand in its section IV. He did share its concern over Christians being sold *on hæþendom* (p. 26, lines 289–96), but, as we have seen, apparently never himself used the word *hæþen* for an unbaptized baby, as it does (p. 25, line 284).

<sup>87</sup> 'Concerning those men who perform wrong things: If any man promise offerings or bring them to any spring, or to a stone or to a tree, or to any other created things except in God's name to God's church, let him fast for three years on bread and water. Though he dare [only] that he eat or drink at such places, and does not bring any sacrifice, let him nevertheless fast for one year on bread and water.

*Concerning those to whom it is not allowed to undertake vain auguries*: It is not allowed to any Christian man that he practise vain divination, as pagan men do: that they believe in the sun and the moon and in the courses of the stars, and look for times by divination to undertake their affairs.'

<sup>88</sup> 'If anyone employs lot-casting or divination, or keeps a vigil at any well, or at any other created thing except at God's church, let him fast for three years.

A woman would be deserving of the same penance, if she cares for her child with any witchcraft, or pulls it through the earth at crossroads, for that is great heathenism.'



earth' is condemned. However, as discussed above, we cannot be quite certain that all the modifications to the second edition were Wulfstan's own work. Moreover, Wulfstan only mentions crossroads where he is closely copying Ælfric's *De falsis deis*, and only in his early homily Bethurum VI (mentioned above) does he interpret the visiting of sanctuary sites as for healing purposes. Ælfric has much to say about superstitious medical practices in his homily *De auguriis*,<sup>89</sup> and elsewhere,<sup>90</sup> which Wulfstan either ignores or was ignorant of. Moreover, he does not anywhere mention superstitious lot-casting, as Ælfric does, or indeed the dangerous witchcraft of Book IV.12–14. It is perhaps more probable that for most of his own related statements on heathenism Wulfstan was dependent only on the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*, Book II.22–23, or other Latin sources, using it or them selectively. A later reviser of the *Canons of Edgar* may well have had Book IV and other penitential texts available and from them took the additional material in the second edition. However, as already remarked, more wide-ranging research than is here possible would be necessary to make the matter more certain.

Wulfstan's lists also have some similarities to one concerned with 'the vanities of this world', which cause separation from the Church and from faithful men, in the first book of the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*, chapter 8.<sup>91</sup> It consists of 'ofermetta, nið, æfesta, hatheortnes, stala, druncennes, galscipe, lyblac, gytsung, reafiac, scincraeft, manslihtas 7 feala oðra þissa gelican' ('pride, spite, envy, anger, stealing, drunkenness, lasciviousness, magic, greed, robbery, delusion, manslaughter, and many other things like these'). It seems to us a strange mixture of 'deadly sins' — that is, perhaps, what we would call personality or behavioural disorders — and specific evil deeds, which as a matter of course include magic and sorcery. No direct source for this passage has been identified, nor was it a clear source for Wulfstan. Ælfric's homily for the tenth Sunday after Pentecost (Pope 16, dated to after 1005), however, has a related passage which Pope characterizes as Ælfric's 'most elaborate alliterative list of offences' and which may have provided Wulfstan with some inspiration, since there is vocabulary in common. However, since Wulfstan's *De fide catholica* (Bethurum VII) was probably written soon after 1003, the influence could have gone in the other direction (lines 72–79):

<sup>89</sup> See Audrey Meaney, 'Ælfric's Use of his Sources in his Homily on Auguries', *English Studies*, 66 (1985), 477–95.

<sup>90</sup> Ælfric also has a good deal to say in his St Bartholomew's Day homily concerning the association between healing and idolatry: seeking healing from illicit activities, accursed charms, and witchcraft (lines 304–05); seeking healing from a stone or a tree or place other than a church (lines 312–14); attaching a medicinal plant or herb to the body, except to the wound itself (lines 319–21); and enchanting a herb with a charm (lines 323–24); see *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: First Series*, ed. by Clemons, pp. 449–50, and Godden, *Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, pp. 265–66. See also discussion in Audrey L. Meaney, 'Ælfric and Idolatry', *Journal of Religious History*, 13 (1984), 119–35 (pp. 129–31).

<sup>91</sup> *Die Altenglische Version*, ed. by Raith, p. 6.

þas synd[an þa] leahtras þe misliciað Gode:  
 eawbryce and forliger, and ælces cynnes reaflic,  
 morðdæda and manslihtas and ealle manaðas,  
 wiccecræft and wiglung and þa wogan domas,  
 stala and leasunga and þa micclan druncennyssa,  
 untima-æt and oferfyll and þæt man wyrce unlybban,  
 and þæt man nylle freolsian mid nanum wurðmynte  
 þone halgan Sunnandæg.<sup>92</sup>

If Wulfstan used this list, he took care to change the vocabulary to fit his own rhythm.

### *Late Anglo-Saxon Superstitions*

What we would perhaps most like to know about Wulfstan's condemnation of 'heathenism' is whether he is referring to superstitions current all over Anglo-Saxon England, or whether he is more concerned with residual or renewed Norse paganism in his northern province. I know of no sure way to disentangle these two things, but I shall make an attempt to distinguish between, on the one hand, statements in Wulfstan's law-codes belonging to Æthelred's reign, his pronouncements which appear to be based on the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert* and on Ælfric's homilies, and those in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* from the end of Æthelred's reign, and, on the other hand, what Wulfstan says in the laws of Cnut and what is to be found in the *Northumbrian Priests' Law* (which uses Wulfstanian material but was probably compiled by one of his successors as Archbishop of York).<sup>93</sup>

In his condemnations of 'heathenism' there are two or three aspects of late Anglo-Saxon superstition which Wulfstan emphasized from the beginning. First, there are some *places* which appear to have a kind of pagan sanctity, often, it seems, with a natural object as a cult centre: those mentioned are springs, trees, and stones. Ælfric

---

<sup>92</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, II, 550. 'These are the sins which are displeasing to God: adultery and fornication and robbery of every kind; murders and manslaughters and all false oaths, witchcraft and divination and false judgements, stealing and lies and great drunkenness, eating at an improper time and surfeit, and the working of deadly magic, and that the holy Sunday is not celebrated with any honour.' Ælfric has other similar lists, taken from St Paul (Galatians 5. 19–21), comprising (in the prose preamble to his *De auguriis*) 'forligr, unclænnyss, estfulnyss, galnyss, hæðen-gild, unlybban, feondræden, geflit, anda, yrre, sacu, twirædnys, dwollic lar, nið, mansliht, druncennys, oferfyll and oðre ðyllice' ('adultery, impurity, lechery, lust, idolatry, poisonous magic, enmity, strife, envy, anger, conflict, discord, heretical teaching, spite, manslaughter, drunkenness, surfeit and other such things'). Later in the same passage, he has, also from St Paul, another list of unrighteous acts and people, which has even less similarity with Wulfstan.

<sup>93</sup> See above.

described these as places where healing could be obtained, and in his early homily *Bethurum VI* Wulfstan wrote of people promising 'alms' to a spring or a stone because of some affliction affecting themselves or their livestock. Elsewhere, Wulfstan ignored the possibility of the association of healing at such shrines and wrote only of the worship. He is therefore in agreement with the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*, Book II.22, where promising and bringing offerings to them is forbidden. Wulfstan did not mention eating and drinking in such places (II.23) or keeping vigils at them (IV.15). Earlier, preachers on the continent, in particular Caesarius of Arles, wrote of vows being made at trees and springs being adored,<sup>94</sup> and he was copied by later writers so that either such unofficial shrines were a constant problem among the Germanic peoples after their outward conversion to Christianity, or the preachers were copying each others' fulminations without purpose.<sup>95</sup> Ælfric used a homily by Caesarius (no. 54) as a major source for his *De auguriis*, but his own homily is so complex and carefully constructed that it is difficult to believe he did not know what he was preaching about. Ælfric therefore provides some independent evidence that superstitious sanctuaries were to be found in England generally.<sup>96</sup>

In the *Canons of Edgar* Wulfstan gives a name to such a sanctuary, *friðsplott* ('peace-spot'), and the *Northumbrian Priests' Law* provides an equivalent term for a 'peace-yard' — *friðgeard* — 'about a stone or a tree or a spring'. This word turns up in the Exeter Book poem *Christ* (line 399) as a synonym for heaven, where angels vie to get closest to the Saviour on the throne,<sup>97</sup> so perhaps the compiler of the *Northumbrian Priests' Law* replaced a Wulfstan coinage with a compound he already knew.<sup>98</sup> There are other compound Old English words where *friþ* bears the sense of 'refuge': *friþburg* ('city of refuge'), *friþus uel generstede* ('peace-house or sanctuary'), glossing *Asilum*, *friþstol* ('sanctuary seat'; there is an example still preserved in Ripon Cathedral), *friþstow* ('place of refuge'). Neither *friðsplott* or *friðgeard* is recorded in English place-names, though there are three examples (all

<sup>94</sup> *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, ed. by D. G. Morin, 2nd edn, 2 vols, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 103–04 (Turnhout, 1953), I, 235–40 (no. 54, 5.18–19). There is an English translation in *Sermons of Caesarius of Arles*, trans. by Sr Mary Magdalene Mueller O.S.F., Fathers of the Church, 31 (Washington, 1956), pp. 265–70.

<sup>95</sup> That trees, menhirs, fountains, and streams were associated and regarded as sacred from prehistoric times is argued by E. O. James, *The Tree of Life: An Archaeological Survey* (Leiden, 1966) (see esp. p. 45).

<sup>96</sup> Meaney, 'Ælfric's Use of His Sources' and 'Ælfric and Idolatry'.

<sup>97</sup> *Microfiche Concordance*, ed. by Healey and Venezky. The poem *Christ* is in *The Exeter Book*, ed. by George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 3 (New York, 1936), pp. xxv–xxix, 3–49, 247–61 (p. 14).

<sup>98</sup> At first sight, *friðgeard* looks as if it could be a version of a Norse *friðgarðr*, but no example of this compound is cited. The nearest appears to be *friðstaðr*, literally 'peace-place', glossed as 'an asylum, sacred place in a temple': see *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, ed. by Richard Cleasby, Gudbrand Vigfusson, and William A. Craigie, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1957).

within the Danelaw) of names which could contain *frið(u)* as first element, combined with Old English *tun* (Fritton in Suffolk and Norfolk (*Fridetuna* in Domesday Book) and Fryton in North Yorkshire (*Frideton*, *Friton* in Domesday Book)) perhaps with the meaning ‘enclosure offering safety or asylum’. Unfortunately, *tun* is not very helpful as a diagnostic place-name element: although very common in English place-names generally, Cox demonstrated that it hardly occurred in place-names recorded before AD 730.<sup>99</sup> Therefore the place-name *frið(u)tun* is unlikely to have any reference to pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon paganism in England and may well denote ‘a sanctuary for criminals’ in Christian culture. However, the very use of special names for superstitious sanctuaries provides a powerful argument for their existence. The word for such an enclosure in Latin penitentials appears to have been *cancellus*.<sup>100</sup>

It is interesting that in the *Northumbrian Priests’ Law* the person who made the sanctuary was to be fined, half the fine going to Christ (the Church?) and half to the landowner — who, it must be assumed, would not normally have sanctioned it. Therefore, the *Northumbrian Priests’ Law* was presumably referring to secret sanctuaries frequented by those low down in the social scale. However, the Norse place-name element *lundr* may provide some evidence that such places could have had some semi-official sanction. *Lundr* is found as the second element in Plumbland (literally ‘plum-tree grove’) in Cumberland, described by Reginald of Durham as *nemus paci donatum*.<sup>101</sup> Though *lundr* probably mostly meant simply ‘a grove’, it turns up surprisingly often in hundred and wapentake names, perhaps referring to the open air meeting place for the court.<sup>102</sup>

To judge from the fact that Ælfric is at least as condemnatory of superstitious sanctuaries as Wulfstan and the *Northumbrian Priests’ Law* are (and, indeed, goes

---

<sup>99</sup> Barrie Cox, ‘The Place-Names of the Earliest English Records’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 8 (1976), 12–66 (pp. 65, 66).

<sup>100</sup> As pointed out by Wilfrid Bonser, ‘Survivals of Paganism in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Birmingham Archaeological Society Transactions and Proceedings*, 56 (1934 for 1932), 37–70 (p. 52).

<sup>101</sup> A. M. Armstrong and others, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, English Place-Name Society, 20–22 (Cambridge, 1950–52), II (1950), 309–10; A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society, 25–26 (Cambridge, 1956), II, 27–28. See also A. H. Smith, ‘Old Scandinavian “lundr”’, *Leeds Studies in English*, 2 (1933), 72–75.

<sup>102</sup> Margaret Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984), pp. 207–08. Gelling claims only that perhaps ‘woods designated *lundr* were particularly likely to stand on boundaries’, where meeting-places were often sited. See also, e.g., discussion of Aveland, Lincolnshire, Navisford, Northamptonshire (evidently close to a lost *Nauereslund*), and Toseland, Huntingdonshire, in Audrey L. Meaney, ‘Gazetteer of Hundred and Wapentake Meeting-Places of the Cambridge Region’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 82 (1993–94), 67–92, and ‘Hundred Meeting-Places in the Cambridge Region’, in *Names, Places and People: An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble and A. D. Mills (Stamford, 1997), pp. 195–240.

into a great deal more detail), it would not appear that there was much difference between superstitious sanctuaries in the northern Danelaw and in the rest of England — or perhaps in Europe generally. It is not surprising that superstitious worship and practices such as the offering of votives took place in such places, and there is plenty of information about them in folklore.

Among the topographical features which were the focus of superstitious veneration were springs. The commonest OE term for them, *well(e)*, was also sometimes used for the equally useful 'stream', but the meaning 'spring' appears to be commoner. Since life is impossible without water, the presence of a reliable spring, inexplicably coming out of the ground, may well have appeared not only opportune to those seeking out sites for settlement, but almost miraculous. This may still have been the case if the presence of water had to be discovered under the ground and dug for, creating a well (the Anglo-Saxons do not seem to have made the same distinction which we do between springs and wells, but I submit that many so-called Holy Wells — whether associated with saints or not — are in fact springs; for example, the Treacle Well beside St Margaret's church at Binsey, Oxfordshire). When, in addition to its very presence, the water had some special quality, as with iron-rich chalybeate wells (whose water was reputed to be good for the eyes) or with the very rare hot springs (as at Bath), it is not surprising that medicinal virtues were attributed to them, and perhaps rituals for their use grew up around them.<sup>103</sup> Over time, the healing virtues of the springs seem to have become less important, and their general ability to bring good luck was more emphasized. A. H. Smith lists such names as Botwell, Middlesex (*Botewælle* in the ninth century, with first element OE *bot*, 'remedy'), Orwell, Hertfordshire (*Orduelle* in Domesday Book), and Hardwell, Berkshire (*Hordwyllæ* in the ninth century; both from OE *hord*, 'treasure', according to Ekwall 'probably referring to a spring into which coins or other articles of value were thrown for sacrificial purposes').<sup>104</sup> Visitors even today seem to have an almost irresistible urge to throw money into any kind of special pool, either just 'for luck' or to accompany a wish, usually secret. However, it must be admitted that, so far as I know, no Anglo-Saxon coins (or datable votive artefacts) have been found associated with any springs or other bodies of water. Finally, there are Rumwell, Somerset (*Runwille* in 1327), and Runwell, Essex (*Runweolla* in the tenth century), both from OE *run* ('secret, council'); according to Ekwall, 'The name may refer to a spring or stream at which a meeting-place was, or rather to a wishing well.'<sup>105</sup> Perhaps it is

<sup>103</sup> As demonstrated in Mark Valentine's list of *The Holy Wells of Northamptonshire* (Northampton, 1984), and in Iona Opie and Moira Tatem, *A Dictionary of Superstitions* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 437–40.

<sup>104</sup> In the following discussions of place-names, I have mostly used Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960), Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, and whatever appropriate county volumes of the English Place-Name Society's survey as have yet appeared.

<sup>105</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, pp. 396–97.

worth noting that the only 'Holy well' whose name includes the Norse *kelda*, Hallikeld, North Riding of Yorkshire, gave its name to a wapentake.<sup>106</sup>

Wulfstan also condemned the worship of trees already in his early *Sermo de baptisate*; and in the *Canons of Edgar* wrote of 'þa gemearr, þe man drifð [. . .] on ellenum and eac on oðrum mistlicum treowum' ('the nonsense which is practised [. . .] at elder trees and also at other various trees'). In the 'second edition' of these canons the text is slightly altered, but the 'nonsense' at elder trees is now localized to New Year's Eve (*geares niht*), while 'tree-worship' (*treowurðunga*) is mentioned separately. In Cnut's secular code, one definition of heathenism (*hæðenscipe*) is that one should worship any kind of *wudutreowa* (genitive plural), which may mean a 'woodland tree' as I have translated it, or perhaps a 'timber tree': the word *wudu* in Old English appears to have the double meaning of modern English 'wood'. Finally, in the *Northumbrian Priests' Law*, the compiler implies that a tree might stand at the centre of a *frīðgeard*. There are two different situations here, then: first, of a notable tree regarded as worthy of veneration, and second, some particular superstition attached to the elder.

Trees are the biggest and the oldest known living things which can be encountered in the English countryside, and if they are sufficiently impressive, often become landmarks. This is illustrated by the fact that, according to Gelling, the great majority of English place-names containing OE *treow* ('tree') as second element 'falls into the two categories of major place-names [about thirty-eight names], and names of hundreds and wapentakes [about thirty names]'.<sup>107</sup> Many names in *treow* have as their first element a descriptive epithet (for example, Hallatrow, Somerset, 'holy tree'), but a majority has a personal name (almost invariably masculine) in the genitive case. Gelling has explained these are the 'names of estate owners on the boundary of whose land the tree stood'; similar names are found in lists of boundary marks in Old English charters. The importance of landmark trees is therefore amply demonstrated, and it is not surprising that some of these trees acquired a significance beyond that of easy identification.

The woodland trees found most frequently in English place-names are oak, ash, and hawthorn. The word for an ash-tree, *æsc*, 'is found occasionally in OE boundary marks' in charters, and an (unfortunately dubious) charter of 854 even mentions an ash-tree in the bounds of Taunton Deane Hundred, Somerset, 'which the ignorant call holy' (*[ad] quendam fraxinum quem imperiti sacrum vocant*). In an English version of these bounds the tree is described simply as 'the holy ash' (*[to] þa halgan æsce*).<sup>108</sup> If the Latin comment reflects reality, it seems unlikely that a preaching tree

<sup>106</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 218–19.

<sup>107</sup> Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, pp. 211–19 (pp. 211–12).

<sup>108</sup> F. M. Stenton, 'The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: Anglo-Saxon Heathenism', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 23 (1941), 1–24 (p. 4), quoting *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. by Walter de Gray Birch, 3 vols (London, 1885–93), II (1887), 75–77 (p. 67, no. 476). The charter is Sawyer no. 311 and is also printed in *Codex Diploma-*

was thus distinguished. The oak (*ac*) is also often found as a boundary mark, and with words alluding to meeting-places such as Matlock, Derbyshire (with OE *mædel*, 'assembly'), Shireoaks, Nottinghamshire, and Skyrack Wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire, both with OE *scir* ('shire') (Skyrack affected by Norse pronunciation). There is also Holy Oakes, Leicestershire; the Domesday form *Haliach* (and later medieval forms) indicate that there was originally only a single oak tree. The reason for its holiness is not explained; it could have been a landmark for a preacher. The thorn (*þorn*) is also found as a boundary mark, but none of the compounds indicate that it was regarded as holy, except perhaps Fretherne, Gloucestershire, where the first element according to Gelling may be *frīð* ('sanctuary') (as discussed above), or, according to Ekwall, Frig, the pagan English goddess. Moreover, a survey of unlucky plants showed that the thorn was 'the most widely feared plant in the British Isles'.<sup>109</sup> It does not grow into a large tree, however, even when isolated, and it is clear that, because of their size and presence in the landscape, the oak and the ash, often paired in folklore, stand supreme.

Yet the only kind of tree which Wulfstan specifies, in the *Canons of Edgar* (16), are elders, which are small in size, individually short-lived, useless as timber because their trunks and branches are soft and thin or as fire-wood because they do not burn well, and seem to have had a dubious reputation throughout the ages. Vickery writes: 'Elder is one of the most enigmatic plants in the British folk tradition. On the one hand it is feared and associated with witches, and on the other it is valued for its protective qualities, as a fly repellent, and for its use in many herbal remedies.' Elder wood had some specialized uses because its characteristic pith can so easily be removed, but in the midlands if anyone wished to cut elder wood, the tree had to be addressed respectfully and reciprocity promised.<sup>110</sup>

---

*ticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. by John M. Kemble, 6 vols (London 1839–48), v (1847), 101–04 (p. 103, no. 1052). G. B. Grundy, *The Saxon Charters of Somerset, Part I*, published as an Appendix in *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 73 (1927–28), p. 16, says 'This ashtree must have stood at the SW angle of Halse Parish, a short ¼ m ESE of Dean Farm'. For the Old English bounds, see A. G. C. Turner, 'Some Old English Passages relating to the Episcopal Manor of Taunton', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 98 (1953), 118–26 (p. 120).

<sup>109</sup> Roy Vickery, *Unlucky Plants*, Folklore Surveys, 1 (London, 1985), pp. 16–26, and *A Dictionary of Plant-Lore* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 166–72. Vickery explains the superstition as due to the fact 'that trimethylamine, one of the first products formed when animal tissue starts to decay, is present in hawthorn flowers [. . .]. Our ancestors [. . .] must have been fully aware of the odour of death. Consequently it is most unlikely that they would welcome hawthorn blossom indoors.'

<sup>110</sup> Vickery, *Unlucky Plants*, pp. 60–64, and *Dictionary*, pp. 118–26. One version of the deceitful rhyme addressed to the tree was 'Owd Gal, give me of thy wood, and Oi will give some of moine, when I grows into a tree' (cited by Bonser, 'Survivals of Paganism', pp. 52–53, who records a similar custom in Germany). See also Opie and Tatem, *Dictionary of Superstitions*, pp. 137–39.

The third kind of cult-object mentioned by Wulfstan is a stone. In his outline of Christian history (Bethurum VI) he wrote of the deceit of the devil, who sent some affliction onto people who then promised offerings 'to a spring or a stone or some other forbidden thing'. Stones, and the worship of stones, are mentioned in both versions of the *Canons of Edgar*, in Cnut's secular code, and in the *Northumbrian Priests' Law*, where it is implied that superstitious sanctuaries had at their centre 'a stone or a tree or a spring'. Presumably what we should imagine here is something which would have been regarded as equivalent to a spring or a large tree — something like a standing stone. An impressive example of the kind of thing is the 'great monolith' which stands near the church at Rudston (*Rodestan* in Domesday Book, from OE *rod*, 'rood' + *stan*, 'stone') in East Yorkshire. It must have been brought there from some distance, probably in prehistory, but was at some time marked with a cross to make it acceptable to Christians and so gained its own name and gave it to the adjacent village. In place-names, *stan* is combined with the same kind of elements as are found with *wella* and *treow*, including 'words indicating boundaries and other landmarks or meeting places', such as Mottistone, Isle of Wight (*Modrestan* in Domesday Book, *Motereston* in 1291) with OE *motere* (i.e. 'the stone of the speaker(s)'). Hundred meetings were evidently held at some notable stones, such as at two sites in Huntingdonshire, now Cambridgeshire: Hurstingstone, where the stone in question is part of a cross-base, and Leightonstone, where the stone is evidently natural, roughly cubic, and 'about the size of a tea-chest'.<sup>111</sup>

Leslie Grinsell has collected much folklore about standing stones.<sup>112</sup> One story, of particular interest here, concerns the King Stone among the Rollright Stones, which stand on the border of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire:

On Midsummer Eve, when the eldern tree was in blossom, it was a custom for people to come up to the King Stone and stand in a circle. Then the eldern was cut and as it bled the King moved his head.<sup>113</sup>

No folklore rituals, however, associate the elder with winter when, indeed, it is rather inconspicuous. Springs and standing stones, and trees somewhat less, retained a 'specialness' at least until the nineteenth century, some even until today. Though, as we have seen, Wulfstan largely ignores this aspect, it seems most probable that the country people frequented such 'shrines' more in the hope of obtaining healing than

---

<sup>111</sup> Meaney, 'Gazetteer of Hundred and Wapentake Meeting Places', pp. 80–81, and 'Hundred Meeting-Places in the Cambridge Region', pp. 204–06, 236–37. Unfortunately, while springs and large trees usually remain on the spot, stones can be moved, and in the case of the Hurstingstone and the Leightonstone certainly were, but not far, and not supernaturally unlike some standing stones (reputedly).

<sup>112</sup> Leslie Grinsell, *Folklore of Prehistoric Sites in Britain* (Newton Abbot, 1976); see pp. 14–36, 56–69, and passim.

<sup>113</sup> Grinsell, *Folklore of Prehistoric Sites*, pp. 148, 150; taken from A. J. Evans, 'The Rollright Stones and their Folklore', *Folk-lore*, 6 (1895), 5–50 (pp. 20, 24).



for any other reason. Yet, though in condemning such sanctuaries he is dependent on his sources, it seems to me that there is good reason to believe that they existed, since he refers to them often, each time in slightly different terms. However, if it were not for other information from Ælfric, we would not be able to accept Wulfstan's statements, in his *De falsis deis*, of worship of the old gods at cross-roads and on high hills.

Sometimes associated with these sanctuaries was the practice of *augury* or *divination*. Carole Hough has recently established that the place-name Fritwell/Fretwell/Frightwell is to be found four times across England, usually in field-names (in Oxfordshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Shropshire, and Nottinghamshire). The name almost certainly contains OE *freht*, *fyrht*, *firht* ('divination'), and the place-name therefore means 'spring used for divination'.<sup>114</sup> Wulfstan uses the word *firht* as an example of a heathen practice in Cnut's secular code (5), and it is also found in the *Northumbrian Priests' Law* (48); here again the evidence shows that such a superstition was not confined to the north. Comparable perhaps are two place-names in OE *wella* which apparently have OE *hæl* ('omen') as their first element, though their forms are rather late for certainty: Elwell, Dorset (*Helewille* in 1212), and Holywell, Lincolnshire (*Helewelle* in 1190).<sup>115</sup> The ritual used in divining at a spring is unclear; in folklore it sometimes has to do with the natural variations in the volume of the water and the times at which it flows, sometimes with a ritual — for example, dropping pebbles into the water and watching how the bubbles rise, or throwing in a piece of a sick man's shirt and observing whether it sinks or not.<sup>116</sup>

Wulfstan uses another word for divination in his homily Bethurum VIIIc and the *Canons of Edgar* 16: *hwata* (feminine plural). In the Old English *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert* is a variant, *hwatunga* (again a feminine plural). In Book IV.9 it is coupled with lot-casting, which Ælfric was much concerned about, but which Wulfstan ignores. In II.23, however, there is a clue to its workings: 'Nis na soðlice nanum cristenum men alyfed þæt he idele hw[a]tunga bega, swa hæðene men doð: þæt hi gelyfon on sunnan 7 on monan 7 on steorrena ryne 7 secon tida hwatunga hira þing to beginnenne' ('It is not allowed to any Christian man that he practise vain divination, as heathen men do: that they believe in the sun and the moon and in the courses of the stars, and look for times by divination to undertake their affairs'). It would seem, then, that *hwata* denoted a kind of astrology, and may be evidenced also in the prognostics found in several late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, mostly written after Wulfstan's time. Roy Michael Liuzza has recently discussed these texts and the manuscripts in which they occur, and concluded that they are not remnants of native

<sup>114</sup> Carole Hough, 'The Place-Name Fritwell', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 29 (1996–97), 65–70.

<sup>115</sup> Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II, 252.

<sup>116</sup> Valentine, *Holy Wells of Northamptonshire*; Opie and Tatem, *Dictionary of Superstitions*, p. 438.

or Norse superstition but arose out of monkish obsession with chronology and the computus. He considers them a product of the Benedictine Revival, disseminated especially from Winchester.<sup>117</sup>

In the *Canons of Edgar* (16), however, Wulfstan couples *hwata* with *galdra* ('incantations'), though whether the incantations were sung with rituals of divination, sorcery, or both is not clear. He also includes in his list *licwigelung*, a nonce word, but which must surely mean 'sorcery connected with a corpse', that is, 'necromancy', which he surely would have considered a peculiarly repulsive kind of divination. In his homily *De auguriis*, Ælfric mentions several different kinds of prognostication, most of which he probably knew to be current in his time; Wulfstan never goes into such detail, but nevertheless condemns them. It would seem that attempts to tell the future were a common feature of late Anglo-Saxon life and, as well as the monkish prognostics, may have included some ancient Germanic devices.

Sometimes associated with divination was *witchcraft* or *sorcery*; in his lists of those who would go to hell, Wulfstan regularly included *wiccan* and *wigleras*, which Pope thought were (female) witches and (male) wizards in Ælfric's usage, though other writers may not have used the words so precisely. In Book IV of the *Penitential*, a heavy penance is allotted to anyone who destroys another by means of witchcraft. Wulfstan is not so specific, though in Cnut's law-code (5.1) the condemnation of loving witchcraft is immediately followed by that of bringing about *morðweorc*, which appears to mean a secret as opposed to a public killing and maybe at times involved magic, and in 4a murderers (*morðwyrhtan*) are third in the list, after witches and sorcerers. It looks as if the different kinds of sin and sinners are associated in Wulfstan's mind, even if he does not wish to spell it out.

The word *wiglung* usually seems to mean 'sorcery' in general, but Ælfric often appears to use it with the sense of 'divination'. If Wulfstan agreed with him, his statements are too brief for us to tell. In Æthelred's sixth code, Wulfstan uses the word *scinncreaft*, which seems to mean a kind of sorcery which produces illusion, if we take into account the usual meaning of *scinn(a)* ('spectre, illusion, magical image'). As always, Wulfstan tells us much less than he must have known, and the nature of the sorcery he condemns is doubtful. It always appears intentional, however; there is no suggestion (as there is sometimes in anthropological interpretations of tribal African beliefs, for example) that someone can be a 'witch' from birth or without wishing to be.<sup>118</sup> Yet in all these kinds of 'heathenism', as far as we can tell, nothing much seems to be different between Northumbria and the more southerly parts of England.

Wulfstan also includes as 'heathenism' from his earliest strictures — his lists tending to get longer all the time — other categories of evil-doers (usually in the plural, but here given in the singular). First are the killers. His lists are full of them; increasing in wickedness, they are the *mannslaga* ('killer of [a] man'), *mægslaga* ('a

<sup>117</sup> Roy Michael Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 30 (2001), 181–230, esp. pp. 195–96, 198, 206, 209–10.

<sup>118</sup> Lucy Mair, *Witchcraft* (London, 1969), pp. 18, 47–52.

killer of kin'), *morðslaga* ('murderer'), and *morðwyrhta* ('murderer'; the performer of *morðweorc*, 'murder'). Murderers of children (*bearnmyrðran*) are also listed; those who are meant are apparently women who have borne children secretly and then done away with them. Another category condemned consists of those who have misbehaved sexually: the *æwbreca* ('adulterer'), *forlegena* ('fornicator'), *horcwene* ('prostitute'), *horing* ('fornicator'), *myltestre* ('prostitute'), and those who perform *sibleger* ('incest'). There are also persecutors of the church: *mæsserbana* ('killer of priests') and *mynsterhata* ('hater of monasteries'), as well as the more ordinary criminal (or perhaps just Viking), the *reafere* ('plunderer'), *rypere* ('robber'), *ðeodsceaða* ('criminal'), *þeof* ('thief'), and *woruldstrudere* ('spoliator'). Another category of evil-doer is the unfaithful man, the *manswora* ('perjurer') and *manswica* ('traitor') — in the *Sermo Lupi* Wulfstan showed himself particularly horrified at the betrayals of the kings Edward and Æthelred. Others are occasionally included, for example the *gitsere* ('miser'). All these men (and a few women) Wulfstan considered in danger of hell fire unless they repented and made amends. All had performed deeds which were in opposition to Christianity and therefore could be considered 'heathenism'. All these words appear in sources belonging before and after the watershed of 1014, but from that date onwards the vocabulary alters to some extent.

In the *Sermo Lupi*, dated 1014, and in the passages which he apparently added to Cnut's letter from Denmark, about six years later, Wulfstan replaces the word *wigle-ras* ('sorcerers') with *wælcyrrie*. However, his use of this word seems to be somewhat eccentric, and it is therefore necessary to look at its occurrences elsewhere in some detail.<sup>119</sup> The earliest known evidence for it appears to be in the *Corpus Glossary* manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144), which is dated by its script to about AD 800.<sup>120</sup> In its second glossary *walcyrge* glosses *Eurynis* (E351); *walcrigge*, *Herinis* (H87, both for Greek *Erinyes*); and *uualcyrge*, *Tisifone* (T159).<sup>121</sup> Also earlier than Wulfstan is the mid-tenth-century manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A.iii.<sup>122</sup> In its main glossary (1), *wælcyr[i]ge* glosses *Allecto* (no. 299), *Bellona* (no. 1754), and *Herinis* (no. 2983), and in a shorter glossary (3), to Aldhelm's *De laude virginitatis*, it glosses *Bellona* again (no. 1847) and *Allecto* and *Tessa* (?for *Tisiphone*; no. 2080).<sup>123</sup>

<sup>119</sup> As so often, my sources for the following discussion are a combination of Ker, *Catalogue*, and *Microfiche Concordance*, ed. by Healey and Venezky.

<sup>120</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 36.

<sup>121</sup> *An Eighth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, ed. by J. H. Hessels (London, 1890), pp. 50, 63, 115; also *The Corpus Glossary*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 68, 89, 176. There is also the possibility that *wellyrgae*, glossing *smus* (S379), is for *wælcyrge* and *erinyes*.

<sup>122</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 143.

<sup>123</sup> For the glossaries in this manuscript, Healey and Venezky (*Microfiche Concordance*) cite Stamford dissertations by W. G. Stryker (1951) and J. J. Quinn (1956) and allot their own

Bellona is the Roman goddess of war; Allecto and Tisiphone are two of the Furies or Erinyes, who were 'spirits of punishment avenging without pity wrongs done to kindred [. . .]. They are always represented as more ancient than the Olympian gods [. . .]. They also punished perjurers and those who had violated the laws of hospitality and supplication, and came to assume the character of goddesses who punish crimes after death'.<sup>124</sup> In manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 146,<sup>125</sup> *wælcyrrie* glosses *Ueneris* (genitive of Venus); over it 'is scratched without ink and in a much larger hand *gydene*, which is repeated in ink in the ordinary glossary hand', which was probably of the mid-eleventh century.<sup>126</sup> Perhaps the glossators had second thoughts about the appropriateness of equating Venus with a Valkyrie; since the gloss is anomalous and late, it can perhaps be discounted. Though the equivalence with the Furies is by no means precise, the character of the Valkyries as bloodthirsty supernatural women appears well enough established.

This is partly confirmed by the translation of Gorgon by *wælcyrge* in *The Marvels [Wonders] of the East*, an Old English text found in two manuscripts, the earlier of which is the *Beowulf* manuscript (London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xv),<sup>127</sup> of about the year AD 1000; the other, probably of the second quarter of the eleventh century, is London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.v (which also has the Latin text).<sup>128</sup> The translator wrote about a place *þe is haten gorgoneus*, *þæt is wælcyrging* (*wælcyrge* in Tiberius B.v) ('which is called *Gorgoneus*, that is "pertaining to the Valkyrie"'); earlier he had described some strange animals as having eight feet and two heads and *wælcyrrian eagan* ('Valkyrie's eyes'), again translating *oculos gorgoneos*.<sup>129</sup> Nowhere else do we get the idea expressed that the Valkyries had terrifying

---

numbering. The relevant glossaries are edited in *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, by Thomas Wright and Richard Paul Wülcker (London, 1883; 2nd edn, London, 1884), no. XI, cols 338–473 (cols 347.32, 360.3, 417.12) and no. XII, cols 474–535 (cols 527.17, 533.26).

<sup>124</sup> *The Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, ed. by M. C. Howatson and Ian Chilvers (Oxford, 1993), s.v. **Furies**.

<sup>125</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 320.

<sup>126</sup> *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished*, ed. by Arthur S. Napier, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 11 (Oxford, 1900), p. 115.

<sup>127</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 216.

<sup>128</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 193.

<sup>129</sup> The text in the *Beowulf*-manuscript is edited in *Three Old English Prose Texts in MS Cotton Vitellius A.XV*, ed. by Stanley Rypins, *Early English Text Society, Original Series*, 161 (London, 1924); see p. 52, line 19, and p. 55, line 6, respectively. There is a facsimile edition by M. R. James, *Marvels of the East* (London, 1929), with profile drawings in both manuscripts of one of the animals, with its heads both at the same end; the eyes in Vitellius A.xv (fol. 99a) are large, but not frightening; in Tiberius B.v (in a much superior drawing, fol. 79a) they are small and mild. A third drawing (akin to that in Tiberius B.v) accompanies the Latin text in the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 614 (fol. 37a, also reproduced by James); the eyes are prominent but questioning rather than terrifying.

eyes, though they were well-known features of the monstrous Gorgons.<sup>130</sup> All this indicates that *wælcyrge* was not a Norse borrowing after the Viking invasions but an English word going back to Germanic paganism (and even earlier) for terrifying supernatural women usually only encountered by the dead.<sup>131</sup>

There is also the word *wælceasega*, found only in the Old English poem *Exodus* (line 164), and probably the poet's own coinage.<sup>132</sup> It apparently means 'one who habitually picks over the slaughtered' and was used for the raven in an (unfortunately defective) "'Beasts of Battle" type scene'. Ravens, of course, are also associated with Othin in Norse mythology. Perhaps ravens and Valkyries were associated in Germanic paganism as they are in the (late ninth century?) Norse poem *Hrafnsmál*.<sup>133</sup> Maybe the raven was believed to learn the secrets of the dead while feeding on them. The brilliance of the *Exodus* poet's use of language has often been remarked upon, and he may well have created *wælceasega* 'in knowledge and imitation of' *wælcyrrie*.<sup>134</sup> The date of the poem is not known; it has generally been considered early, perhaps eighth-century; it was copied in a hand of about the year 1000, and therefore we can be sure that it antedated Wulfstan's usage of *wælcyrrie*.<sup>135</sup>

The rare occurrence of *wælcyrrie* in Anglo-Saxon sources is no doubt due to the suppression of the Germanic concept after the conversion to Christianity. Perhaps it seemed safe to use it to translate concepts from classical mythology within the confines of the cloister, but dangerous (as well as unnecessary) elsewhere. However, the word may have received a boost from the presence of Viking pagans in England from the ninth century onwards. In *Grimnismál*, verse 36/37, women are pictured as serving wine to warriors in Valhalla; Snorri quotes this verse and tells us that these are Valkyries, whom Othin sends to every battle. They decide the victory and which

---

<sup>130</sup> *Companion to Classical Literature*, ed. by Howatson and Chilvers, s.v. **Gorgons**.

<sup>131</sup> The Celtic goddesses Morrigan and Boib were associated with battles, 'could take on the form of birds of prey', and 'were accustomed to utter prophecies of war and slaughter' (H. R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 65, citing C. Donahue, 'The Valkyries and the Irish War-Goddesses', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 56 (1941), 1–12). The Hindu Kali appears to be of the same type: 'With her necklace of skulls, girdle of severed human hands, her many arms and dripping sword, she is a nightmare vision. She dances on the bodies of the slain and devours the dead' (A. Eustace Haydon, *Biography of the Gods* (New York, 1967), p. 112).

<sup>132</sup> The poem *Exodus* has more than 120 compound nouns which are found nowhere else in extant Old English; see *Exodus*, ed. by P. J. Lucas (London, 1977), pp. 48–49.

<sup>133</sup> *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*, ed. by Kershaw, pp. 76–87.

<sup>134</sup> J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Old English Exodus*, ed. by Joan Turville-Petre (Oxford, 1981), p. 50.

<sup>135</sup> See the comments in *Exodus*, ed. by Lucas, pp. 48–51, 102, and Tolkien, *Old English Exodus*, p. 6.

men are to die.<sup>136</sup> They appear in different guises: ‘in the *Hákonarmál* they are noble and dignified women’, whereas in the *Darraðarljóð* they are ‘much fiercer and cruder, who are shown weaving the web of battle and exulting in blood and carnage’. This is probably closer to the ‘older conception’.<sup>137</sup>

None of this really helps when it comes to Wulfstan’s usage of the word *wælcyrrie* in replacing *wigleras* as a pair for *wiccan*. One feature of the change is immediately obvious: *wigleras* were masculine, *wælcyrrie* feminine, but in the context of Wulfstan’s lists — and nowhere beforehand<sup>138</sup> — *wælcyrrie* must have been human, not supernatural. Davidson describes his usage as ‘contemptuous’;<sup>139</sup> Perhaps Wulfstan applied the word in a semi-metaphoric, maybe even semi-jocular, fashion to a female diviner, probably a necromancer. There are a few examples in the glosses where there seems to have been some confusion as to pagan categories. Around AD 1000, *furiis* was given the gloss *hegitesum* [for *hæhtesum*] (dative plural; ‘to or for the witches’) in the manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 326.<sup>140</sup> In Digby 146, already mentioned, *ariolorum* (‘soothsayers’) is equated with *parcarum* (‘Fates’) and glossed *wiccena* (‘witches’; no. 3270, all genitive plural) about the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>141</sup> Here human diviners and witches are equated with supernatural Furies and Fates (who were responsible for individual human destiny, like fairy godmothers), so perhaps the distinctions were not strictly adhered to. Or perhaps Wulfstan included a word in his lists which he had heard the Danes use, and more or less recognized, but did not really understand the meaning of.

There are a few changes, then, in the vocabulary evidenced in the condemnations of ‘heathenism’ (now *hæðenscipe* as opposed to earlier *hæðendom*) after 1014 by Wulfstan and the compiler of the *Northumbrian Priests’ Law*. As well as the new word

<sup>136</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, ed. by Anthony Faulkes (Oxford 1982), p. 30, translated in Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, trans. by Anthony Faulkes (London, 1987), p. 31. There are editions of *Grimnismál* in *De Gamle Eddadigte*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1932), pp. 63–73 (verse 37, p. 70), and *Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius*, ed. by Gustav Neckel and Hans Kuhn (Heidelberg, 1962), pp. 56–68 (verse 36, p. 64). There is a translation in *The Poetic Edda*, trans. by Henry Adams Bellows (Lampeter, 1991), pp. 63–79 (p. 69).

<sup>137</sup> Hilda Roderick Ellis [later Davidson], *The Road to Hel* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 69–72. Both the *Darraðarljóð* and the *Hákonarmál* are edited in *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems*, ed. by Kershaw.

<sup>138</sup> The pairing is also copied from Wulfstan into the anonymous homily Napier LVII (*Wulfstan*, ed. by Napier, p. 298, line 18), and ‘appears as *wychez* and *walkyries* in the fourteenth-century alliterative poem *Purity*, line 1577’ (*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, 3rd edn (London, 1963), p. 64). In spite of the longevity, the rarity of this pairing does not suggest that it became a common catch-phrase.

<sup>139</sup> Ellis, *Road to Hel*, p. 71.

<sup>140</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 61.

<sup>141</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 320, ed. in *Old English Glosses*, ed. by Napier, p. 87.

*wælcyrrie*, presumably for a sorceress, there is *fyrhte*, for 'divination'. This word, however, as we have seen above, entered southern English place-names when combined with *-well*, and so is unlikely to refer to a specifically Viking phenomenon.

There is also the term *idola wurðing* ('the worship of idols'), found in *Be hæðendome* and in Cnut's law-code, which defines it as *þæt man weorþige hæðene godas* ('that heathen gods are worshipped'). Cnut's law-code then goes on to talk of worship 'of the sun and moon, fire and flood' as well as the usual springs, stones, and trees. Perhaps, however, Wulfstan was extrapolating from the similar description of paganism in *De falsis deis*, omitting the stars, the earth, and much of Ælfric's 'writerly' language (see above). Moreover, both these later law-codes use the word *blot* ('sacrifice') where Wulfstan had previously used *lac* ('offering'). This may be significant: by far the most frequent use of *blot* and its derivatives in our extant Old English texts is in the Alfredian Orosius translation, referring to pagan worship. Could the Viking invaders have indeed been participating in pagan sacrifice, perhaps of animals, in contrast to making simple food-offerings at country-side sanctuaries, as the English may have continued to do? As we have seen, apart from three statements in the *Sermo Lupi* Wulfstan shows no first-hand knowledge of true paganism, as opposed to generalized superstition. Were his later strictures directed to any as yet unconverted (or uncommitted) Scandinavian followers of Cnut who had hitherto openly practiced their rites? Archaeological or other corroborative evidence is as yet lacking, so there can be no definite answer to this rhetorical question.

### *Peroration*

Wulfstan did his best in his own way (exhorting, cajoling, thundering, fining) to turn his people towards what he considered to be a true Christianity, and away from what he thought 'heathenism' to be — whether these were crimes, anti-social behaviour, sexual misconduct, rituals at secret sacred shrines, or attempts to discover the future. Those guilty of 'heathenism' included killers, adulterers, and misers, as well as those who hated monasteries, and he condemned them all equally. There is no hint that he would have found acceptable the prognostics so abundantly present in manuscripts associated with the Benedictine Revival (as listed by Liuzza),<sup>142</sup> though his generalized condemnations contain no specific references to them.

Wulfstan's strictures help to build up our picture of late Anglo-Saxon countryside superstitions. His neglect of much of what the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert* and Ælfric had to say (concerning women and medical magic in particular) shows once again that he was not interested in the details of the 'heathenism' he was so concerned to eliminate. What he does say, however, helps to authenticate their details. The picture that we get of the contemporary society generally is of one very close to

<sup>142</sup> Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics', pp. 213–30.

nature. Wulfstan bears witness that people of strong character could be suspected of occult powers and that there were special places in the countryside, whether they were secret sanctuaries or landmarks. We should not dismiss the possibility that he was also combatting folklore practices because (for example) some of those attempting to foretell the future were influenced by study in the cloister. Urbańczyk has contrasted the pagan and Christian systems, demonstrating how difficult it must have been to eliminate paganism altogether.

Pagan beliefs were **naturally acquired** in the informal process of gradual education that prepared individuals for functioning in their society [. . .]. [They] were characterised by **territoriality and collectivity** [. . .]. The mythical-symbolic world of pagans was not clearly separated from nature or the people. It was a sacral unity full of sacred objects, sacred sites, sacred gestures and sacred moments. Time, space and people were all elements of cosmic unity. Stability of that unity was guaranteed by the cyclic character of changes occurring in nature and by the **sustaining of the status quo**.<sup>143</sup>

We know much about Christian education, very little about the informal education which went on in the settlements, in particular the kind of information for living which mothers passed on to their children, especially to their daughters. Within that system, beliefs and customs may have carried on a kind of semi-secret existence for centuries — in the four hundred years between Augustine of Canterbury and Wulfstan of York the old gods may have disappeared, but wishing wells and countryside sanctuaries were evidently still frequented. The eloquent (and male) ecclesiastics were not happy with this situation, but it is unlikely that they could do very much to combat it, except in the vicinity of the monasteries.

Wulfstan was no lone voice, nor was he crying in the wilderness, but all the same we are entitled to wonder how effective his War against Heathenism could have been, whatever he conceived it to be.<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Przemysław Urbańczyk, 'The Politics of Conversion in North Central Europe', in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. by Martin Carver (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 15–27 (pp. 16–17; emphasis in original).

<sup>144</sup> I would like to thank the organizers of the Wulfstan conference for the invitation to participate, and the rest of the participants for the stimulating academic atmosphere which they created, and especially for their comments on the oral version of this paper. Above all, I am deeply grateful to Matthew Townend for his interest and patience.



# ‘Vir optimus Wlstanus’: The Post-Conquest Commemoration of Archbishop Wulfstan of York at Ely Cathedral

JOHN CROOK

A curious monument is to be found in the chantry chapel of Bishop Nicholas West (1515–33), at the south-east corner of Ely Cathedral (fig. 20.1). It is the tomb-chest attributed to that bishop, located half-way along the south wall. The tomb is surmounted by a low four-centred arch, but no episcopal effigy lies within the arch. Instead, the main arch encloses a blind arcade of seven trefoil subarches. Examination of the clumsy junction at either end between the main arch and the blind arcading suggests that the latter element is an insertion; the superstructure of the tomb has evidently been subject to alteration. In other words, the monument is an assemblage of more than one date. An inscription at the head of the inserted portion explains how the tomb came to have its present form.

+

SUBTUS CONDUNTVR  
OSSA VII VIRORVM DE ELIENSIBUS OPTIME MERITORUM  
IN ECCLESIA CONVENTUALI PIE ADSERVATA;  
AD ECCLES. CATHEDRALEM SOLENNITER TRANSLATA MCLIV  
POSTEA IN BOREALI PARIETE NUPERI CHORI INCLUSA;  
TANDEM HOC IN SACELLO CAPSULÆ QVÆQVE SUÆ REDDITA  
PRID. CAL. AVG. MDCCLXXI.  
REQUIESCANT!

‘Under here’, it may be translated, ‘are laid the bones of seven men who, out of all the people of Ely, brought the greatest benefits. Having first been reverently buried in the abbey church, they were brought into the cathedral in 1154 and afterwards were enclosed within the north wall of the former choir. Finally they were placed in this tomb-chest, each in his own little cell, on 31 July 1771. May they rest in peace!’



Figure 20.1. Ely Cathedral. The tomb-chest of Bishop Nicholas West (1515–33), adapted in 1771 to receive the bones of the Ely benefactors. © John Crook.

The names of the seven benefactors are inscribed on panels of newer stone at the rear of each of the seven subarches, by implication in front of the seven individual *capsulae* mentioned in the main inscription. Five are pre-conquest bishops: there are three successive bishops of 'Elmham',<sup>1</sup> former location of the see which was moved to Norwich in 1071, namely Æthelstan (d. 1001),<sup>2</sup> Ælfgar (d. c. 1021),<sup>3</sup> and Ælfwin (d. after 1029),<sup>4</sup> together with Eadnoth of Dorchester (killed by the Danes at the battle of Ashingdon in 1016), and a Swedish bishop of dubious ecclesiastical merit called Osmund, who had finished his days at Ely, dying c. 1067. The individuals commemorated by the inscriptions at either end are better known. At the right-hand or western end is the name of the famous Ealdorman Byrhtnoth, slain at the battle of Maldon in 991. At the east end is that of the most prestigious churchman of the group: *Wlstanus Archiepus. Ebor. obiit A.D. MXXIII* ('Wulfstan, archbishop of York, died AD 1023').

There can be no doubting the authenticity of Ely's claim to possess the body of Archbishop Wulfstan. The reasons for his burial there are recorded in that rich twelfth-century compilation, the *Liber Eliensis*:

Quodam enim tempore contigit eum hanc Elyensem ecclesiam orationis causa visitare, cui fratres loci processionaliter cum magna, ut decuit, reverentia occurrerunt. Cumque iam in ecclesiam fuisset deductus et in capite processionis episcopali more baculo pastorali staret innixus, subito baculus pene ad medium sui terram intravit. De quo signo spiritualiter commonitus, futuram ibi sui corporis requiem pluribus audientibus Davitico vaticinio sic prenuntiavit: 'Hec requies mea, in seculum seculi hic habitabo.' Unde et locum istum, quoad vixum, vehementer dilexit, ornamentis ditavit et plurima munimenta nostra primus inter primos subscriptione sua roboravit. Post modum vero imminente vocationis sue die, cum iam dissolvi inciperet, corpus suum de Eboraco huc afferri precepit, et locum sepulture, ubi baculus fuerat infixus, in veteri ecclesia obtinuit.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Almost certainly to be identified with North Elmham, Norfolk: *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and others (Oxford, 1999), pp. 165–66.

<sup>2</sup> Æthelstan died 7 October 1001 rather than in 996, the date which appears on his eighteenth-century memorial in Bishop West's chapel: see *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by E. O. Blake, Camden Society, 3rd Series, 92 (London, 1962), p. 137, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> This date, given on the memorial, is also doubtful. Ælfgar appears to have resigned his bishopric in 1012x1016: *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 142, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ælfwin resigned the bishopric in 1023x1029: *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 155, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, pp. 155–57 (pp. 156–57; bk. ii, ch. 87): 'For at a certain time it happened that he was visiting this church of Ely for purposes of prayer, and the brethren of the place ran to meet him with great reverence, as was seemly, by forming a procession. And when he had been led into the church and at the head of the procession in the manner of bishops stood leaning on his pastoral staff, suddenly the staff sank into the ground almost up to its middle. So, being miraculously warned by this sign, he foretold the place of the resting-place of his body in the hearing of many people in the prophetic words of the Psalmist David: "Here is my resting-place; here I shall dwell for ever." Whereupon he both

Let us now trace the successive movements of the mortal remains of the Archbishop and his fellow benefactors. As we have seen, the bones reached their final resting-place within Bishop West's chapel in 1771. Their move to this location was prompted by alterations carried out by the architect James Essex in the area of the crossing, within the famous Octagon. Some twelve years previously the dean and chapter had resolved to move the choir, hitherto located in the Octagon itself, to the east end of the presbytery (later, in the nineteenth century, Gilbert Scott would move the choir some way westwards again to its present position). The cost of the project was estimated at £1200: the bishop had pledged £500, the chapter £100, and a public appeal for the remaining £600 was launched in 1759. Local pride was at stake:

what would crown and complete this Design is, that the elegant Gothic Dome and Lantern erected over the spacious Octagon [. . .] will be seen, as it deserves, in it's [*sic*] proper point of view, in the same manner as the Dome of St. PAUL's Church; and the whole Fabrick by these means obtaining the same form with that Church, will render this Cathedral one of the most complete in the whole Kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

The project was encouraged by an influential local antiquary, the Reverend James Bentham, who acted as treasurer and was possibly the author of the appeal document just quoted. The change in position actually coincided with the publication in 1771 of Bentham's magisterial *History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely*,<sup>7</sup> but eight years previously (1763) a plate had already been prepared — eventually published in Bentham's *History* — showing a conjectural view of the Octagon in its opened-out form (fig. 20.2).

Until the late eighteenth century, however, the choir had always occupied the same position in the cathedral, despite the rebuilding of the crossing as the Octagon following the collapse of the Norman central tower during the night of 12/13 February 1322. Once the Octagon was sufficiently complete, the choir was reconstructed. It was finished by 1341–42, and the present choir-stalls, despite two moves since the mid-eighteenth century, are essentially contemporary with the Octagon.

---

cherished this place as long as he lived, enriching it with ornaments, and was amongst the first to put his signature in confirmation on many of our documents. Afterwards indeed, when the day of his [heavenly] summons drew nigh, and when the bonds of his life were already loosening, he ordered his body to be brought here from York, and obtained his burial in the old church, in that place where his staff had become embedded.'

<sup>6</sup> 'Reasons for removing the Choir of the Cathedral Church of ELY, to the East End, or that part of it called the Presbytery. 1759.' Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 2 (Cambridgeshire), fol. 15.

<sup>7</sup> James Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely* (Cambridge, 1771). For the late-eighteenth-century building works, see John Maddison, *Ely Cathedral: Design and Meaning* (Ely, 2000), pp. 114–19.

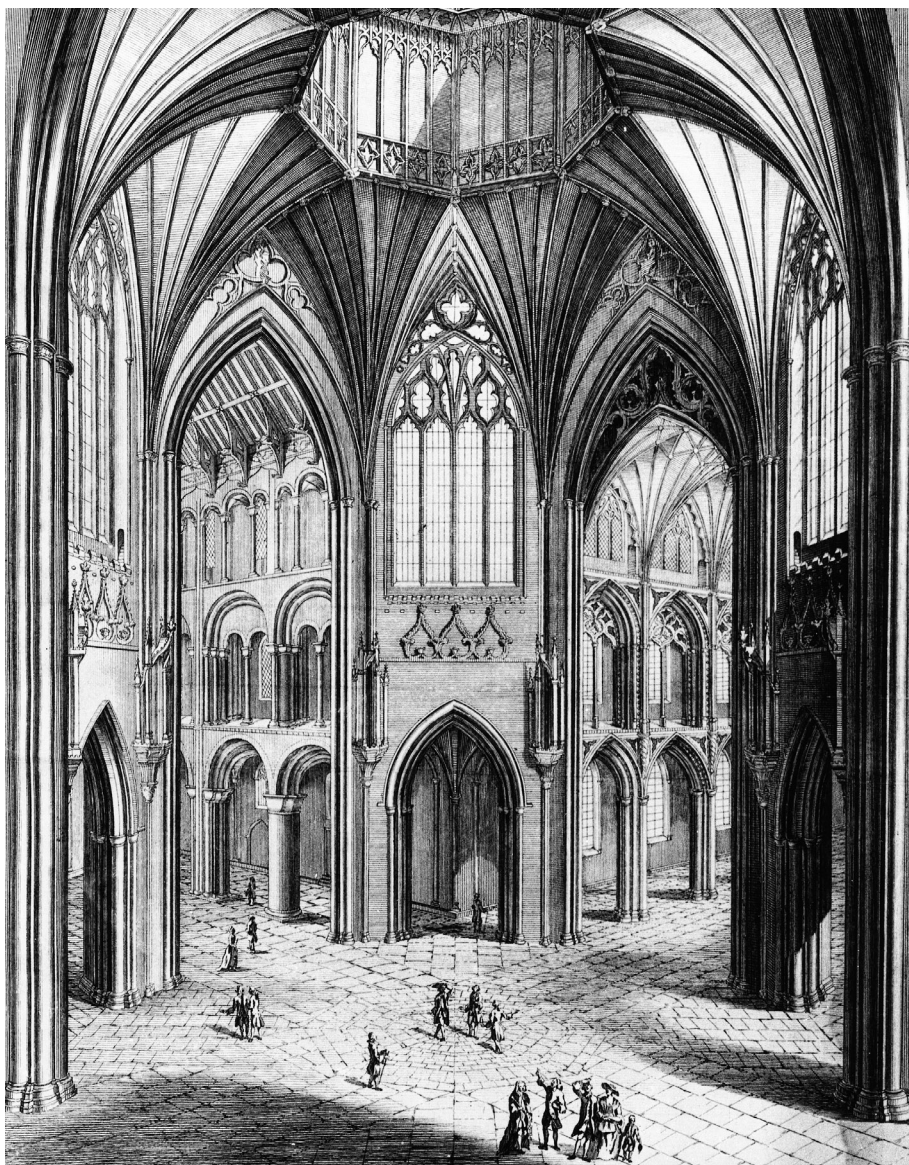


Figure 20.2. Ely Cathedral. Proposal drawing dated 1763 showing the intended appearance of the Octagon after the removal of the choir, published in James Bentham, *History and Antiquities of Ely* (1771), pl. XI.

The plan of Ely Cathedral before the works of 1769–71 is shown in a plan published in Browne Willis's *Survey* of 1830 (fig. 20.3).<sup>8</sup> In order to provide a backing for the fourteenth-century choir-stalls, masonry side walls had been built across the Octagon, continuing the line of the arcades of the nave and eastern arm: as we shall see, these probably replaced walls in the same position, flanking the pre-1322 choir. To judge from the height of the canopies of the fourteenth-century stalls, which may be measured in their present, more easterly location, the walls must have been around 5.75 m (19 ft) high, which means that they would have almost reached the level of the historiated capitals on the main piers of the Octagon. Indeed, the position of the north wall is quite clear from a change in the colour of the stonework of those piers, where it formerly abutted against them. One would, however, expect the screen walls to have been inserted after the main structural work on the Octagon was complete, and there is no other evidence, either documentary or archaeological, that the Octagon was originally intended as the open space that it is today.

It was from this north wall of the choir that the remains of Archbishop Wulfstan and the other Ely worthies were removed when it was demolished in May 1769. The discovery of the bones was not unexpected. As we shall see, one of those present, the antiquary William Cole, had conjectured that they would be there; he may have been aware of a note written on the flyleaf of the Ely copy of the *Liber Eliensis*: 'These are the confessors of Christ, whose bodies lie on the north side of the choir of the church of Ely, separately in *loculi* (or *locelli*) in the stone wall [followed by their names].'<sup>9</sup> The note has been described as 'a latish medieval scrawl, probably second half of the fourteenth century or thereabouts', and therefore records the situation which obtained from c. 1340 (the date of the fourteenth-century choir) until 1769.<sup>10</sup>

On the north side, facing the transept, were wall paintings depicting the seven Ely benefactors, each standing or sitting within a fictive architectural framework of painted niches. Beneath this painted scheme were seven real recesses, each enclosed within an arch comprising a two-centred outer arch or hood mould, springing from round shafts, enclosing a cinquefoil inner arch. Each recess had a 'grey marble' (presumably Purbeck) basal slab or floor, and when these slabs were removed, on 18 May 1769, small 'cells' or 'receptacles' containing human bones were discovered within the wall beneath. Following the main text of the *Liber Eliensis*,<sup>11</sup> I shall call these cells *loculi*.

---

<sup>8</sup> Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough* [...] (London, 1730), following p. 330: 'The Ichnography of the Cathedral Church of Ely', drawn and engraved by J. Harris at the expense of the Dean and Chapter of Ely.

<sup>9</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, MS F, now Cambridge, University Library, EDC 1, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: 'Isti sunt confessores Christi quorum corpora jacent ex parte aquilonari chori ecclesie Eliensis in locellis separatim in pariete lapideo.' Quoted in Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 2 vols in 5 parts (London, 1786–96), 1 (1786), preface, p. clvi.

<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to Simon Keynes for his comments on the manuscript.

<sup>11</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 156 (bk. ii, ch. 87).

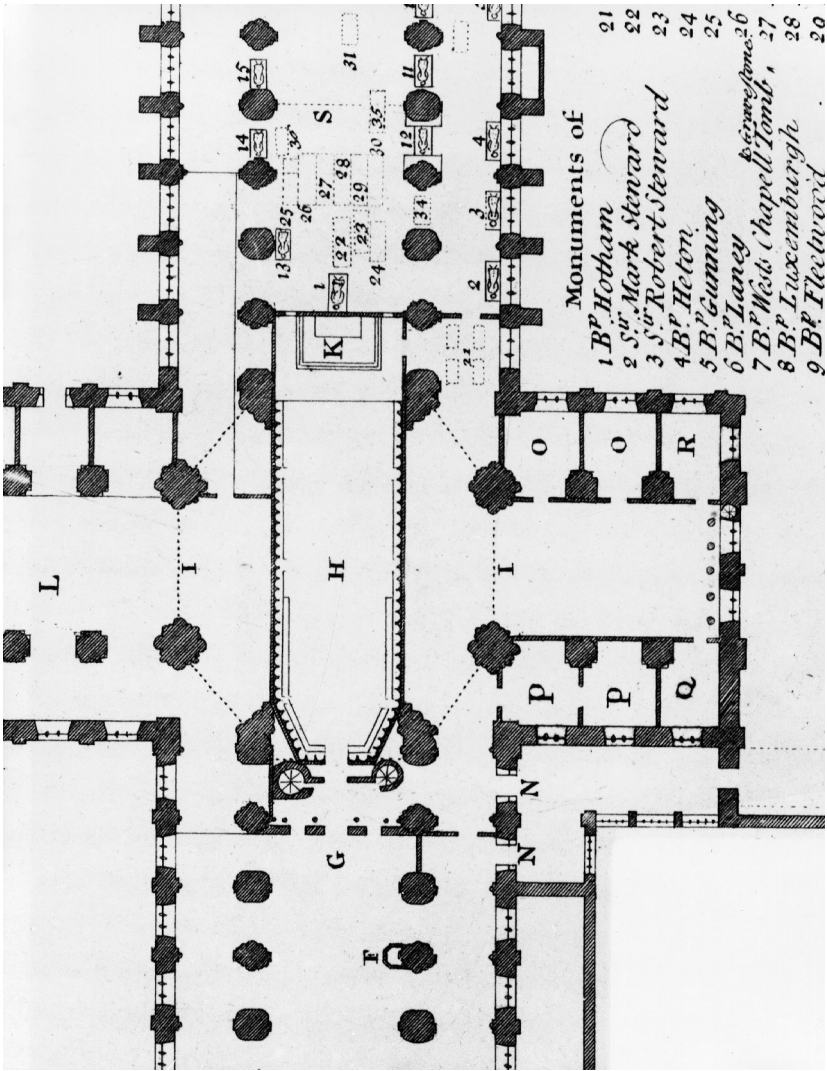


Figure 20.3. Ely Cathedral. Plan of the crossing showing the position of the choir within the Octagon until 1769. Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough* [ . . . ] (1730), following p. 330.

The wall paintings, the arched recesses beneath them, and the discoveries made when the *loculi* were opened up are unusually well documented. The paintings had been described in a communication from Maurice Johnson, read to the newly revived Society of Antiquaries on 14 May 1718: ‘Opposite to the Door of the North Cross Isle, the Pictures of the Arch Bp of York, the Earl of Northumberland, and three other Bps who held out the Town against William the Conq<sup>r</sup>. they are very Antient and pretty Entire.’<sup>12</sup> A full account of the proceedings of May 1769 was read by James Benthams to the same society three years after those discoveries;<sup>13</sup> he had already included some of the details in his *History and Antiquities of Ely*.<sup>14</sup> Even more detailed was the account by that loquacious antiquary William Cole, by then rector of Waterbeach (Cambs.), who had also been present when the *loculi* were opened up.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the wall paintings had been drawn about a fortnight previously, at the request of Cole and others, by the Reverend Michael Tyson, a fellow of Corpus Christi College Cambridge (fig. 20.4). Tyson gave his drawings to William Cole in 1778, who in turn lent them to Richard Gough four years later to be engraved in the latter’s *Sepulchral Monuments*.<sup>16</sup> Two of the painted effigies (though not the real arched recesses beneath them) had also independently been drawn at an earlier date by William Stukeley (1687–1765) (fig. 20.5).<sup>17</sup> Stukeley died four years before the discoveries of 1769, and the date of his drawing is not known. However, other drawings of Ely in Stukeley’s album date from 1736 and 1741 (the latter most closely resembling the handwriting, drawing style, and paper of the drawing of the wall paintings), so they could predate the destruction of the wall paintings by three decades or more.<sup>18</sup>

William Cole’s account is the most valuable record of the activities of 13 May and deserves extensive quotation.

---

<sup>12</sup> Society of Antiquaries of London, Minute Books, vol. 1, p. 12, printed (from Stukeley’s own, expanded version of the Minute book, MS 205) in Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (London, 1956), 65.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Benthams, of Ely, to the Dean of Exeter, concerning certain discoveries in Ely Minster. Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 6, 1772’, *Archaeologia*, 2 (1773), 364–66 (item XLII).

<sup>14</sup> Benthams, *History and Antiquities*, pp. 85 (n. 3), 285–86.

<sup>15</sup> William Cole. Notes, volume 33. London, British Library, Additional 5834, fols 15<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>v</sup> (formerly pp. 25–24).

<sup>16</sup> Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, 1, preface, facing p. clvi. The movements of the original drawings are recorded in a note by William Cole, preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 225, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>, and have been fully analysed by Simon Keynes in his essay, ‘Ely Abbey, 672–1109’, in *The History of Ely Cathedral*, ed. by Peter Meadows and Nigel Ramsay (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 3–59.

<sup>17</sup> William Stukeley, *Drawings of Religious Antiquities before the Conquest*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. Eccles. d.6, p. 88.

<sup>18</sup> The drawings are certainly likely to predate 1748, when Stukeley moved to London.



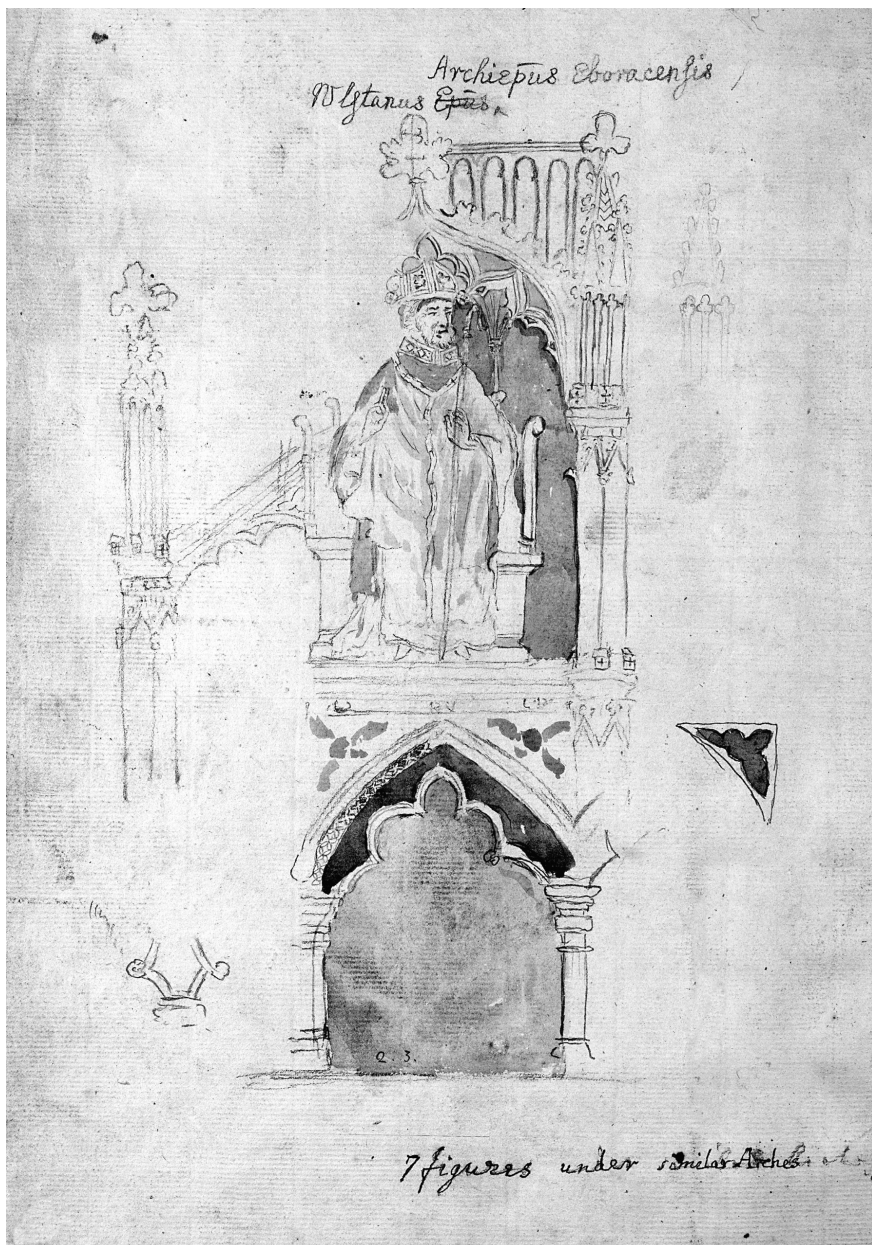


Figure 20.4. Ely Cathedral. Detail from a watercolour depicting Wulfstan's *loculus* and its painted architectural setting, drawn by Michael Tyson in 1769. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 225, fol. 37<sup>r</sup> (by permission of the Bodleian Library).

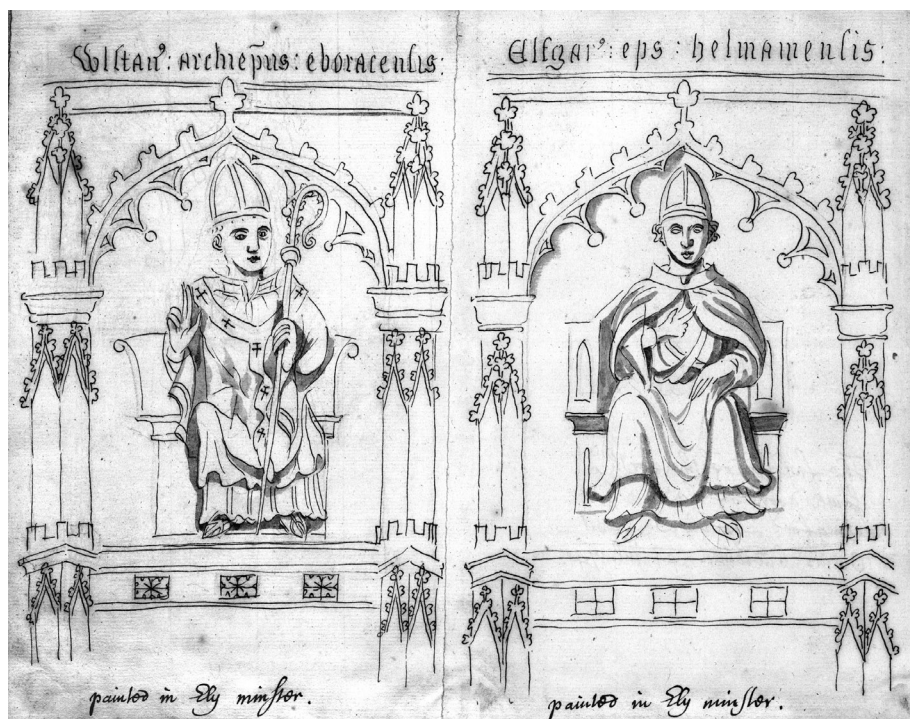


Figure 20.5. Ely Cathedral. Pen-and-ink drawing of two of the painted niches by William Stukeley, probably dating from 1735x1741. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. Eccles. d.6, p. 88 (by permission of the Bodleian Library).

At the Back of the North Side of the Choir in Ely Cathedral, under the Dome or Lanthorn, was an high Brick Wall which ran from the 2 inside great Pillars: on it was painted the Figures, in a Sort of Gallery, of Wolstan the 2<sup>d</sup>. of that name ArchB<sup>p</sup>. of York, with 5 other Bishops, & Brithnod Dux Northymbrynensis, in a Row: the latter sitting: all of them Benefactors to the old monastery of Ely, & buried in the old conventual Saxon Church, & removed into this Part of the new Church, when the old one was deserted.

[. . .] Under these Pictures were 7 Arches in the Wall; under which, as I conjectured were the Remains of the 7 Benefactors aforesaid, in seperate Leaden Coffres: & as I expressed a Desire to see the Wall taken down, D<sup>r</sup>. Gooch very obligingly deferred that Part of the Work till M<sup>r</sup>. Tyson, Fellow of Benet College & myself, could come over & see it. Accordingly we came this Day, May 18. 1769. Thursday, [. . .] & presently satisfied our Curiosities, as the Wall was pulled down to the Under Part of the said 7 Arches, which stood on flat Peices of grey marble, which being removed, as I had conceived, in 7 separate Holes in the Wall, about 2 Feet long & 6 Inches broad, plaistered with Morter in the Inside, were the Bones of each Person: cheifly full to the Top; being about a Foot deep.<sup>19</sup>

The character and stylistic sources of the wall paintings have been the subject of a detailed study by Phillip Lindley, who cites convincing parallels from St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, dating from c. 1350–60; furthermore, he points out that some of the Westminster artists had been recruited in East Anglia.<sup>20</sup> A few further observations may be added. The wall paintings and the arcade beneath them were located on the north side of the wall, facing the north transept. The painted niche enclosing the effigy of Wulfstan was at the east end, and was flanked to the left by a fictive buttress; presumably there was a similar buttress at the west end, to the right of the portrait of Byrhtnoth. Wulfstan and Byrhtnoth appear both to be seated (and Cole's description confirms this in the case of Byrhtnoth), each facing inwards towards the rest of the group. The other bishops seem to be standing, though Stukeley depicted Ælfgar of Elmham as seated; these discrepancies probably resulted from the poor condition of the wall paintings. Stukeley did, on the other hand, include one important detail not properly recorded by Tyson: he carefully copied the black-letter inscription over the two portraits that he drew, confirming Bentham's statement that 'The Names of these Worthies are still legible over their painted Effigies'.<sup>21</sup>

Much more important is the relationship between the upper register, comprising the paintings of the individuals in their fictive niches, and the lower arcade of genuine, architectural recesses. Tyson drew just one bay of the latter and the springing of the next bay to the west. In a note appended to Tyson's original drawings, William Cole emphasized that these recesses were real architecture rather than painting: 'The

<sup>19</sup> Add. 5834, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Phillip Lindley, 'The Imagery of the Octagon at Ely', in his *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 112–46 (pp. 128–35, esp. p. 132).

<sup>21</sup> Bentham, *History and Antiquities of Ely*, p. 85, n. 3.

Arch under each Person (& behind which were Holes or Receptacles in the Wall, to contain their Bones) was fashioned in the Stone Work, & were of real Stone; those above were only painted on the smooth Wall, as were the Effigies'.<sup>22</sup> Possibly this distinction explains why Stukeley did not include the genuine recesses in his two views, the purpose of his drawings being to show the effigies 'Painted in Ely Cathedral' (the term 'painted' must refer to the originals rather than to his reproductions, which are drawn in pen and ink).

Neither Cole nor Bentham ventured an opinion on the relative dates of the painted niches and the real recesses. The paintings were manifestly of the mid-fourteenth century, as Phillip Lindley has demonstrated, but it has often been suggested that the recesses beneath them might have survived from an earlier scheme. Thus Gerald Cobb refers to 'a painted row of seven Decorated canopied niches over as many cusped, obviously Early English, arches', and suggested that the lower parts of the walls at the rear of the choir within the Romanesque crossing might have survived the collapse of the tower;<sup>23</sup> similarly, Elizabeth Coatsworth described the lower recesses as showing 'fairly simple tracery in the Early English style of the thirteenth century'.<sup>24</sup> T. D. Atkinson had previously made a similar suggestion, but in his view only the 'cavities' had survived (from the twelfth-century translation), whereas in the fourteenth century 'the chambers were given new architectural fronts and paintings'.<sup>25</sup>

The contention that the recesses destroyed in 1769 were of thirteenth-century date relies on the premise that a portion of the previous choir wall survived not only the collapse of the Norman tower above it but the subsequent clearance of rubble and the preliminary building work on the Octagon, including the excavation of foundations and the erection of scaffolding. The fact that the fourteenth-century choir walls abutted the Octagon piers is not really relevant to the issue: they would probably have been built in that way whether they incorporated a length of earlier wall or not. Consideration must however be given to the simpler explanation that the choir walls, including the *loculi* and the recesses with their architectural surrounds, were completely rebuilt in the late 1330s, and that the stylistically more developed painted decoration was added in the mid-century.

The only evidence we have for the date of the recesses is the drawing by Tyson. The round shafts with their bases and columns, the two-centred main arch, and the foiled inner arch, though indeed initially suggestive of thirteenth-century work, could nevertheless be of the fourteenth century. The use of the cinquefoil (possibly

---

<sup>22</sup> Gough Maps 225, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>. The use of the word 'behind' to describe the location of the *loculi* relative to the niches is curious, but his description elsewhere suggests that the *loculi* were situated under the Purbeck slabs forming the floor of each niche.

<sup>23</sup> Gerald Cobb, *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries* (London, 1980), p. 78.

<sup>24</sup> Elizabeth Coatsworth, 'Byrhtnoth's Tomb', in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 279–88 (p. 282).

<sup>25</sup> T. D. Atkinson, 'The Cathedral', in *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, vol. IV, ed. by R. B. Pugh (London, 1953), pp. 50–77 (p. 64).

with some sort of foliate terminations, which in Tyson's drawing appear damaged) and the form of the bases and capitals find fourteenth-century local parallels in the Ely choir-stalls of 1338–48. The decorative band within the two-centred main arch is ambiguous: it could be read either as thirteenth-century nailhead or fourteenth-century fleurons.<sup>26</sup> If fleurons are intended, the same motif in a similar context is also paralleled in the Decorated work at Ely.<sup>27</sup> It is not clear whether the *soufflets* in the spandrels are genuine architecture or part of the undoubtedly secondary painted scheme, though Tyson's additional detail showing one of the spandrels suggests that they go with the genuine architecture, which again would support a fourteenth-century date for the recesses.

We shall return to the question of the date of the *loculi* and their associated arched recesses later in this essay, but one other feature of Tyson's drawing requires comment at this stage, namely the uneasy relationship between the painted and genuine architecture, which does at first seem to support the notion that two phases are represented. In Tyson's drawing the painted shaft to the right of the figure of Wulfstan does not finish immediately above the real shaft below, but terminates inconsequentially on the shoulder of the next arch to the west: in other words, the bay-lengths of the upper and lower registers in his depiction are not the same.

In fact, the use of Tyson's drawing as the basis for a reconstruction of the features on the north wall of the choir reveals other discrepancies, suggesting that William Cole's judgement that Tyson was 'a complete Master of Drawing' was somewhat over optimistic. The differences between the bay-lengths of the two registers of arcading (painted and genuine) are such that if these elements of Tyson's drawing are simply multiplied sevenfold, the lower register ends up 73 percent shorter than the upper, with the result that the more westerly painted niches extend well to the west of the arched recesses. This is inconsistent with Cole and Bentham's unambiguous observation that there was an arched recess under each painted figure: indeed, Bentham specifically refers to the westernmost painted effigy with its niche beneath: 'in that [cell] under duke Brithnoth's [effigy] there were no remains of the head'.<sup>28</sup> There is therefore little reason to doubt that the effigies of the end-most figures (Wulfstan and Byrhtnoth) were directly over their respective recesses, and this indicates that the bay-lengths of the painted niches and real arched recesses were the same. The notion that each of the lower recesses might have been separate from its neighbours, with its own flanking shafts (rather than forming a continuous arcade), may be discounted; as already mentioned, Tyson's drawing clearly shows the springing of the next arch to the west of the one beneath the effigy of Wulfstan.

---

<sup>26</sup> As noted by Lindley, 'Imagery of the Octagon', p. 134, who suggests that Tyson was attempting to depict fleurons.

<sup>27</sup> Nicola Coldstream, 'Ely Cathedral: The Fourteenth-Century Work', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Ely Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Transactions for 1979 (Leeds, 1979), pp. 28–46 (pp. 36–38).

<sup>28</sup> 'Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Bentham', p. 365.

Fortunately our sources provide enough information about the dimension of the various features to allow these difficulties to be resolved. Three sets of measurements are provided by the antiquarian record. Next to Tyson's drawing of the figure of Bishop Eadnoth are the words 'Each Fig: 2f: 5"  $\frac{1}{4}$ '.<sup>29</sup> It was presumably this annotation that led Richard Gough, who received the drawings from Cole in 1782, to write that 'each figure [was] two feet five inches and three [*sic*] quarters high'.<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that Tyson does not state unambiguously that the dimension provided is the height of each figure, but this is surely a reasonable interpretation. A second dimension, not previously noted, is shown by Tyson in his drawing of Archbishop Wulfstan. Just above the bottom of the lower recess are the figures '2. 3.', and although the limits of the measurement are not indicated, it most probably indicates the width between the inner faces of the shafts. Finally, we have the dimensions of the *loculi*, which lay beneath the arched recesses. Cole's measurements are approximations: 'about 2 Feet long & 6 Inches broad [. . .] being about a Foot deep'.<sup>31</sup> The *loculi* appear to have been measured more precisely by Bentham, who wrote that each cell was 'twenty-two inches in length, seven broad, and eighteen deep'.<sup>32</sup>

The reconstruction shown in figure 20.6 was achieved by adjusting Tyson's depiction of the various elements so that it conforms with the available dimensional information. Tyson's measurement of the width of the arched recesses was used as the starting point, being entirely consistent with the length of the *loculi*, as measured by Bentham. Next, the bay width of the painted elements was reduced to match that of the real arcade beneath (760 mm). Before this adjustment the drawing of Wulfstan was disproportionately high by 36 percent, his effigy measuring 1175 mm from the bottom of his staff to the top of his crozier; after adjustment, the effigy was 860 mm high. This is rather closer to the measurement of 2 ft 5  $\frac{1}{4}$  ins (742 mm) given by Tyson for the height of the portrait of Bishop Eadnoth. The residual discrepancy could again be caused by Tyson's faulty sense of proportion (the painted niches appear squatter in Stukeley's drawing), and it must also be remembered that the effigies were probably not all exactly the same height, some being standing figures, others sitting. The adjusted bay was then multiplied seven times, an approach justified by William Cole's comment that 'The ornamental arches, of the first [i.e. Wulfstan], shew what the others were, for they were ranged in a line, and had the same ornaments about them'.<sup>33</sup> Flying buttresses were added at the west end, matching those at the east.

---

<sup>29</sup> Gough Maps 225, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, I, preface, p. clvi.

<sup>31</sup> Add. 5834, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> 'Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Bentham', p. 365.

<sup>33</sup> Letter from Cole to Richard Gough, published in William Stevenson, *A Supplement to the Second edition of Mr. Bentham's History and Antiquities of the Cathedral and Conventual Church of Ely* (Norwich, 1817), p. 144.

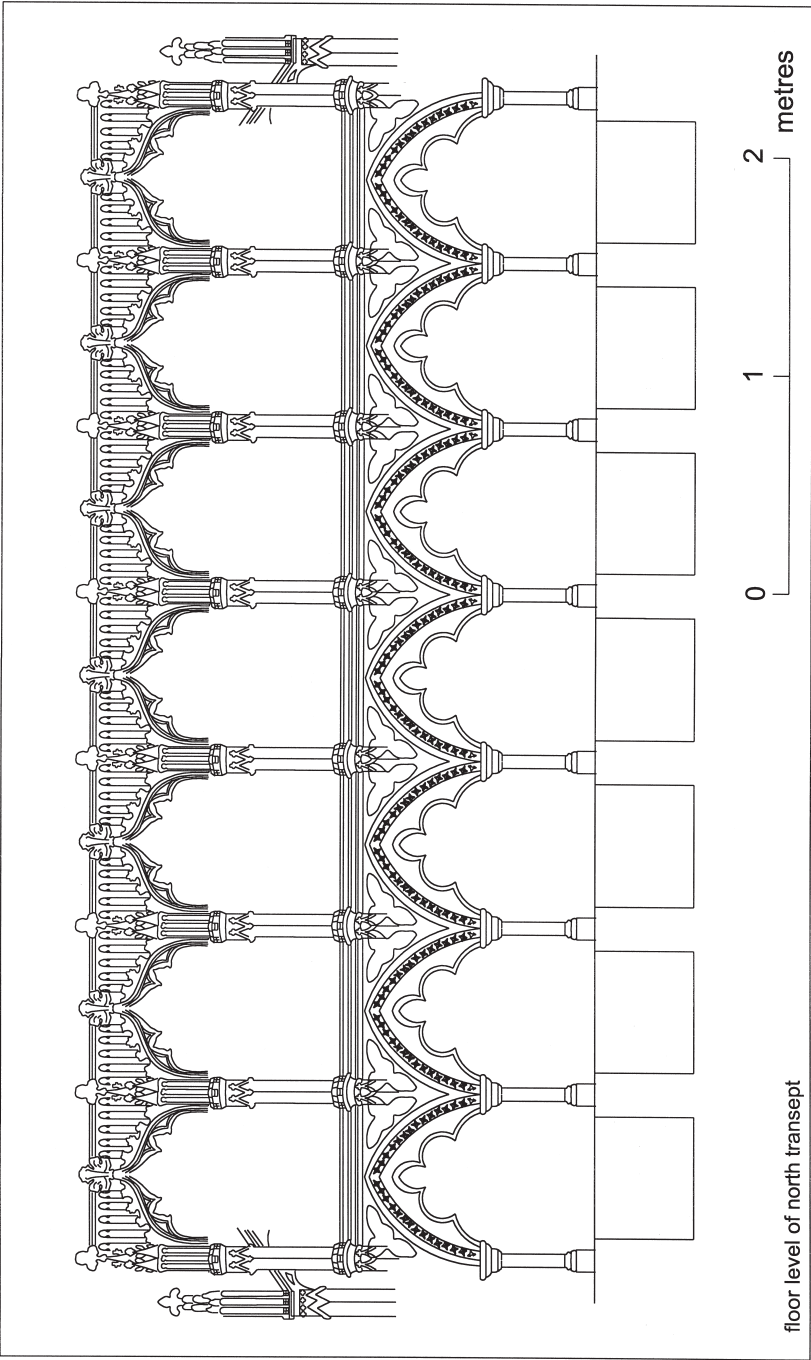


Figure 20.6. Ely Cathedral. Conjectural reconstruction of the arcade over the *loculi* containing the bones of the Ely benefactors, and the painted niches above, based on Michael Tyson's watercolour of 1769. © John Crook.

The end product is a reconstruction that is consistent with all the dimensional information and the written descriptions. The painted and real features were, according to this reconstruction, 5.9 m (19 ft 6 ins) wide, but there is no way of telling whether the ensemble was centrally placed along the choir wall or off-set to east or west. The relative shortness of the arrangement, compared with the available length of the choir wall within the Octagon (which measured at least 20 m (65 ft) between the piers) lends weight, however, to the theory that the *loculi* were originally housed in an earlier, shorter wall between the Romanesque tower piers. The inner faces of those piers were approximately 8.4 m (27 ft 7 ins) apart, according to Eric Fernie's reconstruction of the Norman plan,<sup>34</sup> which would have accommodated the *loculi* with a metre or so to spare on either side. We have no information about the height of the features above floor level, but if the Purbeck slabs forming the floors of the arched recesses were 1 m (39 ins) above the pavement (as assumed for the purposes of the reconstruction), the top of the painted decoration would be 3.35 m (11 ft 1 in.) above pavement level, with a band of inscriptions above that. As already noted, the total height of the fourteenth-century choir wall was approximately 5.75 m (19 ft).

Before examining the earlier history of the remains of our seven individuals, we must complete our account of the events of 1769–71. William Cole carefully described the bones, noting the dimensions of those which were best preserved. The remains of Byrhtnoth excited particular interest, not only because of the absence of a head (according to the *Liber Eliensis* the head had been hacked off by the Danes, and on burying Byrhtnoth at Ely the monks had substituted a ball of wax), but because of the prodigious size of the long-bones, indicating an individual over six feet tall. Of Wulfstan's remains, Cole commented that 'The first to the East was AB<sup>p</sup>. Wolstan, whose Scull was quite whole, but the Teeth by the Dampness, or naturally, were all rotten, & crumbled like loose Chalk'.

All the remains were placed in individual boxes, and stored in the house of Canon John Gooch.<sup>35</sup> Two years later, on 31 July 1771, the bones were placed in their new location in Bishop West's chapel, where, Cole tells us, 'M<sup>r</sup>. Essex had contrived to put 7 old gothic Arches of Clunch,<sup>36</sup> being Part, I think, of B<sup>p</sup>. Hotham's Tomb, & above them a Place for an Inscription'. Similar details were supplied in James Bentham's communication to the Society of Antiquaries, including a table showing the dimensions of all the main bones, where measurable, and the comments of Dr John Hunter (1728–93), who was recognized as the most competent anatomist of his day.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Eric Fernie, 'Observations on the Norman Plan of Ely Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Ely Cathedral*, pp. 1–7.

<sup>35</sup> Canon of the 4th Prebend, 1753–1804: John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541–1857*, vol. VII, *Ely, Norwich, Westminster and Worcester Dioceses*, ed. by J. M. Horne (London, 1992), p. 22. Gooch's obituary is printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 74.1 (1804), 90–91.

<sup>36</sup> A limestone, suitable for building purposes, from the Lower Chalk.

<sup>37</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XXVIII, ed. by Sidney Lee (London, 1891), pp. 287–93.



Hunter noted that Wulfstan's femur (the only bone of the Archbishop to be measured) was 18¼ ins long, and concluded from this that Wulfstan was 6 ft 1 in. tall. It is not really possible to refine this with certainty, as it is not known precisely how Bentham measured the bone (Hunter did not have the opportunity of measuring the bones himself). The fact that, according to Hunter, all the bishops were apparently more than 6 ft tall (Wulfstan was actually the shortest in his analysis) may render his conclusions suspect — and he estimated that Byrhtnoth was a 6 ft 7 in. giant. The estimated height of Wulfstan has recently been reduced to just under 5 ft 7½ ins (1.715 m) in a reassessment by Marilyn Deegan and Stanley Rubin based on modern formulae for calculating mean height from long-bones.<sup>38</sup>

William Cole is the only contemporary writer to report on the recovery of artefactual material with the bones. In the third *loculus* (from the east) the bones of Ælfwin of Elmham had been covered by a 'linen cloth'; similarly, in the fourth *loculus* (Bishop Ælfgar) the bones had been 'also covered by a Cloth, that was still quite whole & white: [. . .] it was an handsome patterned Diaper Linen: the Teeth in the Jaws perfectly sound & white'. In another *loculus* the workmen discovered 'a small Bit of Cloth of Gold' which was delivered to Dr Gooch while the party were at dinner; Cole was surprised at this, as he had emptied the bones into their various receptacles with his own hands. None of this material seems to have survived. However, in the collections of the Society of Antiquaries is a bronze pin (fig. 20.7), which is claimed as one of the gilt *spinulae*, which, as we shall see, had been discovered in Wulfstan's grave in the twelfth century, when the Archbishop's remains were first brought into the present cathedral, and by implication was discovered when the *loculus* containing the Archbishop's remains was opened up in May 1769.<sup>39</sup> Although this discovery was not recorded at the time, the object seems to have been given to the Society by James Bentham in 1777, having been exhibited to Fellows on 19 June that year.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Marilyn Deegan and Stanley Rubin, 'Byrhtnoth's Remains: A Reassessment of his Stature', in *The Battle of Maldon*, ed. by Scragg, pp. 289–93 (p. 292). The authors recognize, nevertheless, that 'we have no knowledge of the methods of measurement used by Bentham, or their accuracy' (p. 292).

<sup>39</sup> Society of Antiquaries of London, ref. LDSAL 104; described in A. Way, *Catalogue of Antiquities, Coins, Pictures, and Miscellaneous Curiosities in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (London, 1847), pp. 21–22: 'An acus or spinula, of mixed metal, partly silvered, one of those with which the pall of Archbishop Wolstan was attached to his chasuble, and found with his remains in Ely Cathedral.' Way is circumspect about the provenance of the pin, stating (p. 22) that it was 'probably' found in 1770[sic]–1771.

<sup>40</sup> Society of Antiquaries of London, Minute Books, vol. xv, pp. 258–59: 'The Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Benson exhibited by the secretary [. . .] the Acus which fasten'd ABp. Wlfstan's Casula & Pallium. [. . .] The Pin is of brass; had been gilt, or silver'd over, is five Inches & 2 tenths long; the head flat, & of a Lozenge fashion, prettily ornamented on each side with a different Flourish or Cipher. The Person who found the Pin, thinking it to be of more valuable Metal, has applied the File to it.' Reading between the lines, it sounds possible that the object was initially appropriated by one of the workmen involved in opening up the *loculi*.



Figure 20.7. Bronze pin, formerly gilt or silvered, said to have been removed from the *loculus* allegedly containing the bones of Archbishop Wulfstan. Society of Antiquaries of London, ref. LDSAL 104. Both sides of the pin are shown. © John Crook.

We have traced the history of Wulfstan's remains with certainty back to the fourteenth century, perhaps as far back as the late 1330s. The only indications of the earlier location of the relics is the account in the *Liber Eliensis* of the translation of the bones into the present cathedral. This event is referred to in various passages scattered within Book II, describing the gifts of the Ely benefactors, and the editor, E. O. Blake, plausibly suggests that the compiler of the *Liber* made use of an earlier, single source text describing the *Acta* of Prior Alexander,<sup>41</sup> a conjecture supported by the medieval writer's apology for delaying the story of the translation of Wulfstan — though 'first in order' amongst the benefactors — because his own narrative imposed a different sequence.<sup>42</sup> It is indeed possible that in the original document they appeared in the order, working from east to west, in which they lay within the choir wall at least from the fourteenth century. This order is recorded in the late-fourteenth-century note which, as already mentioned, appears on the flyleaf of the Ely manuscript of the *Liber Eliensis*: 'Wlstanus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Osmundus episcopus Swetheda regione, Helfwinus Helmamensis episcopus, Elfgarus Helmamensis episcopus, Ednodus abbas Ramysiensis episcopus Lincolniensis, Adthelstanus Helmamensis episcopus, Brithnodus dux Northanimbrorum strenuissimus';<sup>43</sup> the order, indeed, in which they still lie in Bishop West's chapel.

The *Liber Eliensis* gives the following account of the translation of the seven sets of remains into the new cathedral church:

Glorioso itaque rege atque piissimo Anglorum Stephano post multa tempora regnante, in septentrionalem partem ecclesie nostre venerabilium reliquie virorum, quorum beneficiis locus noster adcrevit et quorum cetus noster in sancta religione profecit, cura Alexandri prioris de veteribus sepulcris translate sunt, que, antiquitus in profundo posite et magna difficultate, tandem cum certis signis, invente, singulorum loculos cum scriptionibus nominum acceperunt.<sup>44</sup>

In fact, what the *Liber* is relating here, as hinted at by the words *antiquitus* and *tandem* ('formerly', 'finally'), is two successive translations of the seven sets of bones,

---

<sup>41</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. xxxviii.

<sup>42</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 156 (ii.87): 'primus est in ordine vir optimus Wlstanus, licet aliquorum, exigente narrationis serie, supra meminimus' ('first in order is the most excellent man Wulfstan, although we refer to the others before him because of the demands of the narrative sequence').

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, I, preface, p. clvi.

<sup>44</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, pp. 155–56 (bk. ii, ch. 87): 'When the glorious and most pious King of England, Stephen, had reigned for a long time, the remains of venerable men, through whose munificence our house had increased, and through whom our monastery had grown in holy religion, were translated at the pains of Prior Alexander into the northern part of our church. Formerly they had lain deeply buried, where they were finally discovered with great difficulty by means of definite tokens, and each received a *loculus* inscribed with his name.'

as is made clear later in the same chapter, when the writer describes what happened to Archbishop Wulfstan's body many years after his death on 28 May 1023.

Ad cuius tumulum sepe contingebant miracula que in veteri fiebant ecclesia, ita ut hactenus vivi reperiantur, qui a turpibus morbis ibi curabantur. Deinde constructa nova, que nunc est, ecclesia, placuit fratribus de pristino eum loco remove et corpus eius infra sepulcrum visitare, quod quidem dissolutum invenerunt, sed casulam et pallium auratis spinulis affixum cum stola et manipula invenerunt, ut mirum fuerit tanto spatio temporis sub putredine corporis potuisse illa saltem in aliqua sui parte durasse. Motus ergo de primo sepulture sue loco pro necessitate novi operis, quod tunc construebatur, extra ecclesiam iuxta cancellum in cimiterio fratrum interim fuit collocatus, donec ipso opere perfecto in meliorem locum, ut dignus erat, transferretur. Quod nos tandem post multos annos sub venerabili patre Nigello episcopo, Deo annuente, complevimus, primum eum in serie aliorum collocantes, quod subsequens narratio declarabit.<sup>45</sup>

The location of the Anglo-Saxon church is not known for sure, but it is likely to have been to the north of the nave, in the angle with the north transept. This location is suggested by the dates at which various other individuals were translated. The brothers' cemetery was also located north of the nave, so Wulfstan's body was not moved far at his first translation.

As for the second translation, the precise date is not known. The date of 1154 given on the inscription in Bishop West's chapel must be regarded as a terminus ante quem, based on the fact that the translation was said to have taken place during the reign of Stephen. Alexander seems to have become prior in the early 1150s (Feb 1151 x June 1152) and died *c.* 1158,<sup>46</sup> giving a tentative date-bracket of 1151–52x1154, roughly in the middle of Bishop Nigel's long episcopate (1133–69).

The *Liber Eliensis* is infuriatingly vague over the question of the position of the remains of Wulfstan and the other benefactors after the translation of the 1150s. The

---

<sup>45</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 157 (bk. ii, ch. 87): 'Frequently miracles were reported at his tomb; they took place in the old church, which even people living today recall who were cured there from foul diseases. Finally, when the present church was constructed, it pleased the brothers to remove him from his original [burial] place and to carry out a careful examination within his sepulchre. Although they found that his body had decayed, they discovered his chasuble, joined with gilt pins, together with his stole and maniple: it was miraculous that these things should have survived for such a space of time beneath the decay of the body, at least in some part of it. When he was moved from his first burial place because of the new works, then under construction, he was provisionally placed outside the church next to the barrier in the brothers' cemetery, until he could be worthily translated into a better place when those works were completed. Which at last we achieved, after many years, through God's grace, under Bishop Nigel, placing him first amongst the others in the series, as will appear below.'

<sup>46</sup> *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, vol. 1, 940–1216, ed. by David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and Vera C. M. London (Cambridge, 1972), p. 46.

phrase 'on the northern side of our church' (*in septentrionalem partem ecclesie nostre*) need not necessarily refer to the later location of the relics, on the north side of the choir. However, the chronicler's strange words *singulorum loculos cum scripturionibus nominum acceperunt* would be quite consistent with a row of inscribed *loculi* similar to those destroyed in 1769. As already noted, the spacing of the *loculi* and recesses might better suit a choir wall pre-dating the Octagon; they were closely grouped together, whereas if they represented a new, fourteenth-century scheme, one might have expected them to have been more generously spaced along the whole length of the new wall. If the *loculi* did indeed date from Prior Alexander's translation of the relics, their architectural embellishment must have been added subsequently: in the mid-thirteenth century at the earliest on stylistic grounds. Alternatively, the choir walls, together with the *loculi* and the recesses above them, might have all been thirteenth-century, though there is no record of such work.

The documentary evidence and, to a lesser extent, the physical evidence (notably the length of the row of recesses as reconstructed above) does indeed seem consistent with the notion that the bones of the Ely benefactors had reposed in the same position within the cathedral from the thirteenth century (perhaps even from c. 1154) until the destruction of their *loculi* in 1769. The idea of such continuity is attractive. Against it one must weigh the improbability of a short length of the earlier choir wall being retained when the Octagon was under construction. The monks might indeed have removed the bones for safe-keeping when they realized the tower was likely to collapse; the choir had been abandoned some time before this catastrophe and services were being held in a chapel of St Catherine.<sup>47</sup> Ultimately, though, the only indication we have of the date of the recesses is their architectural style as shown in a single, somewhat questionable, eighteenth-century drawing. Until any further (perhaps archaeological) evidence emerges, their date remains open to question.

Finally, let us look at the wider implications of the twelfth-century translation of the bones of the Ely benefactors. As Phillip Lindley has pointed out, there are obvious parallels with the treatment of various benefactors of Winchester Cathedral who were similarly translated in 1158 — an event which was perhaps even inspired by the recent translations at Ely. The instigator of the events at Winchester was Bishop Henry of Blois, who is said to have raised 'from a lowly place' the relics of kings and bishops who had previously been buried in Old Minster, placing them in lead caskets near the high altar.<sup>48</sup> As I have investigated elsewhere,<sup>49</sup> he thus initiated a

<sup>47</sup> Atkinson, 'The Cathedral', p. 64.

<sup>48</sup> The event is recorded in a cartulary of Winchester Cathedral (MS, Winchester Cathedral Archives), item 4: *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, ed. by A[rthur] W. Goodman (Winchester, 1927), p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300–c.1200* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 218–33, modifying my view in John Crook, 'St Swithun of Winchester', in *Winchester Cathedral: 900 Years*, ed. by John Crook (Chichester, 1993), pp. 57–68 (pp. 60–61).

sequence of successive arrangements for the housing of the remains of pre-conquest individuals who, though not saints, were regarded as benefactors of the church of Winchester — even today the bones of some of the individuals in question almost certainly reside in the mortuary chests on the screen walls either side of the Winchester presbytery, and these mortuary chests containing the jumbled bones of pre-conquest monarchs and bishops are the direct descendants of Henry of Blois's lead caskets.

There is clearly some difference between the placing of the remains of the Winchester individuals in lead caskets near the high altar and the placing of the Ely benefactors in *loculi* within the choir wall. Nevertheless, the basic idea may be the same: to commemorate in a worthy way people who were regarded locally as having been of particular benefit to the respective churches. At Winchester it has been possible to reconstruct some of the inscriptions which featured on the apse wall beneath the caskets containing the remains. Twelve inscribed ashlar blocks bearing elements of those inscriptions have been discovered, and the lettering style suggests that the inscriptions were added in around 1200. The most complete inscription relates to Bishop Ælfwin (1032–47) and reads as follows (supplied material in brackets): 'Hic iacet Alwinus episcopus, qui dedit huic ecclesiæ Stan[eham, duas Meon]es, Hentone, Witeneye, Hel[i]nge, [Melbroke, Pol]hamtone [et Hodyngtone].' The inscription is corroborated, and the missing elements supplied, by a text known as the *Liber historialis*, written by a fifteenth-century chronicler of Winchester Cathedral,<sup>50</sup> who noted that 'Alwynus [. . .] nouem maneria contulit ex suo puro patrimonio quæ sunt Stoneham et duas Meones, Hentone, Wytney, Helyng, Mylbrok, Polhamptone et Hodyngtone'.<sup>51</sup> The Winchester inscriptions, and the chronicler's text, emphasize above all the role of Ælfwin as benefactor, and the inscriptions may perhaps be regarded as the lapidary equivalents of charters of donation which the cathedral had presumably lost. Several of these manors, and others, were stated in the Domesday survey to be held by the Bishop but allotted for the support of the monks of St Swithun's Priory.<sup>52</sup> The Winchester inscription and text find a close parallel in the *Liber Eliensis*, in which so much of Book II is concerned with emphasizing the claims of Ely Priory to lands which they had been given by various benefactors: a

<sup>50</sup> John Crook, 'The Liber Historialis', in Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies, 4.2 (Oxford, 2003), pp. 173–76.

<sup>51</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Galba A.xv, fol. 83: 'Ælfwin gave nine manors out of his absolute patrimony, namely [south] Stoneham and the two Meons [East and West], Hinton [Ampner], Witney, Hayling, Millbrook, Polhampton [in Overton Hundred], and Hoddington.' The Galba manuscript was damaged in the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, and the text is now better represented by Oxford, All Souls College 114, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> *The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, vol. II, ed. by H. A. Doubleday and W. Page (London, 1903), p. 108; *Domesday Book*, vol. IV, ed. by Julian Munby (Chichester, 1982), pp. 41a–41d, *Terrae* [. . .] *de victu monachorum Winton'* ('Lands [. . .] for the supplies of the monks of Winchester').

point initially suggested by the original individual titles to each chapter in this part of the *Liber*.

For example, the chapter heading to the account of Byrhtnoth does not mention his spectacular death at Maldon, for which he is now mainly remembered, but his donations to the monastery at Ely: 'De venerabili duce Brithnoðo, qui dedit sancte Æðeldreðe Spaldewich, et Trumpintune, Ratendune, et Hesberi, Seham, Fuulburne, Theveresham, Impetune, Pampewrðe, Crochestune, et Fineberge, Tripelaue, Herdewich, et Sumeresham cum appendiciis eius.'<sup>53</sup> He had donated two groups of manors, the granting of the second of which was conditional on his being buried at Ely.<sup>54</sup> Likewise, Bishop Æthelstan of Elmham was remembered for giving the manor of Drinkstone (Suffolk) to the monastery (*qui dedit nobis Dreigestune*);<sup>55</sup> Ælfwin of Elmham's chief claim to fame, as far as the monastery was concerned, was that 'Cum Ælfwino episcopo he possessiones in ecclesia date sunt: Walepol, Wisebeche qui est quarta pars centuriatus insule, et Debeham, Britewelle, Oddebridge'.<sup>56</sup>

So at Ely, as at Winchester, the reason for commemorating the memory of various pre-conquest bishops may have been in order to emphasize the abbey's title to the manors which they had allegedly been granted. However, this is not true of all the Winchester individuals, some of whom were remembered only for their sanctity; and here, too, Ely provides a slightly earlier precedent. Eadnoth, abbot of Ramsey then bishop of Dorchester, is recalled in the *Liber Eliensis* for elevating and translating the relics of St Ivo and for his death at the hands of the Danes at Ashingdon;<sup>57</sup> the Swedish Bishop Osmund was remembered for the reverent way he carried out episcopal duties at Ely;<sup>58</sup> and Ælfgar of Elmham was remembered for his special devotion to the community.<sup>59</sup>

The account of Bishop Eadnoth given in the *Liber* is, indeed, somewhat reminiscent of the Life of a saint and conforms with various hagiological commonplaces.<sup>60</sup> His elevation of St Ivo recalls the way in which, from the sixth century onwards, the

---

<sup>53</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 133 (bk. ii, ch. 62); see also p. 422 for identification of the place-names. 'Concerning the venerable Duke Byrhtnoth, who gave to St Etheldreda Spaldwick and Trumpington, Rettendon and *Hesburie*, Soham, Fulbourn, Teversham, Impington, Pampisford, Croxton, and Finborough, Triplow, Hardwick, and Somersham, with all their appurtenances.'

<sup>54</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 135 (bk. ii, ch. 62).

<sup>55</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 137 (bk. ii, ch. 65).

<sup>56</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 144 (bk. ii, ch. 75): 'With [the accession of] Ælfwin these possessions were given to the church: Walpole, Wisbech which is one quarter of the division of the island, and Debenham, Brightwell, and Woodbridge.'

<sup>57</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, pp. 140–42 (bk. ii, ch. 71).

<sup>58</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, pp. 168–69 (bk. ii, ch. 99).

<sup>59</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, pp. 142–43 (bk. ii, ch. 72).

<sup>60</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, pp. 140–42 (bk. ii, ch. 71).

episcopal saints of Gaul were remembered for having elevated the relics of their predecessors; likewise, Eadnoth's death in battle had as much right to be regarded as martyrdom as that of St Edmund of Bury.

Such an interpretation may equally be placed on the commemoration of Archbishop Wulfstan. The passages in which the author tells of his career, his sanctity, and his family background could have come straight from a saintly *Vita*. So, too, the miracle of his staff inevitably recalls a similar miracle in which another Wulfstan — Wulfstan of Worcester — was involved. When accused of simplicity by Lanfranc during a meeting at Westminster, the latter Wulfstan is said to have laid his staff on the tomb of Edward the Confessor, where it became stuck fast, only being released to the Bishop himself once Lanfranc had acknowledged that he was fit to continue in his see.<sup>61</sup> Even more compelling is the account of the posthumous miracles claimed to have occurred at Archbishop Wulfstan's tomb. Finally, the manifestation of his sanctity by the supposedly miraculous preservation of his chasuble and pall recalls many similar miracles of incorruption. By the early twelfth century the monks of Ely were exploiting to the full the supposed incorruptibility of the royal ladies enshrined within their church — SS Æthelthryth, Seaxburh, Wihtburh, and Eormenhild — in a tradition that went back at least as far as the time of Bede. The community would have been fully aware of the power of contact relics — a more recently reported miracle there related how St Wihtburh's stone sarcophagus, broken when it was exhumed within the Anglo-Saxon church in 1102, miraculously mended itself.<sup>62</sup> The miraculous preservation of Wulfstan's vestments was one means by which the Archbishop demonstrated his sanctity. In this light, it is possible that the monks of Ely hoped that Archbishop Wulfstan might have become regarded as a saint even if *vir optimus* — the term used by the compiler of *Liber Eliensis* — was the highest epithet they were prepared to bestow.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> The story first appears in Osbert of Clare's *Life of Edward*, of c. 1138; and subsequently in Ailred of Rievaulx's *Life of Edward* of c. 1163: see *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. by Reginald R. Darlington, Camden 3rd Series, 40 (London, 1928), pp. xxxi–xxxii.

<sup>62</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, pp. 232–33 (bk. ii, ch. 147).

<sup>63</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by Blake, p. 156 (bk. ii, ch. 87): *primus est in ordine vir optimus Wlstanus*.



## Index

- Aachen  
     council of 322, 371  
     Rule of 141  
 Abba, a reeve 455  
 Abbo of Fleury 17, 322, 348, 403, 450  
     n.24  
 Abbots Lench 201  
 Abingdon 148, 451, 452 n.39, 453  
 Ablington 197  
 Adalbero of Laon 19  
 Addingham 182 n.47  
*Admonitio Generalis* see Charlemagne  
 Adso of Montier-en-Der 95, 374, 421–22  
 adultery 20, 443 n.4, 480, 495, 499  
 Æfic, dean of Evesham 152  
 Ælberht, archbishop of York 224, 228  
 Ælfgar, bishop of Elmham 503, 511, 517,  
     519, 523  
 Ælfheah, St, bishop of Winchester and  
     archbishop of Canterbury 153, 298,  
     378, 396, 469–70  
 Ælfhelm, a thegn 452  
 Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia 147–48,  
     150–52, 154–55  
 Ælfhild, a tenant 201  
 Ælfhun, bishop of London 378, 381  
 Ælfnoth, a tenant 201  
 Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham 3–4, 7, 19, 29,  
     63, 93, 272 n.109, 274, 310–11,  
     313–16, 318, 322–23, 326, 330,  
     347, 353–74, 394, 411, 429–41,  
     448, 456 n.58, 461, 471, 478, 483–  
     84, 486, 488, 493, 499  
 career 353, 357 n.18  
 language  
     orthography 34, 36, 42 n.48, 61  
     style 54, 90, 374  
     vocabulary 43, 47–50, 58, 61, 432–  
     36, 439 n.48  
     see also ‘Winchester group’  
 works  
     *Catholic Homilies* 315, 356 n.11,  
     357, 363, 366–69, 421–22, 433–  
     34, 436, 438, 473, 476 n.55, 485  
     n.90  
     *De auguriis* see *Lives of Saints*  
     *Decalogus Moysi* 315, 363–64  
     *De duodecim abusivis* 363, 366–  
     68, 450 n.24  
     *De falsis deis* 315, 363, 367–68,  
     463–68, 477, 485, 493, 499  
     *De septiformi spiritu* 364, 366–67,  
     422–23  
     *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* 368  
     *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*  
     315, 330, 371  
     *Letter to Wulfgeat* 400  
     liturgical homilies (excluding  
     *Catholic Homilies*) 364, 366–  
     68, 370, 432–33, 435, 485–86

- Lives of Saints* 403 n.23, 406, 436, 485, 486 n.92, 487, 494  
 'On the Old and New Testament' 315, 358, 364, 366–67  
 paraphrase of Judges 315, 364, 366, 368, 439 n.48  
 paraphrase of Kings 368  
 Pastoral Letters 16, 36 n.30, 144, 268 n.100, 276, 278, 313–15, 317, 332, 357–64, 366, 370, 372–74, 417, 426, 457  
 'private' letter to Wulfstan 313, 354–59, 361, 366, 373  
 tract on Clerical Duties 371  
 Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury 266 n.96, 304, 451  
 Ælfric, ealdorman of Hampshire 469  
 Ælfric, ealdorman of Mercia 451  
 Ælfric, a tenant 199  
 Ælfric Bata 297 n.24  
 Ælfric Puttoc, archbishop of York 214–15, 234, 285 n.13, 472 n.36  
 Ælfsige, abbot of Peterborough 304 n.38, 378  
 Ælfsige, a tenant 201  
 Ælfstan, archbishop of Canterbury *see* Lyfing, archbishop of Canterbury  
 Ælfstan, bishop of London 452  
 Ælfstan, a priest and monk 156  
 Ælfstan, a tenant 199  
 Ælfweard, tenant(s) 201, 203  
 Ælfwig, bishop of London 108 n.37, 233, 378, 380–81  
 Ælfwig, brother of Wulfstan 163 n.6  
 Ælfwin, bishop of Elmham 503, 517, 519, 522–23  
 Ælfwine, a tenant 201  
 Ælfwine's Prayerbook *see* manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton Titus D.xxvi and xxvii  
 Ælfwold, abbot of Winchcombe 154  
 Ælfwold, a tenant 203  
 Ælscun 199  
 Æthelbald, king of Mercia 192, 194, 196, 198, 202  
 Æthelberht, king of Kent  
 laws of 18, 21, 24, 443 n.4, 447 nn.11, 12, 455  
 Æthelburh, abbess of Withington 195  
 Ætheleard, a tenant 203  
 Æthelflæd, 'Lady of the Mercians' 192–93  
 Æthelgar, archbishop of Canterbury 238, 253–55, 265  
 Æthelgyth, wife of Thurstan 456 n.63  
 Æthelhard, archbishop of Canterbury 238, 242, 245, 252, 264 n.90  
 Æthelheard, a tenant 193  
 Æthelm, a tenant 199  
 Æthelmær, son of Æthelweard 452  
 Æthelmær, tenant(s) 199  
 Æthelmund, a tenant of Ecgrith and Offa 197  
 Æthelmund, a tenant of Oswald 173, 201  
 Æthelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury 67, 108 n.37, 304, 381 n.22, 453–54  
 Æthelnoth, tenant(s) 172, 199  
 Æthelred, ealdorman of Mercia 192–94, 196  
 Æthelred, king of Mercia 192  
 Æthelred I, king of Northumbria 237, 241–44, 248, 260  
 Æthelred II, king of England 5, 14–15, 22, 108, 152, 158, 204, 241, 262 n.83, 313, 320, 353, 378–85, 387–90, 395–96, 413, 435, 443, 449, 451–53, 462–63, 464 n.9, 469–70, 495  
 laws of 10, 13–18, 20, 26–27, 57 nn.88, 89, 104 n.25, 108 n.37, 245, 262 n.83, 319, 325, 335, 377–79, 383, 385, 396, 400 n.14, 403, 411, 413, 417, 420, 431, 439 n.45, 443 n.4, 444, 449, 450, 454, 458, 462–63, 469, 474, 480, 486, 494  
 Æthelric, son of Æthelmund 196  
 Æthelric, a tenant 203  
 Æthelric of Bocking, a thegn 451–52  
 Æthelsige, a tenant 173 n.33  
 Æthelstan, bishop of Elmham 503, 519, 523  
 Æthelstan, father of St Wulfstan II 156

- Æthelstan, king of England 192, 194, 196, 227  
     laws of 57 n.89, 443 n.4, 450  
 Æthelthryth, St 523–24  
 Æthelweard, ealdorman of Wessex  
     beyond Selwood 469, 471  
     *Chronicon* 469 n.27  
 Æthelweard, tenant(s) 199, 203  
 Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham 22  
 Æthelwine, ealdorman of East Anglia 148  
 Æthelwold, St, bishop of Winchester 3, 13, 148, 150, 281–82, 297, 304, 310, 325–26, 346–48, 373  
     Benedictional of St Æthelwold *see* manuscripts: London, British Library, Additional 49598  
     translation of Benedictine Rule 47, 50  
     *see also Regularis concordia*  
 Æthelwold, a tenant 201  
 Agnes, St 403 n.23  
 Ailred of Rievaulx 524 n.61  
 Ailric, archdeacon of Cutsdean 155  
 Albert the clerk 146  
*Albinus* *see* Alcuin  
 Alchfrid the Anchorite 237  
 Alcuin 3, 7, 210, 212, 227–28, 272, 329, 351  
     letters 25, 236–53, 256–57, 260–61, 263–68, 313, 319–20, 356  
     verse 224, 238, 252 n.45  
 Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne 47 n.65, 254, 495  
 Alexander, prior of Ely 519–21  
 Alfred, king of Wessex 11, 19, 21, 24–25, 35–36, 158, 192, 450, 473  
     laws of 57 n.89, 440–41, 443 n.4, 447–48, 450  
     translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* 35–43, 50, 245 n.23  
     vocabulary 47, 50  
     *see also* Orosius  
 Alfred, son of Æthelred II 378, 381  
 Alfwald, abbot of Evesham and bishop of London 152  
 Alhhun (or Alhwine), bishop of Worcester 192–93, 195, 197  
 Allecto 495–96  
 alms 248, 413, 449, 457, 487  
 Alric the archdeacon 144 n.17, 145 n.22  
 Alstone 173 n.32, 201  
 Alvechurch 193  
 Alveston 203  
 Amalarius of Metz 322, 329, 351  
     *Eclogae de ordine romano* 327–29, 331, 343–44, 351  
     *Liber officialis* 315, 330, 334, 347, 351  
     *Regula canonicorum* 71, 316  
 Ambrose, St 402, 435  
 Ampney Crucis 144 n.16, 145 n.22  
 Anderson Pontifical *see* manuscripts: London, British Library, Additional 57337  
 Andover 186, 469  
     *see also* Edgar, laws of  
 Andoversford 195  
 Angilram of Metz 331, 351  
 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 13–14, 60, 241, 384, 396, 400, 443, 453, 470  
     MS C 13, 378, 380  
     MS D 13, 53, 60 n.102, 209, 211 n.8, 364, 368, 379–80, 400, 437, 439–41, 450  
     MS E 13, 60 n.102, 364, 368, 380, 400, 434 n.23, 437, 439–41, 470  
     MS F 13  
 Ankara, council of 484  
*Ansaetley* 182 n.48  
 Ansegisus 18, 23, 255 n.57, 322, 372  
 Anselm, St, archbishop of Canterbury 14  
 Antichrist 17, 20, 95, 106, 363, 368–70, 374, 414, 419–24, 427–28, 459, 475–76  
 Apsley 203  
 Arenberg Gospels *see* manuscripts: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 869  
 Arius 307  
 Arn, bishop of Salzburg 238, 246–47  
 Arnwin, a priest 145 n.22  
 Ashburnham House 522 n.51  
 Ashingdon 13, 152, 379, 503, 523

- Ashton under Hill 144 n.16  
*see also* *Æscun*  
*Assandun* *see* Ashingdon  
 Asser, biographer of Alfred 21, 158, 450  
 Astley 144 n.16  
 Aston Blank 195  
 Aston Magna 201  
 Athelstan, king of England *see* Æthelstan,  
 king of England  
 Athelstan, tenant(s) 201, 203, 205  
 Athelstan Gospels *see* manuscripts: Lon-  
 don, British Library, Cotton Tiberius  
 A.ii  
 Atto of Vercelli 71, 96  
*De pressuris ecclesiasticis* 258–61,  
 264 n.91  
 Augustine, St, archbishop of Canterbury  
 263, 500  
 Augustine, St, of Hippo 95, 100, 106  
 n.31, 107 nn.34, 35, 136–39, 260–61,  
 275, 354–55, 422, 432 n.12, 433  
 Aurelianus of Réôme 330, 351  
 Aust 197, 199  
 Auxerre 19  
 Aveland 488 n.102  
 Avening 196  
 ‘B’ 238, 253–54  
 Bægia, a tenant 195  
 Baildon 184  
 Baldr 469 n.27  
 Balthun, abbot 193, 197  
 Banwell 158  
 baptism 95–96, 98, 100, 106, 136–39,  
 326, 329, 332, 344, 350–51, 433, 439,  
 472–73, 483 n.86  
 Barbourne 193  
 Barkston 183  
 Barlow 183  
 Barnsley 197  
 Bateson, Mary 10, 321–22, 401  
 Bath 14–15, 202, 377, 489  
*see also* Wulfstan II: works: law-  
 codes: VII Æthelred  
 Batsford 193, 204  
 Battenhall 199  
*Battle of Brunanburh* 60  
*Battle of Maldon* 53 n.75  
 Bayeux 281  
 Bayeux Tapestry 280–81  
 Beckford 144 n.16, 194  
 Beckwith 182 n.47  
 Bede 25, 93, 107 n.35, 212, 524  
 Gospel homily I. 9 271–75, 278  
*Historia ecclesiastica* 263  
 Letter to Ecgberht 16, 356  
 Bedford 234  
 Behstan, a tenant 201  
 Belbroughton 144 n.16  
 Bellona 495–96  
 Benedict, St 151, 347  
*see also* *Regula Sancti Benedicti*  
 Benedictine Reform 3–4, 14, 47, 50–51,  
 61, 141–59, 297, 309–24, 449–51,  
 453, 494, 499  
*see also* Æthelwold; Dunstan; Oswald;  
*Regularis concordia*; *Regula Sancti*  
*Benedicti*; Wulfstan II: life and  
 career: as reformer  
 Benedictional of Archbishop Robert *see*  
 manuscripts: Rouen, Bibliothèque  
 Municipale 369  
 Benedictional of St Æthelwold *see*  
 manuscripts: London, British Library,  
 Additional 49598  
 Bengeworth 193, 197, 203  
 Bentham, James 504–05, 508, 511, 513–  
 14, 516–17  
 Bentley 199  
 Beornheah, a tenant 201  
 Beornheard, a tenant 197  
*Beowulf* 7, 69 n.26, 406, 496  
 Berhtwulf, king of Mercia 192–94, 202  
 Berkeley 156, 197  
 Bernard the priest 145 n.22  
 Bethurum, Dorothy 6, 10, 24, 29–30, 51,  
 55, 100, 165, 262, 264, 301, 311,  
 313, 316, 362, 364 nn.40, 42, 367  
 n.55, 380 n.19, 381 n.22, 393, 395  
 n.52, 414, 417–19, 422–23, 426,  
 437 n.31, 479  
 editorial policy 12, 15–17, 63–65, 70,  
 95–96, 389, 414–15

- Beverley  
     St John's church 162 n.3, 209, 228
- Bible 24, 101–02, 108, 364, 435–36, 440  
     Genesis 123  
     Exodus 115, 449 n.16, 450  
     Leviticus 113, 120, 126  
     Deuteronomy 430, 449 n.16  
     I Kings 99  
     I Chronicles 134  
     Ezra 23  
     Job 132, 243  
     Psalms 113, 120–21, 134, 269, 440, 449 n.16  
     Proverbs 115, 124  
     Song of Songs 134  
     Wisdom 120  
     Ecclesiasticus 124, 126  
     Isaiah 23, 96, 121, 134, 243, 268 n.100, 381, 449 n.16  
     Jeremiah 23, 67, 96, 243, 449 n.16  
     Ezekiel 23, 96, 101–05, 113, 121, 129, 300, 381  
     Hosea 129, 134  
     Joel 115, 129  
     Zechariah 129  
     Malachi 115–16, 245  
     II Machabees 436 n.28  
     Matthew 112–13, 117, 120–21, 123–24, 126, 129, 132, 136, 264, 300, 385, 429 n.1, 449  
     Mark 121, 123  
     Luke 121, 127, 129, 306, 418  
     John 131, 252, 271, 433 n.16  
     Acts 264  
     Romans 113, 117, 120–21, 429 n.2  
     I Corinthians 124, 129, 132  
     II Corinthians 269  
     Galatians 486 n.92  
     Ephesians 123, 402 n.20  
     Philippians 134, 136  
     Colossians 126  
     I Timothy 126–27  
     Hebrews 300  
     James 121, 269  
     I Peter 126  
     Revelation 300  
     *see also* covenant theology
- Bibury 145 n.22, 155, 156 n.81, 196–97  
*Biceratune* 184
- Binsey 489
- Birkin 183
- Bishampton 145 n.22
- bishops, consecration of 101, 104, 108, 233, 253, 263, 304, 332, 376, 378, 380–82, 454
- Bishops Cleeve 145 n.22, 196, 204  
     St Michael's church 195  
     *see also* Southam Delabere
- Bishopton 184
- Bisley 145 n.22, 196
- Bitton 144 n.16, 145 n.22
- Blackwell 201
- Blickling Homilies 50, 58
- Blockley 145 n.22, 193
- Bobd 497 n.131
- Boniface 105 n.28, 263
- Botwell 489
- Boulogne Gospels *see* manuscripts: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 11
- Bourton on the Water 145 n.22
- Bradanebeorhge* 201
- Bradley 192–93, 199
- Braga, council of 484
- Brayton 183
- Bredicot 199
- Bredon 155, 202  
     St Peter's church 193
- Bredons Norton 193, 201
- Brictwold, a priest 145 n.22
- bride price *see* marriage
- Brightwell 523
- Brightwell Baldwin 195, 203
- Brihteah, abbot of Pershore and bishop of Worcester 142, 153, 157, 164 n.11
- Brihtlaf, a tenant 201
- Brihtmær, a tenant 201
- Brihttric, a tenant 203
- Brihtwaru, a widow 452
- Bristol 143–44, 145 n.22
- Brittany 66 n.15, 321
- Brotherton 183
- Bryhstan, a tenant 201
- Burchard of Worms 17, 322, 348–49

- Burgred, king of Mercia 192, 194, 196  
 Burley 184  
 Burn 183  
 Burton 183  
 Bury St Edmunds 230  
*Byllinton* 182 n.47  
 Byram Sutton 183  
 Byrcstan, a brother 156  
 Byrcstan, a tenant 201  
 Byrhtferth of Ramsey 107 n.34, 148 n.32, 150–52, 310–11, 394  
 Byrhtnoth, ealdorman of Essex 7, 503, 511, 513, 516–17, 519, 523  
 Byrnric, a tenant 203  
 Byrom 183  
 Caesarius of Arles 99, 487  
 Calvinus, a correspondent of Alcuin 238, 256  
 ‘Candida casa’ *see* Whithorn  
 canon law *see* Aachen, council of; Abbo of Fleury; Burchard of Worms; Chelsea, council of; *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*; *Collectio Hispana*; *Collectio Isidoreana*; *Dionysio-Hadriana*; Hertford, council of; Oda: *Constitutiones*; *Quadripartitus* (Carolingian canon law manual); Regino of Prüm; Wulfstan II: works: other: canon law collection; *Canons of Edgar*  
 Canterbury 7, 25, 67, 227, 230, 252, 263, 264 n.90, 266, 297–98, 300, 301 n.31, 304–06, 311 n.7, 347, 369, 378, 392, 470  
   archbishops *see* Ælfheah; Ælfric; Æthelgar; Æthelhard; Æthelnoth; Anselm; Augustine; Dunstan; Honorius; Iustus; Lanfranc; Laurence; Lyfing; Oda; Parker, Matthew; Sigeric; Stigand; Theodore; Tillotson, John; Wulfred  
   Christ Church 171 n.27, 228, 266, 305, 451  
   St Augustine’s monastery 329 n.21  
 Canterbury Benedictinal *see* manuscripts: London, British Library, Harley 2892  
*Carlewic* 184  
 Carolingian reform 317–24  
 cartularies 3, 162–64, 171 n.27, 211  
   *see also* manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii  
 Cassey Compton 205  
 Cassian 76  
 Cassiodorus 435 n.27  
 Cawood 182–83  
 Celestinus 264 n.90  
 Cenwald, bishop of the Hwicce 200  
 Ceolfriith, abbot 196  
*Ceolmundingchaga* 193  
 Ceolwulf, king of Mercia 194  
*Ceoredesholm* 182 n.49  
 Cerne Abbas 353–54, 357 n.18, 372  
   *see also* Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham  
 Chaddesley Corbett 145 n.22  
 Charlemagne 18, 23–24, 244, 248, 250, 274, 331, 351  
   *Admonitio Generalis* 23, 322  
 Charlton 197  
 charters 13, 142, 149–51, 156, 161, 166, 187, 211, 275, 298, 490, 522  
   S 52 194–95  
   S 53 171 n.28  
   S 55 192–93  
   S 56 194–95  
   S 57 171 n.28  
   S 59 171 n.28  
   S 62 171 n.28  
   S 63 196–97  
   S 64 202–03  
   S 75 171 n.28  
   S 76 192–93  
   S 77 171 n.28  
   S 84 194–95  
   S 89 171 n.28  
   S 94 202–03  
   S 95 192–93  
   S 98 194–95  
   S 99 151, 194–95  
   S 101 192–93  
   S 103 196–99  
   S 107 194–95  
   S 109 192–93  
   S 113 171 n.28  
   S 116 192–93

- S 117 192–93  
 S 118 196–97  
 S 120 202–03  
 S 137 198–99  
 S 139 196–97  
 S 141 194–95  
 S 142 194–95  
 S 145 151, 196–97  
 S 146 168, 196–97  
 S 147 151, 198–99  
 S 148 196–97  
 S 154 192–93  
 S 172 192–93  
 S 173 171 n.28  
 S 180 192–93  
 S 185 192–93  
 S 190 194–95  
 S 192 192–93  
 S 193 192–93  
 S 194 194–95  
 S 196 194–95  
 S 198 202–03  
 S 199 192–93  
 S 201 171 n.28  
 S 206 196–97  
 S 207 192–93  
 S 208 192–93  
 S 210 194–95  
 S 212 171 n.28  
 S 215 194–95  
 S 217 194–95  
 S 218 196–97  
 S 219 171 n.28  
 S 223 192–93  
 S 311 490  
 S 346 192–93  
 S 361 194–95  
 S 401 151, 196–97  
 S 402 151, 194–95  
 S 407 172 n.29, 211 n.9  
 S 428 151, 172 n.29, 192–93  
 S 520 171 n.28  
 S 659 211 n.9  
 S 679 211 n.9  
 S 712 184, 186, 211 n.9  
 S 716 211 n.9  
 S 731 150  
 S 772 171 n.28  
 S 773 171 n.28  
 S 788 171 n.28  
 S 877 447 n.11, 451 n.32  
 S 887 470 n.29  
 S 888 470 n.29  
 S 889 470 n.29  
 S 891 470 n.29  
 S 892 470 n.29  
 S 895 470 n.29  
 S 896 470 n.29  
 S 898 470 n.29  
 S 899 470 n.29  
 S 900 470 n.29  
 S 901 470 n.29  
 S 904 470 n.29  
 S 913 204–05  
 S 934 378 n.10  
 S 937 451–52  
 S 939 451  
 S 950 298 n.27  
 S 968 211 n.9  
 S 985 298 n.27  
 S 1159 211 n.9  
 S 1161 211 n.9  
 S 1177 171 n.28  
 S 1187 196–97  
 S 1252 192–93  
 S 1254 196–97  
 S 1255 194–95  
 S 1257 202–03  
 S 1260 192–93  
 S 1262 196–97  
 S 1272 192–93  
 S 1273 171 n.28  
 S 1278 202–03  
 S 1279 196–97  
 S 1280 192–93  
 S 1281 171 n.28  
 S 1282 151, 192–93  
 S 1283 171 n.28  
 S 1289 171 n.28  
 S 1290 200–01  
 S 1297 200–01  
 S 1298 172 n.31, 175 n.36, 202–03  
 S 1299 175 n.36, 198–99  
 S 1300 172 n.31, 198–99

- S 1301 172 n.31, 198–99  
 S 1302 204–05  
 S 1303 172 n.31, 198–99  
 S 1304 173 n.34, 198–99  
 S 1305 172 n.31, 200–01  
 S 1306 200–01  
 S 1307 172 n.31, 202–03  
 S 1308 150 n.53, 173 n.34, 204–05  
 S 1309 200–01  
 S 1310 173 n.34  
 S 1311 202–03  
 S 1312 198–99  
 S 1313 204–05  
 S 1314 173 n.34, 200–01  
 S 1315 171 n.28  
 S 1316 173 n.34, 198–99  
 S 1317 198–99  
 S 1318 173 n.34, 202–03  
 S 1319 172 n.31, 200–01  
 S 1320 200–01  
 S 1321 172 n.31, 202–03  
 S 1322 200–01  
 S 1323 172 n.31, 200–01  
 S 1324 173 n.34, 176 n.39, 198–99  
 S 1325 169, 175 n.36, 202–03  
 S 1326 172–73, 200–01  
 S 1327 198–99  
 S 1328 173 n.34, 175 n.36  
 S 1329 172 n.31, 200–01  
 S 1330 173 n.34, 176, 200–01  
 S 1331 200–01  
 S 1332 200–01  
 S 1333 200–01  
 S 1334 173 n.34, 202–03  
 S 1335 200–01  
 S 1336 172 n.31, 173 n.34, 200–01  
 S 1337 173 n.34, 200–01  
 S 1338 173–74, 200–01  
 S 1339 172 nn.30, 31, 198–99  
 S 1340 172 n.31, 202–03  
 S 1341 172 n.31, 202–03  
 S 1342 198–99  
 S 1343 204–05  
 S 1344 172 n.31, 175 n.36, 204–05  
 S 1345 200–01  
 S 1346 198–99  
 S 1347 171 n.28  
 S 1348 172 n.31, 173 nn.33, 34, 198–99  
 S 1349 175 n.36, 200–01  
 S 1350 173 n.34, 202–03  
 S 1351 200–01  
 S 1352 198–99  
 S 1353 173 n.34, 176 n.39, 200–01  
 S 1354 175 n.36  
 S 1355 200–01  
 S 1356 173 n.34, 202–03  
 S 1357 198–99  
 S 1358 202–03  
 S 1359 200–01  
 S 1360 204–05  
 S 1361 172 n.31, 200–01  
 S 1362 198–99  
 S 1363 200–01  
 S 1364 198–99  
 S 1365 173 n.34, 176 n.39, 198–99  
 S 1366 175 n.36, 200–01  
 S 1367 172 n.31, 200–01  
 S 1368 171 n.28  
 S 1369 198–99  
 S 1370 170, 172 n.31, 173 nn.33, 34, 198–99  
 S 1372 198–99  
 S 1373 172 n.31, 198–99  
 S 1374 198–99  
 S 1381 167, 200–01  
 S 1384 13, 142, 163 nn.6, 7, 171 n.28  
 S 1385 13, 142, 163 n.6, 171 n.28  
 S 1386 454  
 S 1388 163 n.7  
 S 1411 196–97  
 S 1413 194–95  
 S 1415 198–99  
 S 1416 171 n.28  
 S 1429 194–95  
 S 1430 192–93  
 S 1431 194–95  
 S 1432 192–93  
 S 1433 196–97  
 S 1437 171 n.28  
 S 1441 196–97  
 S 1442 192–93  
 S 1446 198–99  
 S 1447 452  
 S 1453 *see* Oswald memorandum



- S 1457 447 n.11, 452  
 S 1458 455 n.53  
 S 1459 13, 163 n.6, 171 n.28, 455  
     n.54, 456  
 S 1460 171 n.28  
 S 1461 456  
 S 1461a *see* York surveys  
 S 1462 447 n.11  
 S 1482 455  
 S 1487 452, 455 n.54  
 S 1498 455 n.54  
 S 1501 452  
 S 1527 455 n.54  
 S 1528 452 n.35  
 S 1530 456 n.63  
 S 1531 455 n.54  
 S 1534 171 n.28, 452 n.35  
 S 1536 452 nn.35, 37  
 S 1538 455 n.54  
 S 1549 204–05  
 S 1556 204–05  
 S 1568 194–95  
 S 1590 163 n.6  
 S 1595 204–05  
 S 1822 171 n.28  
 S 1823 171 n.28  
 S 1824 171 n.28  
 S 1825 171 n.28  
 S 1826 171 n.28  
 S 1827 171 n.28  
 S 1828 171 n.28  
 S 1829 171 n.28  
 S 1830 171 n.28  
 S 1831 171 n.28  
 S 1832 171 n.28  
 S 1833 171 n.28  
 S 1834 171 n.28  
 S 1835 171 n.28  
 S 1836 171 n.28  
 S 1837 171 n.28  
 S 1838 171 n.28  
 S 1839 171 n.28  
 S 1840 171 n.28  
 S 1841 171 n.28  
 S 1842 171 n.28  
 S 1843 171 n.28  
 S 1844 171 n.28  
 S 1845 163 n.6, 171 n.28  
 S 1846 163 n.6, 171 n.28, 176  
 S 1847 163 nn.6, 7, 171 n.28  
 S 1848 171 n.28  
 S 1849 171 n.28  
 S 1850 171 n.28  
 S 1851 171 n.28  
 S 1852 171 n.28  
 S 1853 171 n.28  
 S 1854 171 n.28  
 S 1855 171 n.28  
 S 1856 171 n.28  
 S 1857 171 n.28  
 S 1858 171 n.28  
 S 1859 204–05  
 S 1860 163 n.7, 166 n.18, 204–05  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey 93  
 Chelsea, council of 236, 238, 239 n.8,  
     240–41, 266  
 Cheltenham 144 n.16, 156, 158, 194  
 Chester  
     St John's church 155  
 Chevin 184  
*Christ* (Old English poem) 487  
 Chromatius 402  
*Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis* 208 n.2, 209–10  
 church scot 155, 187–88, 194, 413  
 Cirencester 144 n.16, 145 n.22, 147,  
     156–58  
*Claceswadlande* 194  
 Claudius of Turin 318  
 Claudius Pontifical I *see* manuscripts:  
     London, British Library, Cotton Clau-  
     dius A.iii  
 Cleeve Prior 145 n.22  
*Clifforda* 203  
 Clifford Chambers 144 n.16, 145 n.22,  
     203  
 Clifton 184  
*Clofesho*, council of 253, 333 n.35  
 Clopton 199, 203  
*Cnearresweorth* 184  
 Cnut, king of England, Denmark, and Nor-  
     way 2, 4–5, 7, 13–15, 19–20, 23,  
     27, 108, 158, 279, 298, 304, 320,  
     353, 378 n.8, 379, 388, 392–94, 411,

- 413–14, 419, 435, 443, 449, 452–54, 456, 459–60, 478, 480, 499  
 laws of 5, 10, 14–15, 19–20, 22–25, 27, 56 n.86, 57 n.88, 245, 303 n.36, 319, 379, 391, 394, 396, 403, 413, 416–19, 439 n.43, 443–49, 454–60, 464, 474 n.47, 478, 480, 486, 490, 492–94, 499  
*see also* Danish conquest  
 Coenwulf, king of Mercia 192, 239, 262–63, 264 n.90  
 Cofton Hackett 193  
 Colcu of Clonmacnoise 238, 248, 250  
 Cole, William 506, 508, 511–14, 516–17  
 Coleman, chaplain of St Wulfstan II 156–57  
 Colesborne 197  
*Collectio canonum Hibernensis* 43, 260  
*Collectio Hispana* 322  
*Collectio Isidoreana* 322  
 Cologne 209, 210 n.5  
 Compton Greenfield 199  
 Congresbury 158  
 Constantine 24  
 coronation of kings 20, 320, 350, 381, 416, 443, 449–50, 454  
*Corpus Glossary* 495  
 Cotheridge 199  
 Cotton, Sir Robert 236, 237 n.6, 257  
 Cotton-Corpus Legendary 323  
 covenant theology 20–21, 23–24, 241, 374, 383, 397–99, 409, 414, 419–20, 449  
 Coventry 230  
 Coxwold 256  
 Croome d'Abitot 201  
 Cropthorne 145 n.22, 197  
 Cross, James E. 16, 94 n.2, 96–99, 236, 258, 260, 365, 371–72, 457 n.68  
 Croxton 523  
 Cuculus 238, 246–47  
 Cudley 201  
*Cungle* 203  
 Cuthbert, St 243, 346 n.85  
 Cutsdean 155, 156 n.81, 201  
 Cyneburg, a tenant 193  
 Cynesige, archbishop of York 210, 234, 472 n.36  
 Cynethegn, a tenant 201  
 Cynhelm, a tenant of Oswald 199, 201  
 Cynhelm, a tenant of Wærferth 193  
 Cynulf, a tenant 201  
 Danegeld 241, 384, 387, 400, 469  
 Danelaw *see* Danes  
 Danes 20, 25, 53, 141, 208–10, 228, 241, 243, 265, 349, 377–78, 383–85, 387, 390–91, 393, 395, 397–400, 404–07, 409–11, 414, 420, 426, 435 n.24, 457, 462–63, 465–71, 475, 478, 482, 486, 495, 497–99, 503, 516, 523  
*see also* Old Norse language  
 Danish conquest 2, 15, 21–23, 27, 176, 353, 378, 392, 396, 411, 419, 462  
*Darraðarljóð* 498  
 Daylesford 195, 203  
 Debenham 523  
*De ecclesiastica consuetudine* 370–71  
 Deerhurst 147, 153  
 Deneberht, bishop of Worcester 192–93, 196  
 Denton 184  
*De officio missae* 328–29, 351  
*De rapinis aeclesiasticarum rerum* 239–40, 257 n.65, 258–62, 264, 266 n.95, 268  
 Didcot 201  
 Digby Chronicle *see Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*  
*Dionysio-Hadriana* 258, 322  
 divination 478, 484–85, 493–94, 499  
 Dodo, a correspondent of Alcuin 238, 246–47  
 Domesday Book 142–46, 155, 166 nn.19, 21, 182, 191, 194, 215, 223, 488–89, 491–92, 522  
*Donaemuthe* 256  
 Dorchester  
   bishops *see* Eadnoth  
   diocese of *see* Lincoln, diocese of  
 Doughton 197  
 Doverdale 144 n.16

- Dowdeswell 195  
     *see also* Pegglesworth
- Drinkstone 523
- Droitwich 145 n.22, 157
- Dugdale, Sir William 163 n.6, 171 n.28
- Dunstan, St, archbishop of Canterbury  
     239, 247, 249, 251, 253–54, 281–  
     82, 304, 310, 312 n.10, 346, 348  
     n.92, 449–52, 454, 458
- Dunstan Pontifical *see* manuscripts:  
     Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat.  
     943
- St Dunstan's Classbook *see* manu-  
     scripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library,  
     Auctarium F.4.32
- Durham 228  
     bishops *see* Edmund
- Eadberht, king of Northumbria 238, 256–  
     57, 266
- Eadberht Praen, king of Kent 252
- Eadflæd, a widow 451
- Eadleofu, a tenant 173 n.32
- Eadmær, tenant(s) 199, 201, 203
- Eadmer, biographer of Anselm 14
- Eadnoth, abbot of Ramsey and bishop of  
     Dorchester 503, 514, 519, 523–24
- Eadric, king of Kent *see* Hlothere and  
     Eadric, kings of Kent
- Eadric, tenant(s) 199, 201, 203
- Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Mercia 143,  
     396
- Eadwig, king of England 452
- Eadwig, a tenant 173 n.33, 199, 205
- Eadwig Basan 3, 286–87, 292, 295, 297–  
     98, 304, 306–07
- Eadwig Gospels *see* manuscripts: Han-  
     over, Kestner-Museum W.M.XXIa, 36
- Eadwig Psalter *see* manuscripts: London,  
     British Library, Arundel 155
- Eadwine Psalter 35 n.29
- Ealdred, bishop of Worcester and arch-  
     bishop of York 7, 13, 22, 142, 154–55,  
     164 n.8, 209–11, 218 n.16, 224, 349
- Ealdred, king of the Hwicce 192, 194, 196
- Ealdwulf, bishop of Worcester and arch-  
     bishop of York 142, 149, 167 n.22,  
     200, 234, 311
- Ealhferth, a tenant 205
- Ealhhelm, ealdorman of Mercia 147, 152
- Ealhstan, a tenant 203
- Eanbald II, archbishop of York 237–38,  
     242, 244–45, 253, 256
- Eanberht, king of the Hwicce 192, 194
- Eanmund, abbot of Bredon 193
- Eanwulf, a tenant 203
- East Meon 522
- Eastwic* 184
- Eavestone 184
- Ecgbert, archbishop of York 16, 238,  
     256–57, 266, 356
- Ecgrif, king of Mercia 196
- Ecgrine, bishop of Worcester 192
- Eclogae de ordine romano see* Amalarius  
     of Metz
- Ectune* 184
- Edgar, king of England 15, 148, 150,  
     152, 313, 368, 379, 439–41, 450,  
     452  
     laws of 15, 18, 177, 186–89, 435 n.24
- Edmund, bishop of Durham 108 n.37,  
     304 n.38, 381 n.22
- Edmund Ironside, king of England 379,  
     385, 388, 396
- Edmund, St, king of East Anglia 403, 524
- Edric, abbot of Gloucester 154
- Edward the Confessor, St, king of  
     England 153, 158, 378, 381, 416, 524
- Edward the Elder, king of England 194,  
     473
- Edward the Martyr, St, king of England  
     383–84, 495
- Egbert, a tenant 193
- Egbert Pontifical *see* manuscripts: Paris,  
     Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10575
- Eiríksmál* 468 n.22
- Eisey 197
- Elmham  
     bishops *see* Ælfgar; Ælfwin; Æthelstan  
     diocese of 143, 146, 503
- Elmley Castle 197
- Elmstone Hardwicke 199
- Elmstree 199
- Elwell 493

- Ely 5, 7, 12–13, 234, 304, 501–24  
     Bishop West's chapel 501–04, 516, 519–20  
     bishops *see* Hotham, John; Nigel  
     Octagon 504–07, 511–16, 521  
     St Catherine, chapel of 521  
     wall paintings 506, 508, 511–16  
     *see also Liber Eliensis*; Wulfstan II:  
         life and career: bones and relics;  
         death and burial  
 Emma, wife of Æthelred II and Cnut 5, 279, 298, 304, 378, 453–54, 459  
*Encomium Emmae Reginae* 453–54, 459  
 Enham 13, 15–16, 108 n.37, 462 n.4, 474 n.47  
     *see also* Wulfstan II: works: law-codes: V–VI Æthelred  
*Enucleatio Libelli* 175 n.35  
 Eormenhild, St 524  
 Eric Bloodaxe 468 n.22, 469  
 Erinyes *see* Furies  
 eschatology 5, 17–18, 95, 108, 368–69, 389 n.37, 413–28  
     *see also* Antichrist  
 Essex, James 504, 516  
 Ethelbald, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow 238, 247  
 Eucherius of Lyon 107 n.35  
 euhemerism 465, 477  
 Eusebius 272  
 Evenlode 168, 193, 203  
 Evesham 147–48, 151–52, 155–56, 163 nn.5, 6, 196  
*Evesham Chronicle* 151–52  
 Évreux 343  
*Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti see* Wulfstan II: works: other: canon law collection  
 Exeter 210 n.5, 321, 392–93, 417  
     bishops *see* Leofric  
*Exodus* (Old English poem) 497  
*Expositio officii* 330–31, 344, 351  
 Eynsham 353, 354 n.3, 362, 372, 464 n.9  
     *see also* Ælfric  
*Faccanlea* 203  
*Fæhha leage* 203  
 Fairburn 183  
 Farnley 184  
 fasting 97, 99, 187–88, 403, 411, 413, 419, 457, 484  
 Feckenham 144 n.16  
 Fenton 183, 218  
*festermen see* Ælfric Puttoc  
 Finborough 523  
 Fladbury 145 n.22, 193  
 Flaxley 183  
 Fleury 151, 346  
     *see also* Abbo  
 Florence of Worcester *see* John of Worcester  
 Forthred, abbot 256  
 Frampton 144 n.16  
 Frederick Barbarossa 24  
 Fretherne 491  
 Fretwell 493  
 Frig 491  
 Frigg 466  
 Frightwell 493  
 Fritton (Norfolk) 488  
 Fritton (Suffolk) 488  
 Fritwell 493  
 Fryston 183  
 Fryton 488  
 Fulbourn 523  
 Fulda 171 n.27  
 Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Vaast 238, 254–55  
 Furies 495–96  
 Gainsborough 233, 378, 381  
 Gamal, a tenant 182 nn.47, 48  
 Gardulf, a tenant 201  
 Gateforth 183  
 Gelasian Sacramentary 340 nn.60, 63, 344 n.78, 345  
 Gellone Sacramentary *see* manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12048  
*Genenofre* 199  
 George, St 403 n.23  
 Gerard, archbishop of York 22  
 Gerard of Cambrai 19  
 Gerbald of Liège *see* Ghaerbald of Liège  
 Gerbrand, bishop of Roskilde 67

- Gerefa* 12, 51 n.73, 164–65, 319 n.34  
 Ghaerbald of Liège 18, 276  
 Gildas 20, 23, 245–46, 391, 410  
*Gisferþesdæll* 182 n.49  
 Givendale 184  
 Glanvill 22  
 Glastonbury 148, 266 n.98, 357, 452 n.39  
 Gloucester 144  
     St Oswald's church 147, 156–58  
     St Peter's church 147, 153–55  
 Goding, a tenant 199  
 Godwine, (probably) ealdorman of Lindsey 147–48, 152, 155  
 Godwine, a tenant 173  
 Golder 203  
 Gooch, John 511, 516–17  
 Gorgons 496–97  
 gospelbooks *see* manuscripts: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 11 (Boulogne Gospels); Hanover, Kestner-Museum W.M.XXIa, 36 (Eadwig Gospels); London, British Library, Additional 34890 (Grimbald Gospels); London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.ii (Athelstan Gospels); London, British Library, Royal 1.D.ix; London, Lambeth Palace Library 1370 (MacDurnan's Gospels); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 869 (Arenberg Gospels); Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. 4°2 (Gundold Gospels); York, Minster Library, Additional 1 (York Gospels)  
 Gough, Richard 508, 514  
 Grantley 184  
 Gray, Walter de, archbishop of York 218  
 Greenhill 201  
 Gregorian Sacramentary 338, 340 nn.60, 62, 63, 341 n.65, 342 n.69, 344  
 Gregory the Great, pope 95, 107 n.34, 245, 252, 263, 354–55, 433, 438  
     *see also* Alfred; Wærferth  
 Gregory VII, pope 25  
*Grimanhyll* *see* Greenhill  
 Grimbald Gospels *see* manuscripts: London, British Library, Additional 34890  
 Grimley 170, 199  
*Grimnismál* 497–98  
 Guiseley 182 n.47  
 Gundold Gospels *see* manuscripts: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Bibl. 4°2  
 Guthlac, St 346 n.85, 402  
 Guthmund, a Viking leader 469  
 Guthrum, king of East Anglia 473  
 Haddlesey 183  
 Hadrian I, pope 263  
 Hæhstan, a tenant 201  
*Hákonarmál* 498  
 Halesowen 144 n.16, 145 n.22  
 Halitgar of Cambrai *see Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*  
 Hallatrow 490  
 Hallikeld 490  
 Halse 490 n.108  
 Hampton 197  
 Hampton Lucy 203  
 Hanbury 155–56, 195  
 'Handbook for the Use of a Confessor' 331 n.28, 401–02, 404, 407, 484 n.86  
 Hardwell 489  
 Hardwick 523  
 Harford 199  
 Harold Harefoot, king of England 453  
 Hartlebury 201  
 Hawkesbury 144, 153, 157  
 Hawksworth 184  
 Hayling 522  
 Haymo of Auxerre 272 n.109, 323 n.46, 433  
 Haymo of Halberstadt 272–75, 323 n.46  
 Headda, abbot 194–95  
 Heahberht, bishop of Worcester 192–93, 195, 203  
 hearth-penny 187  
 heathenism 5, 188, 385, 400 n.11, 410, 430, 433, 456, 458, 461–500  
 Heathored, bishop of Worcester 199  
*Hehferðe hegðe* 183  
*Hellerege* 203  
 Helperby 182 n.48  
 Hemming 162 n.3, 164–66, 171 nn.27, 28, 172 n.29, 175–76

- see also* manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii  
 Henbury 168, 197  
 Henry I, king of England 22  
 Henry II, king of England 19, 22  
 Henry VIII, king of England 13  
 Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester 521–22  
 Hereford, diocese of 143  
 Herimann II of Cologne 349  
 heriot 444–46, 451–52  
 Hertford, council of 239, 257 n.65, 258  
*Hesburie* 523  
 Hewick 184  
 Hickes, George 34  
 Higbald, bishop of Lindisfarne 237, 243  
 Higbert, archbishop of Lichfield 253, 263  
 Higlac, a priest 237  
 Hildebald of Cologne 25  
 Hillam 183  
 Himbleton 199  
 Hincmar of Rheims 25, 348  
 Hindlip 201  
     *see also* Smite  
 Hinton 522  
 Hirst 183  
 Hlothere and Eadric, kings of Kent  
     laws of 443 n.4, 447 n.11  
 Hoddington 522  
 Holdfast 201  
 Holy Oakes 491  
 Holywell 493  
 homilies *see* Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham; Bede; Blickling Homilies; Haymo of Auxerre; Homily Napier LVII; *In die iudicii*; Paul the Deacon; Wulfstan II: works: sermons; Vercelli Homilies  
 Homily Napier LVII 498 n.138  
 Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury 263  
 Hotham, John, bishop of Ely 516  
 How Hill 184  
 Hrabanus Maurus 107 n.35, 268 n.100, 272  
     *De institutione clericorum* 316, 329, 333, 351–52  
*Hrafnsmál* 497  
 Huddestone 183  
 Hugh, dean of York 212  
 Hugh Candidus 304 n.38  
 Hugh of Grandmesnil 144 n.17, 145 n.22  
 Hugh the Chanter 208 n.2, 209–11  
 Hugues I of Besançon 349  
 hundreds 488, 490, 492  
*Huneshom* 201  
*Huntena tun* 197  
 Hunter, John 516–17  
 Hurstingstone 492  
 Hutton 184  
*Hwætmundes stane* 193  
 Hwicce 143  
     bishops *see* Cenwald  
 Ilkley 182 n.47, 184  
 Impington 523  
*In die iudicii* (Homily Napier XL) 423–25  
 Ine, king of Wessex  
     laws of 18 n.23, 24, 443 n.4, 447 n.11, 448 n.14  
 Ingleby 468  
 Inkberrow 192–93, 201  
 Isidore of Seville 95, 107 nn.34, 35, 351, 371, 422  
 Itchington 199  
 Iustus, archbishop of Canterbury 263  
 Ivo, St 523  
 James, Richard 236, 257  
 Jarrow *see* Wearmouth and Jarrow  
 Jerome, St 107 n.34  
 Jesse of Amiens 106 nn.29, 30, 329, 351  
 John of Worcester 208 n.2, 234 n.51, 311, 381 n.20  
 Johnson, Maurice 508  
 Joseph, a correspondent of Alcuin 238, 248, 250  
 Jost, Karl 10, 43–44, 63, 71, 99 n.15, 103, 361–62, 364 n.42, 381 n.22, 393, 395 n.52, 416–17, 419, 424–26, 437, 472  
 Jostein, a Viking leader 469  
 Jove 465  
 judges and justice 97, 100, 120–23, 141, 143–44, 158–59, 187, 276, 355–56, 359–62, 403–04, 420, 430, 440, 450–51

- Judith of Flanders 306  
 Juno 465  
 Kali 497 n.131  
 Katherine, St 403 n.23  
 Kempsey 193  
 Kenelm, St 154  
 Ker, Neil 6, 11, 31, 42, 43 n.52, 66–67, 71, 165–67, 235, 245 n.26, 247, 335, 341, 416–17, 482  
 Kersoe 197  
*laenland* 172–73, 175–76  
 Lanalet Pontifical *see* manuscripts: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 368  
 Landferth 238, 254  
 Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury 25, 524  
 late West Saxon written language 32–43, 47 n.65, 50, 61  
 Laughern 201  
 Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury 263  
 law-codes *see* Æthelberht; Æthelred II; Æthelstan; Alfred; Cnut; Edgar; Hlothere and Eadric; Ine; Wihtræd; Wulfstan II: works: law-codes  
 ‘Law of King Edward’ 22  
 leases *see* charters  
 Ledsham 183  
 Leightonstone 492  
 Leo III, pope 239, 257, 261–63, 264 n.90  
 Leo of Vercelli 12  
 Leofenath, a tenant 201  
 Leofric, bishop of Exeter 210 n.5  
 Leofric Missal *see* manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579  
 Leofsige, abbot of Thorney and bishop of Worcester 142, 163 n.7, 285  
 Leofsine 249  
 Leofward, a tenant 203  
 Leofwine, tenant(s) 172, 201  
 Leppa, a tenant 197  
*Liber Eliensis* 13, 311, 387–88, 503, 506, 516, 519–24  
*Liber historialis* 522  
*Liber pontificalis* 351  
*Liber Wigorniensis* *see* manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii  
 Lichfield 253, 264 n.90  
 (arch)bishops *see* Higbert  
 diocese of 143, 155  
 Liebermann, Felix 14, 21  
 Liège 253  
*see also* Ghaerbald  
 Lincoln  
 diocese of 143, 146  
 St Paul in the Bail, church of 230 n.44  
 Lindisfarne 237, 241, 243, 400  
 bishops *see* Higbald  
 Lindisfarne Gospels, glosses to 53  
 Lindley 184  
 Littleton on Severn 144 n.16  
 Little Washbourne 193, 201  
 Little Witley 199, 201  
 liturgy 4, 6, 210 n.5, 214, 226, 234, 285 n.12, 315–16, 318, 322 n.43, 325–52, 360, 373, 377, 396, 411, 462–63  
*see also* baptism; bishops, consecration of; penance; Wulfstan II: works: other: *Old English Benedictine Office*  
 Liutgard, wife of Charlemagne 250  
 London 7, 193, 195, 313, 378, 470  
 bishops *see* Ælfhun; Ælfstan; Ælfwig; Alfward; Wulfstan II  
 St Paul’s church 22, 141, 165, 504  
*see also* Westminster  
 Longdon 203  
 Lotherton 183  
 Lower Wolverton 173 n.33, 199  
 Lumby 183  
 Luther, Martin 431  
 Lyfing, archbishop of Canterbury 298 n.27, 380  
 Lyfing, bishop of Worcester 142  
 MacDurnan’s Gospels *see* manuscripts: London, Lambeth Palace Library 1370  
 Mainz 24  
 council of 446 n.7  
 Maldon 503, 523

## manuscripts

Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale

11 (Boulogne Gospels) 297 n.26  
63 323, 364 n.44, 371

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale  
8558–63 321, 483 n.86

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College  
144 495

178 366–68, 370

188 370

190 10, 66 n.15, 94, 97, 99, 108,  
110–13, 246 n.29, 260–61, 264  
n.92, 317 n.29, 321, 330–31,  
337, 343, 347, 351–52

198 369

201 10, 14, 17, 30 n.4, 35 n.26, 60,  
69 n.24, 70 n.28, 71–90, 94–95,  
329 n.18, 332 n.33, 351, 361–  
62, 375 n.1, 376–77, 382–93,  
395, 397 n.2, 418, 424, 467  
n.18, 472 n.34, 474 n.49, 476,  
479 n.69, 483

265 10, 94, 100, 108, 110–13, 246  
n.29, 258, 276 n.117, 315, 321,  
327–28, 351–52, 371, 401

326 498

383 165

391 156

419 30 n.4, 69 n.24, 70 n.28, 71,  
77 n.57, 90 n.85, 375 n.1, 376–  
77, 382–89, 391–95, 397 n.2,  
423–24, 467 n.18, 479 n.69, 483

421 393–94, 417–22, 424, 426, 428

Cambridge, Pembroke College  
25 352

Cambridge, St John's College  
42 94, 97

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College  
100 (Sidney Sussex Pontifical)  
328, 338–39, 342

Cambridge, Trinity College

B.15.34 292 n.19

O.10.16 242 n.12

R.17.1 35 n.29

Cambridge, University Library  
EDC 1 506

Ff.1.23 35 n.29

Gg.3.28 34 n.24, 366

Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque Municipale  
31 97–98

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek

G.K.S. 1595 (4°) 31, 66 n.15, 67–  
70, 90, 94–100, 115–39, 239 n.8,  
265 n.94, 268 n.100, 321, 327–  
29, 351, 358 n.21, 359 n.25, 371

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca

T. I. 12 94

Hanover, Kestner-Museum

W.M.XXIa, 36 (Eadwig Gospels)  
286, 292, 298, 305–07

London, British Library

Additional 5834 508, 511, 514

Additional 34890 (Grimbald Gos-  
pels) 298, 300, 301 n.31, 302,  
305–06, 308 n.48

Additional 38651 31 n.6, 66 n.15

Additional 49598 (Benedictional of  
St Æthelwold) 281–82, 337

Additional 57337 (Anderson Ponti-  
fical) 340 nn.62, 63, 341 n.64,  
343 n.73, 344 nn.77, 78, 79, 80

Additional Ch. 19792 172–73

Arundel 155 (Eadwig Psalter) 286,  
292, 298

Cotton Claudius A.iii (Claudius  
Pontificals) 4, 14, 31 n.6, 66  
n.15, 328, 334–47, 350, 352

Cotton Cleopatra A.iii 495

Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii 35 n.28,  
392, 424

Cotton Cleopatra C.viii 297

Cotton Galba A.xv 522

Cotton Nero A.i 10, 30 n.4, 31 n.6,  
34 n.25, 57 n.87, 60–61, 66  
n.15, 69 n.24, 70 n.28, 71–90,  
95, 97, 99, 113, 265 n.94, 268  
n.100, 321, 330 n.23, 331, 351–  
52, 375 n.1, 376–77, 379 n.15,  
382–91, 393, 395, 397, 449  
n.18, 456 n.58, 467 n.18, 479  
n.69, 480, 483



- Cotton Tiberius A.ii (Athelstan Gospels) 305 n.41  
 Cotton Tiberius A.iii 392–93  
 Cotton Tiberius A.xiii 3, 31 n.6, 34 n.25, 66 n.15, 142, 149 n.37, 151, 161–76, 190–205, 239 n.8  
 Cotton Tiberius A.xv 242 n.12, 250, 252, 254 n.50, 255, 257 n.65, 266–67  
 Cotton Tiberius B.iv 53  
 Cotton Tiberius B.v 255, 496  
 Cotton Tiberius B.xi 35 n.29  
 Cotton Titus D.xxvi and xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook) 305  
 Cotton Vespasian A.xiv 3, 24–25, 31 n.6, 66 n.15, 161 n.1, 235–78, 313 n.11, 321, 356  
 Cotton Vespasian D.ii 94, 97  
 Cotton Vespasian D.xv 330  
 Cotton Vitellius A.xv 496  
 Harley 55 31 n.6, 66 n.15, 186–87, 189–90  
     *see also* Oswald memorandum  
 Harley 229 163 n.5  
 Harley 2892 (Canterbury Benedictional) 341 nn.66, 67, 345 nn.82, 83  
 Harley 6841 177 n.41  
 Royal 1.D.ix 298 n.27, 305 n.41  
 Royal 2.B.v 47 n.65  
 Royal 7.C.xii 34 n.24  
 Royal 8.C.iii 329 n.21  
 Stowe 944 (*Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester) 305  
 London, Lambeth Palace Library  
     1370 (MacDurnan's Gospels) 305 n.41  
 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library  
     M 869 (Arenberg Gospels) 305–06  
 Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale  
     127 (Winchcombe Sacramentary) 154  
 Oxford, All Souls College  
     114 522 n.51  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library  
     Ashmole 328 394  
     Auctarium F.4.32 (St Dunstan's Classbook) 281–82  
     Barlow 37 94, 97, 100, 108, 110–13, 246 n.29, 258, 276 n.117, 351–52  
     Bodley 343 69 n.24, 70 n.28, 375 n.1, 376–77, 382–89, 391–93, 395, 397 n.2, 434 n.23, 467 n.18, 479 n.69, 483  
     Bodley 579 (Leofric Missal) 340 n.62, 341 nn.65, 66, 67, 344 n.78, 345 n.82  
     Bodley 614 496 n.129  
     Bodley 718 261 n.78, 321  
     Digby 146 496, 498  
     Gough Maps 2 504  
     Gough Maps 225 508–09, 512, 514  
     Hatton 20 31 n.6, 34 n.25, 35–43, 66 n.15, 245 n.23  
     Hatton 42 31 n.6, 43 n.52, 66 n.15, 372  
     Hatton 76 41  
     Hatton 93 330  
     Hatton 113 30 n.4, 35 n.26, 57 n.87, 60–61, 69 n.24, 70 n.28, 71, 72 n.42, 73 n.46, 75 n.53, 77 n.57, 81 n.65, 86 n.72, 87 n.74, 88 n.76, 89 n.79, 90 n.85, 94–95, 156, 369, 375 n.1, 376–77, 382–91, 393, 395, 397 n.2, 418, 424, 449 n.18, 456 n.58, 467 n.18, 479 n.69, 480, 483  
     Hatton 114 35 n.28, 369  
     Hatton 115 366, 368–70  
     Hatton 116 367, 369  
     Junius 11 69 n.26  
     Junius 121 30 n.4, 71, 277 n.121, 321, 332 n.33, 333 n.37, 352, 369, 387 n.30, 472 n.34, 477, 483  
     Laud Misc. 509 358  
     Laud Misc. 636 470 n.28  
     Top. Eccles. d.6 508, 510  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale  
     lat. 943 (Dunstan Pontifical) 282 n.5, 340 nn.62, 63, 341 nn.64,

- 67, 343 n.73, 344 nn. 77, 78, 79, 80  
 lat. 3182 321  
 lat. 5362 323 n.45  
 lat. 10575 (Egbert Pontifical) 327–28, 337, 339, 340 nn.62, 63, 341 nn.65, 66, 343, 344 nn.77, 78, 79, 80, 345 n.82, 346 n.85, 351–52  
 lat. 12048 (Gellone Sacramentary) 344 n.77  
 lat. 12052 (Ratoldus Sacramentary) 337, 342 n.70, 343 n.73, 352  
 Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 274 (Missal of Robert of Jumièges) 345 n.82  
 368 (Lanalet Pontifical) 343 n.73, 344 nn.78, 79, 80  
 369 (Benedictional of Archbishop Robert) 340 nn.62, 63, 341 n.64, 344 nn.77, 78, 79, 80  
 1382 66 n.15, 97, 321, 330, 347, 351–52  
 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek  
 Bibl. 4<sup>o</sup>2 (Gundold Gospels) 306 n.44  
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
 Reg. lat 338 328  
 Reg. lat 612 328 n.13  
 Vat. lat. 4322 258  
 Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare LXXVI 258  
 Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa I.3311 (Warsaw Lectionary) 307 n.47  
 York, Minster Library  
 Additional 1 (York Gospels) 3, 31 n.6, 66 n.15, 211–12, 214–18, 234, 265 nn.93, 94, 279–308, 334, 416 n.18, 481–82  
*see also* Wulfstan II: works: sermons: Napier LIX; Napier LX; Napier LXI; other: Cnut's 1020 Letter to the English; York surveys
- Markington 184  
 marriage 97–98, 100, 123–25, 354, 357–58, 373, 420–21, 435, 443–60  
 bride price 444, 446, 448, 456, 459  
 morning gift 444, 447, 451, 455–56  
*see also* adultery; widows  
 Mars 465  
 Marsh 199  
 Marshfield 145 n.22  
 Martin, St, of Tours 402  
 Martin of Braga 464  
 Martley 144 n.16  
*Marvels of the East* 496  
 Mary, cult of the Virgin 451, 453  
 Matlock 491  
 Menston 184  
 Mercury 465, 467  
 Micklefield 183  
 Middleton 184  
 Milford 183  
 Millbrook 522  
 millenarianism 5, 17–18, 21  
*see also* eschatology  
 Milred, bishop of Worcester 193–95  
 Missal of Robert of Jumièges *see* manuscripts: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 274  
 Mondsee 171 n.27  
 Monkton 184  
*morð* 20  
 Moreton 201  
 morning gift *see* marriage  
 Morrigu 497 n.131  
 Moseley 170, 199  
 Mottistone 492  
 Myton 182 n.48
- Napier, Arthur 10, 14, 17, 63, 95–96, 415, 422  
 Navisford 488 n.102  
 Netherton 197  
 Newbold 201  
 Newthorpe 183  
 Nigel, bishop of Ely 520  
 Nigel the doctor 145 n.22  
 Norman conquest 2, 15, 21–23, 207–09, 391  
 Normandy 94, 378, 470

- North Stainley 182 n.48, 184  
*Northumbrian Priests' Law* 12, 51 n.73,  
 319 n.34, 457 n.66, 472, 474 n.46,  
 478–79, 486–88, 490, 492–93, 498  
 Northumbrian revolt (1065) 25  
 Norwich 503  
 Notgrove 195  
 Nunwick 184  
 Nuthurst 203  
*Nyrran Stanlege* 184  
 obit lists 156  
 Oda, archbishop of Canterbury 348  
*Constitutiones* 236, 239, 245 n.26,  
 257, 260–62, 266, 268  
 Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin 238, 254–  
 55, 265  
 Odda, earl of the western shires 153  
 Oddingley 201  
 Odo, bishop of Bayeux 280–81  
 Óðinn 465–66, 468 n.22, 469 n.27, 497  
 Offa, king of Mercia 192, 194, 196, 198,  
 202, 252–53, 263  
 Offfor, bishop of Worcester 193  
 Olaf Guthfrithsson, king of York 312 n.8  
 Olaf Tryggvason 469  
 Old Norse language 51–53, 435, 456  
 n.63, 466, 471, 475, 487 n.98, 488,  
 490–91, 497–98  
*see also wælcyrrie*  
 Ombersley 145 n.22  
*Ordo romanus* 339, 347  
 Ordwulf, a kinsman of Æthelred II 452  
 Orosius 499  
 Orwell 489  
 Osbald, a correspondent of Alcuin 237,  
 242  
 Osbert, a correspondent of Alcuin 237,  
 242  
 Osbert of Clare 524 n.61  
 Oscytel, archbishop of York 177, 234  
 Oshere, king of the Hwicce 194  
 Osmund, a Swedish bishop 503, 519, 523  
 Osred, a tenant 195  
 Osulf, a tenant 173 n.32, 199, 201  
 Oswald, St, bishop of Worcester and  
 archbishop of York 2, 142, 148–52,  
 154–55, 157, 164, 166, 172–73, 176–  
 77, 182, 198, 200, 202, 204, 226, 234,  
 310, 312 n.10, 325, 328, 338, 346, 348  
 Oswald memorandum 162, 176–79, 182–  
 84, 186–87, 189–90, 211  
 Othin *see* Óðinn  
 Otley 177, 179–82, 184–85, 214–15, 285  
 Otto I 258  
 Otto III 12 n.4  
 Over 205  
 Overbury 145 n.22  
 Oxford 5, 14, 19, 379, 418–19  
*see also* Wulfstan II: works: law-  
 codes: Cnut 1018  
 paganism *see* heathenism  
 Pallig, brother-in-law of Swein Forkbeard  
 470–71  
 pallium 24–25, 252–54, 261–65, 380  
*see also* Wulfstan II: works: other:  
 ‘Letter of Protest’  
 Pampisford 523  
 papacy 24–25, 257, 261–65, 267–68  
 popes *see* Gregory the Great; Gregory  
 VII; Hadrian I; Leo III; Paul I  
 Paris, council of 446 n.7  
 Parker, Matthew, archbishop of Canter-  
 bury 418  
 Passau 171 n.27  
 patronage 279–82, 285, 298, 300–01,  
 303–08  
 Paul I, pope 238, 241, 256–57, 266  
 Paul the Deacon 274–75, 323 n.46  
 Paulinus, archbishop of York 227, 263  
 Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia 239, 247,  
 250–51  
 Peace of God movement 17  
 Pegglesworth 205  
 penance 4, 315, 331 n.28, 332, 337, 342,  
 344, 350, 352, 397, 401–04, 407–08,  
 411, 414, 432, 437 n.31, 446, 448  
 n.14, 455, 457, 483–85, 488, 494  
*see also* ‘Handbook for the Use of a  
 Confessor’; Wulfstan II: works:  
 other: penitential letters  
 Pendock 201

- Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert* 315, 483–87, 493–94, 499  
*Penitential of Pseudo-Theodore* 315  
 Pensax 204  
 Pershore 144 n.16, 145 n.22, 147, 152–53, 155, 157  
 Peterborough 12–13, 156, 230, 234, 297 nn.24, 26, 304  
 Pirmin of Reichenau 71, 96, 100  
 place-names 468, 487–93, 499  
 plough-arms 187, 431  
 Plumbland 488  
 Polhampton 522  
 pontificals *see* manuscripts: Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 100 (Sidney Sussex Pontifical); London, British Library, Additional 57337 (Anderson Pontifical); London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.iii (Claudius Pontificals); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 943 (Dunstan Pontifical); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10575 (Egbert Pontifical); Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 368 (Lanalet Pontifical); Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 369 (Benedictional of Archbishop Robert)  
 Poole 184  
 popes *see* papacy  
 Poppleton 182 n.48  
 Poulton 197  
 Powick 145 n.22  
 Prestbury 145 n.22  
*Primum in ordine* 330, 351  
 prognostication *see* divination  
 Prudentius 297  
 Pseudo-Alcuin 107 nn.34, 35  
 Pseudo-Cyprian 450 n.24  
 Pseudo-Isidore 258  
 Pseudo-Theodore *see Penitential of Pseudo-Theodore*  
*Purity* (Middle English poem) 498 n.138  
 Pyrton 194–95  
     *see also* Golder  
*Quadripartitus* (Anglo-Norman law-book) 14, 22  
*Quadripartitus* (Carolingian canon law manual) 261  
 Radulf of Bourges 18  
 Ramsey 148, 152, 154, 328, 338, 346, 523  
     *see also* Byrhtferth  
 Ramsey Chronicle 147  
 rape 407, 409–10  
 Rather of Verona 107 n.35  
 Ratoldus Sacramentary *see* manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12052  
*Readanoran* 194  
 Rebais 258  
*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* 12, 51 n.73, 164–65, 319 n.34  
 Redmarley D'Abitot 173–74, 201  
 Regenbald, a priest 145 n.22, 146, 157–58  
 Regensburg 171 n.27  
 Reginald of Durham 488  
 Regino of Prüm 322  
*Regularis concordia* 310, 315–17, 322, 326, 330 n.22, 347, 352, 371  
*Regula Sancti Benedicti* 104 n.25, 113, 154–55, 306  
     *see also* Æthelwold  
 Repton 468  
 Rettendon 523  
 Rheims 19  
 Richard, duke of Normandy 378  
 Ridda, a tenant 193  
 Ripon 150 n.53, 177, 179–82, 184–85, 214–15, 228, 285, 487  
 Ripple 145 n.22, 195  
 Rochester 369, 452  
 Rogationtide 99, 363  
 Rollright Stones 492  
 Romano-German Pontifical 331–32, 340 n.63, 341 n.65, 349, 352  
 Rome 209, 227, 243 n.17, 255, 261, 263, 265 n.93, 380  
 Rome-money 431  
 Roseberry Topping 468 n.23  
 Roskilde 67, 321  
 Rudston 492  
 Rufinus 272  
 Rumwell 489  
 Runwell 489

- Saberton 199  
 Sachs, Hans 431 n.7  
 St Albans 230  
 Saint-Bertin 238, 254–55  
 St Brice's Day (13 November 1002) 241, 377, 470  
 St David's, bishopric of 205  
 Saint-Denis 153  
 St Dunstan's Classbook *see* manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F.4.32  
 St Paul's church *see* London  
 St Peter's Pence *see* Rome-money  
 Saint-Vaast 238, 254  
 sanctuary 187, 487–88, 491  
     *see also* Wulfstan II: works: other: *Grið*  
 Saturn 465  
 Sawley 184  
 Scott, Gilbert 504  
 scribes, Wulfstan's *see* Wulfstan's scribes  
 Seaxburh, St 524  
 Sedgeberrow 145 n.22  
 Selby 183  
*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* *see* Wulfstan II: works: sermons: Bethurum XX  
 Servatus Lupus 24  
 Severn Stoke 145 n.22  
 Sherborne 312 n.10, 314, 357  
     bishops *see* Aldhelm; Wulfsig  
 Sherburn-in-Elmet 177, 179–83, 185–86, 214–15, 217–18, 233–34, 285  
 Shireoaks 491  
 Shottery 203  
 Shrewsbury  
     St Chad's church 155  
 Sidbury  
     St Peter's church 157  
 Sidney Sussex Pontifical *see* manuscripts: Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 100  
 Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury 238, 254–55, 265, 357, 469  
 Sigeward, correspondent of Ælfric 315, 358, 364, 366–67  
 'Simeon' *see* Eanbald II  
 Simon, bishop of Worcester 150 n.53  
 simony 249–50, 264 nn.90, 92, 265, 267, 276  
 Skyrack 491  
 Sleningford 184  
 Smaragdus 107 n.35  
 Smite 172, 199  
 Smith, John 429–30  
 Snorri Sturluson 497–98  
 Society of Antiquaries 508, 516–17  
 Soham 523  
 Somers, John 173 n.33  
 Somersham 523  
*Soul and Body I* 403  
 soul-scot 187, 431–32  
 Southam Delabere 205  
 Southampton 469  
 Southwell  
     St Mary's church 162 n.3, 228  
 Spaldwick 523  
 Spelman, Henry 15  
 Spetchley 193  
 Stainburn 182 n.47  
 'Standard Old English' *see* late West Saxon written language  
 state, the English 2, 21–25  
 Steeton 183  
 Stephen, king of England 519–20  
 Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury 156 n.82, 158  
 Stoce 197  
 Stoke Bishop 197, 199  
 Stoke Orchard 205  
 Stonegrave 256  
 Stoneham 522  
 Stour in *Ismere* *see* *Sture* in *Ismere*  
 Stratford-upon-Avon 202–03  
 Stubbs, William 236, 257, 262  
 Studley 184  
 Stukeley, William 508, 510–12, 514  
*Sture* 202  
*Sture* in *Ismere* 197, 202  
 Sulpicius Severus 402 n.20  
 Sunday observance 187, 486  
 Sutton Grange 184  
 Swein Forkbeard, king of Denmark and England 27, 233, 378, 380–82, 387, 396, 435, 470

- Swithun, St, bishop of Winchester 223  
     n.27, 254  
 Symeon of Durham 208 n.2, 212, 304  
     n.38, 381  
 Tacitus 467–68  
 Talton 201  
 Tapenhall 201  
 Taunton Deane 490  
*Taxatio Papae Nicholai* 146  
 Teddington 173 n.32, 201  
 Ten Commandments 96, 360  
*Teodeces leage* 203  
 Teversham 523  
 theft 20, 256, 261, 400, 443 n.4, 448  
     n.14, 495  
 Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury  
     Penitential 446 n.10, 455–56  
 Theodosius 435  
 Theodulf of Orléans 18, 268 n.100, 315,  
     329, 351  
*Theofecan Hyl* 201  
 Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York  
     154, 156 n.82, 209, 218–19, 222–24,  
     233  
 Thomas II, archbishop of York 218 n.16  
 Thored, donor to Claudius Pontifical I  
     335  
 Thored, earl of southern Northumbria  
     177, 179, 182, 187, 189  
 Thorkell, earl of East Anglia 284, 378,  
     470–71  
 Thorne 201  
 Thorney 285  
 Thornton 184  
 Thorpe 183  
 Three Orders 18–19, 21, 364 n.43  
*Thureth* (Old English poem) 335  
 Thurstan, a thegn 456 n.63  
 Tibberton 199  
 Tiddington 203  
 Tidmington 176, 201  
 tiles 230–32  
 Tillotson, John, archbishop of Canterbury  
     429 n.1, 440  
*Timbingtun* 195  
 Timble 184  
 Tisiphone 495–96  
 tithes 97, 99–100, 115–20, 187, 255 n.57,  
     413, 431  
 Tolladine 193  
 Toseland 488 n.102  
 Tovi, a priest 144 n.17, 145 n.22  
 Tredington 145 n.22, 193  
     *see also* Longdon  
 Triplow 523  
 Trumpington 523  
*Tyreltune* 195  
 Tyson, Michael 508–09, 511–15  
 Uhtred, king of the Hwicce 192, 194  
 Ulf, horn of *see* York: Ulf, horn of  
 Upton (Warwickshire) 145 n.22, 156  
 Upton in Blockley (Gloucestershire) 192  
 Upton in Tetbury (Gloucestershire) 199  
 Upton-upon-Severn (Gloucestershire) 199  
 Valhalla 468 n.22, 497  
 Venus 466, 496  
 Vercelli Homilies 50, 423  
 Viðarr 469 n.27  
 Vikings *see* Danes  
*wælcyrrie* 51 n.73, 480–81, 495–99  
 Wærfeth, bishop of Worcester 192–93,  
     195–96, 198–99, 202  
     translation of Gregory the Great's *Dia-*  
     *logues* 41  
*Wærsetfelda see* *Wearsetfelda*  
 Walafrid Strabo 107 n.35  
 Walpole 523  
 Walter, abbot of Evesham 194  
 Walter the deacon 144 n.17, 145 n.22  
 Wanley, Humfrey 10  
 Wantage 20  
     *see also* Æthelred II, laws of  
 wapentakes 488, 490–91  
 Waresley 199  
 Warsaw Lectionary *see* manuscripts:  
     Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa I.3311  
 Waterbeach 508  
 Water Eaton 195  
 Watlington 195  
 Wearmouth and Jarrow 237–38, 243  
     *see also* Bede; Ethelbald

- Wearset felda* 193  
 wergild 447  
*Werstfelda* *see* *Wearset felda*  
 Werwulf, a tenant 197  
 Westbury-on-Trym 148, 168, 196–97  
 West Meon 522  
 Westminster  
     abbey 153, 230, 312 n.10, 357, 366, 524  
     St Stephen's chapel 511  
 Westwick 184  
 Whitelock, Dorothy 3, 6, 10, 12, 14, 29–30, 33 n.17, 37 n.31, 51, 65, 236, 262 n.82, 266 n.96, 309–10, 313, 359, 362, 364 n.42, 366, 373 n.68, 374 n.71, 389, 390 n.39, 393, 395 n.52, 416, 431, 437, 456 n.63, 473 n.42, 480  
 Whithorn 238  
 Whitlinge 201  
 Whittington 193, 201  
 Wick Episcopi 195, 199  
 Wido, abbot of Blandinium 239, 247, 249, 251, 254–55, 265  
 widows 5, 100, 127–28, 437, 443–60  
*Wifmannes Bewedding* 456–59  
 Wiglaf, king of Mercia 194  
 Wihtburh, St 524  
 Wihthelm, a tenant 203  
 Wihtræd, king of Kent  
     laws of 18 n.23, 24  
 Wilfrid, St, archbishop of York 150 n.53, 193, 196, 211, 227  
     *see also* Ripon  
 Wilhelm of Mainz 348–49  
 William, a priest 145 n.22  
 William of Malmesbury 14, 22, 311  
     *Vita Wulfstani* 144, 149, 156–57, 164 n.8, 297 n.24  
 William I, king of England 22, 25, 158, 208 n.2, 209, 508  
     *see also* Norman conquest  
 William II, king of England 196  
 Willigis of Mainz 24–25  
 Willis, Browne 506–07  
 wills 147, 266 n.96, 304, 451–52, 455  
 Wilsill 184  
 Wilstan, abbot of Gloucester 154  
 Winchcombe 147–48, 154  
 Winchcombe Sacramentary *see* manuscripts: Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale 127  
 Winchester 2–3, 10, 13, 19, 34 n.24, 94, 208 n.1, 224 n.30, 230, 253–54, 266, 304, 336, 347, 353, 357 n.18, 379, 381 n.22, 391, 494  
     bishops *see* Ælfheah; Æthelwold; Henry of Blois; Swithun  
     cathedral 208 n.1, 223 n.27, 521–22  
     diocese of 143  
     New Minster 94, 305, 308 n.48  
     Old Minster 208 n.1, 219 n.19, 227, 238, 254, 521  
     St Swithun's Priory 522  
     *see also* Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham; 'Winchester group'; 'Winchester School'  
     'Winchester group' 2, 41 n.45, 47–50, 54, 61  
     'Winchester School' 297  
 Winfred, bishop 195  
 Wisbech 523  
 Wissembourg 171 n.27  
 Wistow 183, 218  
*witan* 4, 108, 233, 378–82, 385–87, 389, 391, 396, 419, 459, 469  
 Withington 145 n.22, 194–96, 204  
     *see also* Cassey Compton  
 Witney 522  
 Wolverley 145 n.22  
 Wolverton 201  
     *see also* Lower Wolverton  
 Woodbridge 523  
 Woodchester 196–97, 199  
 Woodstock 474 n.45  
 Wootton 203  
 Worcester 2–3, 7, 13–14, 108, 141–59, 161–76, 190–205, 234, 304  
     bishops *see* Alhhun; Brihtheah; Deneberht; Ealdred; Ealdwulf; Ecgwine; Heahberht; Heathored; Leofsige; Lyfing; Milred; Oftfor; Oswald; Simon; Wærferth; Wulfstan II; Wulfstan II, St

- clergy and community 142–45, 149–51, 156–59, 161–64, 233, 348
- diocese of 22, 143–47, 155–59, 162 n.3, 228
- manuscripts associated with 11, 22, 30, 33 n.17, 34–35, 53, 66–67, 71, 94, 96, 110, 151, 211–12, 239 n.8, 321, 327–28, 334 n.39, 337, 346, 366–67, 369, 371–72, 391
- see also* manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°); London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.xiii; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xv; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 93; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10575 (Egbert Pontifical)
- St Mary's church 149–51, 195, 197, 199, 226
- St Michael's church 149, 226
- St Peter's church 149–51, 193, 197, 199, 203, 226
- see also* Hemming; John of Worcester; Wulfstan's scribes
- writs *see* charters
- Wulfbald, a thegn 451 n.32
- Wulfgar, abbot of Abingdon 451, 452 n.39
- Wulfgar, tenant(s) 157, 199
- Wulfgeat, a correspondent of Ælfric 400
- Wulfgeat, a scribe 30 n.4
- Wulfgeat, a tenant 199
- Wulfgeat, a thegn of Æthelred II 452
- Wulfgifu, a sister of Wulfstan 163 n.6
- Wulfgifu, a tenant 173 n.33, 199
- Wulfhard, abbot 238, 240
- Wulfheah, a tenant 201
- Wulfheard, a tenant 193
- Wulfhelm, a tenant 205
- Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury 236, 266
- see also* Chelsea, council of
- Wulfric, a tenant 203
- Wulfric Spot 452 n.37
- Wulfsgige, bishop of Sherborne 312 n.10, 314, 357–58, 362–63, 366, 372, 374
- Wulfstan of Dalham, a thegn 13
- Wulfstan's scribes 30, 34, 64–66, 70, 142, 172, 239–40, 254 n.50, 257 n.65, 266 nn.95, 98, 268, 304
- see also* Wulfgeat
- Wulfstan studies, historiography of 1–2, 10–12, 21, 63–65, 236, 309–10
- see also* Bateson, Mary; Bethurum, Dorothy; Cross, James E.; Jost, Karl; Ker, Neil; Liebermann, Felix; Whitelock, Dorothy
- Wulfstan I, archbishop of York 312 n.8
- Wulfstan II, bishop of London, bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of York 'commonplace book' 4, 10–11, 96, 100–01, 108, 113, 246, 314 n.18, 315, 317, 320–24, 326–34, 343, 346–47, 350–52, 370–71, 401–02
- see also* manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°); London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.i; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121; Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1382
- handwriting 6, 11, 31, 66–67, 96, 98, 100, 167–70, 173, 175, 177–79, 188, 214–15, 235, 239 n.8, 240,



- 242, 245 nn.23, 26, 247, 251, 257  
n.65, 258–60, 265 n.94, 268, 270,  
284, 335, 356, 358 n.21, 371–72,  
388, 389 n.37, 416, 481–82
- language 2, 29–61  
dialect 31–43, 46–47  
*see also* late West Saxon written  
language  
orthography 2, 30–43, 50, 258  
*see also* Wulfstan's scribes  
punctuation 2, 63–91  
style and rhetoric 2, 7, 29, 38–39,  
42, 54–61, 63–91, 105–07, 361,  
374, 380, 383–85, 388–89, 392–  
93, 395, 425, 437, 459, 481  
syntax 43–45, 58, 69  
vocabulary 43–53, 56–61, 400,  
405–07, 423, 425–26, 430–35,  
437–39, 461, 473–75, 479 n.69,  
481 n.75, 487, 494–99
- life and career 1, 7, 12–13, 93, 311–  
12, 353, 413–14  
as an abbot? 311  
as (arch)bishop 2, 4, 6–7, 24, 101–  
14, 236, 244, 254, 266–67, 316,  
325–52, 354–62, 372, 381–82,  
385, 409  
as Archbishop of York 3, 53, 141,  
161–64, 176–89, 207–67, 279–  
80, 307, 311–12, 335, 376–88,  
413, 469–70  
as Bishop of London 4–5, 13, 17,  
41, 53 n.76, 141, 165, 239, 257,  
311–13, 335, 338–39, 366, 369,  
374 n.71, 413, 469–70, 476  
as Bishop of Worcester 2–3, 96,  
141–59, 161–76, 190–205, 285,  
311–12, 335, 469–70  
as estate administrator 3, 161–205,  
211, 215, 275, 285  
as homilist *see* works: sermons  
as legislator *see* works: law-codes  
as a monk? 13, 311–12, 347–48  
as reformer 4, 152, 154–55, 159,  
309–24, 346–48, 449–50  
as royal counsellor 23, 241, 244,  
275, 284, 309, 313, 318, 320,  
353, 378–79, 385–88, 413, 444,  
459–60, 470  
bones and relics 5, 504, 506, 511–  
12, 516–21  
death and burial 5, 12–13, 33 n.16,  
67, 234, 428, 503, 520  
family 13, 163–64, 234, 456, 524  
intellectual development 1–2, 7,  
15–21, 241, 413–14  
poems about 161, 202, 235–36,  
238, 239 n.8, 240–41  
religious sensibility 5, 7, 373–74,  
429–41  
interest in saints' cults 336–37,  
346–47, 368  
*see also* covenant theology  
reputation 5–6, 13–14, 161, 163–  
64, 280, 308, 369, 387–88, 413,  
520, 524
- literary culture  
audience 51, 95–96, 101, 108, 275,  
332, 419  
Latinity 2, 4, 7, 68–90, 93–139,  
374, 415  
Old English poetry, links with 60–  
61, 73  
pen-name 312–13  
preaching 2, 4, 7, 64, 93, 95–96,  
101, 233, 349–50, 382, 416,  
418–19, 475 n.50  
use of sources 3–4, 7, 16, 71, 95–  
96, 99–100, 108, 247, 250,  
257, 260, 265, 267, 271–75,  
314–15, 329, 362–70, 374,  
461, 463–67  
*see also* Adso of Montier-en-Der;  
Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham;  
Alcuin; Amalarius of Metz;  
Ansegisus; Atto of Vercelli;  
Augustine of Hippo; Bede;  
Bible; Caesarius of Arles;  
Ghaerbald of Liège; Gregory  
the Great; Haymo of Hal-  
berstadt; Hrabanus Maurus;  
Isidore of Seville; Jesse of  
Amiens; *Penitential of*  
*Pseudo-Egbert*; *Penitential of*

- Pseudo-Theodore*; Pirmin of Reichenau; Radulf of Bourges; *Regula Sancti Benedicti*; Theodulf of Orléans
- works
- chronology 16, 26–27, 365–70, 462 n.3, 464 n.9
  - law-codes 14–15, 56–57, 301, 303, 349–50, 387, 390, 400, 403–04, 413, 415, 430, 454
  - Æthelred codes 10, 319, 403, 449, 458, 486
  - V–VI Æthelred 13–16, 18, 26–27, 57 n.88, 104 n.25, 108 n.37, 262 n.83, 335, 400 n.14, 417, 420, 431, 439 n.45, 443 n.4, 444, 450, 462, 474, 480, 494
  - VII Æthelred 14–15, 18, 26, 325, 377, 383, 385, 396, 411, 462–63
  - VIII Æthelred 17–18, 26, 378–79, 400 n.14, 474 nn.45, 49
  - IX Æthelred 474
  - Cnut 1018 14, 19–20, 27, 379, 418–19, 444 n.5, 449, 474 n.47, 480
  - I–II Cnut 5, 10, 15, 19–20, 22–25, 27, 56 n.86, 57 n.88, 303 n.36, 319, 379, 391, 394, 396, 403, 416–19, 439 n.43, 443–48, 454–60, 464, 478, 480, 486, 490, 492–94, 499
  - see also Quadripartitus* (Anglo-Norman law-book)
- sermons
- Bazire and Cross Homily 8 (?) 363
  - Bethurum Ia *De Anticristo* 26, 65 n.11, 94–95, 106, 369, 422–23, 428
  - Bethurum Ib *De Anticristo* 26, 53 n.76, 65 n.11, 95, 106, 369, 417, 424, 426–28
  - Bethurum II *Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Matheum* 26, 55–56, 65 n.11, 369, 428
  - Bethurum III *Secundum Lucam* 26, 65 n.11, 369, 417–18, 427 n.71, 428
  - Bethurum IV *De temporibus Anticristi* 26, 65 n.11, 363, 369–70, 417, 421–22, 424, 428, 473
  - Bethurum V *Secundum Marcum* 26, 35 n.26, 57 n.87, 65 n.11, 363–64, 367, 369–70, 385 n.28, 417, 424, 427–28, 475–76
  - Bethurum VI *Incipiunt sermones Lupi episcopi* 26, 69 n.24, 70, 102–03, 363, 374, 400 n.11, 438, 476, 487, 492
  - Bethurum VII *De fide catholica* 26, 59 n.96, 70, 72 n.40, 363, 479, 485
  - Bethurum VIIa *To eallum folke* 26, 70, 72 n.40
  - Bethurum VIIa *Incipit de baptisma* 26, 70, 94–96, 100, 106, 268 n.100, 329, 332, 344, 351, 472 n.37
  - Bethurum VIIb *Dominica IIIa vel quando volueris* 26, 70, 72 n.40, 95, 325, 329, 363, 456 n.58
  - Bethurum VIIc *Sermo de baptisate* 26, 70, 72 n.40, 95–96, 100, 325, 329, 332, 363–64, 405 n.31, 472–73, 476, 490, 493
  - Bethurum IX *De septiformi spiritu* 26, 36 n.30, 69 n.24, 70, 106, 364, 393 n.45, 422–24
  - Bethurum Xa *De regula canonicorum* 26, 70–71, 315–16
  - Bethurum Xb *De cristianitate* 26, 57 n.87, 70–90, 94–96, 260 n.74, 261, 364, 476
  - Bethurum Xc *Her ongynd be cristendome* 26, 69 n.24, 70–90, 96, 261, 364, 395, 449 n.18, 473, 476

- Bethurum XI *Incipit de visione Isaie prophete quam vidit super Iudam et Hierusalem* 23 n.36, 26, 57 n.87, 69 n.24, 70, 95–96, 393 n.45, 449 n.18
- Bethurum XII *De falsis deis* 26, 36 n.30, 70, 303 n.36, 363, 367–68, 374, 463–68, 477, 485, 493, 499
- Bethurum XIII *Sermo ad populum* 26, 59 n.96, 69 n.24, 70, 425, 473, 479
- Bethurum XIV *Sermo in .XL.* 26, 70, 325, 332
- Bethurum XV *Sermo de cena Domini* 26, 56 n.86, 70, 316, 325, 331 n.28, 332, 437 n.31
- Bethurum XVIa *Verba Ezechielis prophete de pastoribus non recte agentibus* 23 n.36, 26, 70, 95–96, 103–05
- Bethurum XVIb *Verba Ezechiel prophete de pigris aut timidis vel negligentibus pastoribus* 23 n.36, 26, 70, 96, 103–04, 381
- Bethurum XVII *Lectio secundum Lucam* 27, 35 n.28, 69 n.24, 70, 101, 104–05, 325, 332, 376, 381–82
- Bethurum XVIII *De dedicatione ecclesiae* 13, 27, 35 n.28, 49 n.67, 69 n.24, 70, 325, 332, 363, 478
- Bethurum XIX *Be godcundre warnunge* 23 n.36, 26, 438
- Bethurum XX *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* 2, 4, 10, 15, 17, 22, 26–27, 65 n.11, 71, 309, 316, 375–411, 417, 420, 427 n.71, 430–31, 434 n.23, 438–39, 456, 467–68, 470, 479–81, 483, 486, 495, 499
- date 10, 13, 376–77, 431
- Gildas 20, 246, 391, 410
- manuscripts 375 n.1, 376–77, 382, 388–92, 397, 411, 467 n.18
- performance context 4, 233–34, 375–88, 396
- reuse 376, 379 n.15, 392–95
- shame and repentance 4, 382–83, 385–87, 397–411
- social (dis)order 19, 383–87, 396, 398, 400, 407, 409, 449
- style and rhetoric 29, 55–56, 57 n.87, 60–61, 64 n.5, 69 n.24, 70 n.28, 375–76, 383–85, 388–89, 396, 398
- three versions 388–92, 414–15
- Bethurum XXI *Her is gyt rihtlic warnung ȝ soðlic myngung þeode to þearfe* 23 n.36, 26, 71, 405 n.31
- Napier I 204
- Napier II *see* Bethurum VI
- Napier III *see* Bethurum VII
- Napier IV *see* Bethurum VIIIa
- Napier V *see* Bethurum VIIIc
- Napier VI *see* Bethurum XI
- Napier VII *see* Bethurum IX
- Napier IX *see* Bethurum Xb
- Napier X *see* Bethurum Xc
- Napier XI *see* Bethurum Ia
- Napier XII *see* Bethurum Ib
- Napier XIII *see* Bethurum V
- Napier XIV *see* Bethurum II
- Napier XV *see* Bethurum III
- Napier XVI *see* Bethurum IV
- Napier XVII *see* Bethurum XIV
- Napier XVIII *see* Bethurum XII
- Napier XIX–XXII *see* Bethurum XIII
- Napier XXIII 17, 27
- Napier XXIV 17, 27
- Napier XXV *To folce* 26
- Napier XXVI *see* Bethurum VIIa
- Napier XXVII *To eallum folce* 27, 389 n.37, 392–95
- Napier XXVIII *see* Bethurum XIX
- Napier XXXII *see* Bethurum XV

- Napier XXXIII *see* Bethurum XX  
 Napier XXXIV *see* Bethurum XXI  
 Napier XXXV *Be mistlican gelimpan* 14–15, 17, 26  
 Napier XXXVI *To eallum folce* 14–15, 17, 26, 99  
 Napier XXXVII *see* Bethurum XVII  
 Napier XXXVIII *Her is git oþer wel god eaca* 26  
 Napier XXXIX *see* law-codes: VII Æthelred  
 Napier XLI *see* Bethurum XVIb  
 Napier XLVII *Larspell and scriftboc* 389 n.37, 394–95  
 Napier L *Larspell* 5, 17, 27, 57 n.88, 108 n.37, 393–94, 413–28, 449, 454  
 Napier LI *To eallan folke* 26  
 Napier LII *To mæsseprostum* 27  
 Napier LIII *To mæssepreostum* 27  
 Napier LIV *see* Bethurum XVIII  
 Napier LIX *Sermo Lupi* 17, 20, 27, 179, 188–89, 214–15, 282–83, 379 n.15, 394, 481  
 Napier LX *Be hæðendome* 17, 20, 27, 179, 188–89, 214–15, 282–83, 379 n.15, 394, 416, 481–83, 499  
 Napier LXI *Be cristendome* 17, 20, 27, 72 n.40, 179, 188–89, 214–15, 265 n.93, 282–83, 379 n.15, 394, 416, 481  
*Admonitio episcoporum utilis* 2, 101–14  
*Contra iniquos iudices et falsos testes* 97, 100, 105 n.27, 120–23  
*De adiutorio Dei et libero arbitrio* 98, 100, 133–36  
*De conuersione et penitentia et communione* 98, 100, 105 n.27, 129–31  
*De decimis dandis* 97, 99–100, 115–20  
*De dominis et seruis* 98, 100, 126–27  
*De ieiunio quattuor temporum* 97–99  
*De resurrectione mortuorum* 98, 100, 131–33  
*Sermo ad coniugatos et filios* 97–98, 100, 123–25  
*Sermo ad uiduas* 98, 100, 127–28, 457 n.68  
*Sermo sancti Augustini de baptismo non iterando* 98, 100, 136–39  
 other  
   ‘Admonition to the bishops’ 268 n.100  
   *Að* 11, 26, 242, 319  
   Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries s.a. 959 (DE) and 975 (D) 60 n.102, 364, 368, 437, 439–41, 450  
   canon law collection 15–16, 100, 255 n.57, 275–76, 314 n.19, 322, 325, 329, 351, 354–55, 362 n.33, 364–65, 372, 401, 403–04, 446 n.10, 455–58  
   *Canons of Edgar* 10, 15–16, 26–27, 314, 322, 333, 362–65, 370, 373–74, 471–72, 476–78, 483–85, 487, 490–94  
   Cnut’s ‘Coronation Charter’ 20  
   Cnut’s 1020 Letter to the English 19–20, 27, 57 n.88, 59 n.96, 179, 188–89, 214–16, 283–84, 480–81, 495  
   *De activa vita et contemplativa* 239, 257 n.65, 268–78  
   *Gepyncðu* 11, 19, 26, 242, 319  
   *Gríð* 11, 18, 24, 26, 57 n.88  
   *Hadbot* 11, 17, 242, 319  
   ‘Injunctions on the behaviour of bishops’ 475  
   *Institutes of Polity* 10, 18–20, 26–27, 103, 108, 242, 247, 258, 260 n.74, 261, 268 n.100, 276–77, 306, 315, 333, 362–65, 370, 378, 379 n.15,

- 382, 387–89, 414–15, 417,  
419, 439, 444, 449–50, 455,  
457–58, 474 n.46, 483  
'Letter of Protest' 24–25, 239,  
257 n.65, 261–65, 268  
*Mircna laga* 11, 26, 242, 319  
*Norðleoda laga* 11, 19, 242, 319  
*Old English Benedictine Office*  
316, 332–33, 347, 352  
Peace of Edward and Guthrum  
10, 15–16, 26, 57 n.88, 141,  
473–75, 480  
penitential letters 26, 266 n.96,  
401, 404  
status tracts *see* *Að*; *Geþyncðu*;  
*Hadbot*; *Mircna laga*; *Norð-*  
*leoda laga*  
*see also* charters: S 1386  
Wulfstan II, St, bishop of Worcester 2, 7,  
10, 14, 22, 142, 149–50, 152 n.63,  
153, 156–58, 166 n.19, 171 n.27,  
194, 196, 325, 371, 391, 524  
*see also* William of Malmesbury: *Vita*  
*Wulfstani*  
Wychwood 195  
Wynsige, a monk and tenant 157, 201  
Yate 199  
York 2, 4, 7, 12, 24–25, 33 n.17, 51, 53,  
108, 172 n.29, 176–89, 207–34,  
241, 263, 264 n.90, 304, 376, 380–  
81, 384, 457, 469, 472 n.36, 503  
All Saints Pavement, church of 230–  
32  
Alma Sophia, church of 224, 233  
archbishops *see* Ælberht; Ælfric Put-  
toc; Cynesige; Ealdred; Ealdwulf;  
Eanbald II; Ecgberht; Gerard; Gray,  
Walter de; Oscytel; Oswald; Pauli-  
nus; Thomas of Bayeux; Thomas II;  
Wilfrid; Wulfstan I; Wulfstan II  
archbishop's palace 219, 223–24  
Bootham Bar 220, 222 n.26, 223, 227  
burials 224–29  
clergy 207, 218–19, 226, 230, 233–34,  
237, 244, 348  
Dean's Park 222  
diocese of 22, 143, 147, 162 n.3  
Goodramgate 220, 222  
manuscripts associated with 33 n.17,  
66, 71, 94, 210–12, 234, 236, 266  
n.98, 327, 334 n.39, 346, 369,  
391  
*see also* manuscripts: Copenhagen,  
Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S.  
1595 (4°); London, British  
Library, Cotton Nero A.i;  
London, British Library, Cotton  
Vespasian A.xiv; York, Minster  
Library, Additional 1 (York  
Gospels)  
Monk Bar 220, 223  
Multangular Tower 222 n.26, 227  
Petergate 220, 222–23, 226–27, 233  
St Andrew, chapel of 223  
St Leonard's Hospital 227  
St Mary and the Holy Angels, church  
of 222–23  
St Michael-le-Belfrey, church of 226,  
233  
St Peter's church *see* York Minster  
St Peter's Hospital *see* St Leonard's  
Hospital  
Stonegate 220, 223  
topography 220–27, 233–34  
Ulf, horn of 211, 213  
York Minster 3, 207–34, 285  
York Gospelbook *see* York Gospels  
York Gospels *see* manuscripts: York,  
Minster Library, Additional 1  
York surveys 162–63, 179–90, 215–16,  
285  
Young, Patrick 171 n.28  
þórr 465–66

